March 19, 1952

Mr. Henry Walker
2640 Jerome Avenue
Bronx 68, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Walker:

I am returning herewith the Remarque book.

Thank you very much for letting us read it.

It is a terrible indictment.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

DB:lh
dpowa/65

25-45-23

Make check payable to
John Wanamaker New York
784 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

FEB-52

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25-32-74

May 10, 1952

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John Wanamaker New York
784 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

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25-45-30

[Wanamaker]

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WITH CHECK FOR THE DIFFERENCE

John Wanamaker

NEW YORK

PHILADELPHIA
OCT—52
GREAT NECK
WILMINGTON

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R C A RADIO	24.95	.75		18	25.70 S
HAT	11.95	.36		31	38.01 S

25-34-75

IF CREDIT HAS BEEN OMITTED, KINDLY ENCLOSE RECEIPT FOR MERCHANDISE RETURNED WITH CHECK FOR THE DIFFERENCE.

January 3, 1952

Mr. Frank Weymouth
Box 96
Stanford University
California

25-45-22

My dear Mr. Weymouth:

I want to thank you very much for your kind letter of December 20, and your encouraging words.

Perhaps we have started backward on our descent to Hell.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

(25).

I O N

1952 JUN 11 PM 8 25

N A351 BDA PD= HOUSTON TEX 11 630P=

DR W E B DUBOIS CARE THE GRAND BALL ROOM

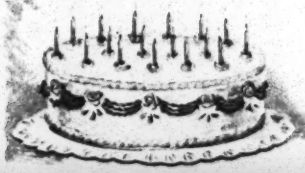
RIVERSIDE PLAZA HOTEL 73 ST AND BROADWAY=

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR 84TH BIRTHDAY MAY GOD BLESS YOU=

LULU B WHITE.

[White]

25-30-41



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January 31, 1952

Editor of Who's Who
456 Soho Square
London W. 1
England

My dear Sir:

This may be a matter to which you have no time to give, but if possible I should like to know how many citizens of the United States are included in the 1951 Who's Who.

I am commenting in a book which I am writing on the knowledge which the Europeans, and especially Britishers, have of Americans, and the facts for which I Have asked will help me a great deal.

I shall be under great obligation for anything you can give me.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Who's Who]

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LONDON W·1

G/JDN

8th February, 1952.

W.E.B. Du Bois, Esq.,
23, West Twenty-sixth Street,
New York 10,
N.Y. U.S.A.

42/1/3

Dear Sir,

WHO'S WHO

We should like to be able to give you precisely the details for which you ask in your letter of January 31st, but unfortunately we have no exact records of the number of American citizens in Who's Who, and it would be a very considerable task to obtain this.

We can however give you a reasonably close approximation. The average number of new entries in each of the last eight annual editions has been 950, and of these the average number of American citizens has been 40. It would probably be a reasonable estimate to say that one out of every twenty-four new entries in Who's Who in the past ten years or so has been an American citizen. In earlier years the intake of Americans was probably not quite so high and thus the total proportion in the current edition in turn is more likely to be about one in thirty or more. The total number of entries in the 1951 edition is approximately 26,000.

Yours very truly,

A. & C. BLACK, LTD.

J. Nevill

32 | 26000 (812
256
40
32
80

850

32 | 26000
866

Gut 26,000
Autres 866

June 4, 1952

Editor of Who's Who
456 Soho Square
London W. 1
England

Dear Sir:

In the letter which I mailed you yesterday I named my last book which goes to press this month as entitled "Peace and My Eighty-Third Birthday".

The publisher at the last moment has asked to change the title to "In Battle for Peace — the Story of My Eighty-Third Birthday".

If it is not too late, will you kindly make this change?

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Wilkerson]

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

September 15, 1952

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thanks lots for the autographed copy of IN BATTLE FOR PEACE. As you will read elsewhere before long, I think this is a splendid little book, very useful in the struggles of this period.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Wilkerson

25-45-24

[Wilkerson]

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

October 24, 1952

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Perhaps you knew that the enlarged 30th anniversary issue of MORNING FREIHEIT, April 27, 1952, carried an article by you, reprinted, I believe, from some other source. (They have been known on more than a few occasions to do this without bothering to consult the author.)

Thinking this might have escaped your attention, I am enclosing a tear-sheet for your files.

Cordially,

Doxey A. Wilkerson

25-35-1

246

September 3, 1952

Dr. William Williams
2156 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Williams:

Here is the check for the prescription.

Thank you for your promptness.

Mrs. Du Bois and I are both well and hope you are.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
enc.

Mrs. Yolande DuBois-Williams
2417 North Pulaski St.
Baltimore 17, Maryland

Jan. 29th

Dearest Popa -

Just a line to inquire how ya both are. Since I have'nt heard since ya left I've been wonder- ing about the teeth and all.

Love & Sherley.

Lots of love -

Yolande.

1

25-47-14

Mrs. Yolande DuBois-Williams
2417 North Pulaski St.
Baltimore 17, Maryland

25-47-13

Happy Birthday to Papa
"ahead of time"
Lots of love —
Yolanda

Feb. 23, 1952

XXIII.

March 10, 1952

42-2A-54

Mrs. Yolande DuBois Williams
2417 North Pulaski St.
Baltimore, 17, Maryland

Dear Yolande:

Shirley and I have just returned from three weeks in the Virgin Islands, where we had a perfect rest in the loveliest surroundings.

Two of the weeks we stayed in a first-class hotel, and one week in town with an old friend of mine.

We visited all three of the islands, St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Johns.

I do wish you could take a trip there. We are both very well indeed, and hope you are.

I have worn your ring with great pleasure, and with the admiration of my friends and acquaintances.

Yours, with love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
dpowa/65

XXIII

May 8, 1952

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2417 North Pulaski St.
Baltimore, 17, Maryland

VI-8c-1

Dear Yolande:

Since our visit to Baltimore, Shirley has been in Detroit and Chicago collecting data for her book on De Sable, the Negro founder of Chicago.

I have been to Madison, Wisconsin, where I spoke to the National Student's Conference on Academic Freedom, Peace, and other matters, and also spoke in a Negro church in that city, and had dinner with the widow of Edward Ailsworth Ross, pioneer sociologist.

On our way back we spent a day at the Stevens Hotel in Chicago, and made some visits. It was pleasant, but of course costly.

We are still well, and I have a great many invitations to speak, some of which I accept.

I hope all is going well with you and Du Bois.

Our love to you both,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

June 27, 1952

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2417 North Pulaski St.
Baltimore, 17, Maryland

Dear Yolande:

Shirley and I leave July 2nd in the afternoon for Chicago. We shall be stopping at the Hotel Sheraton, North Michigan Avenue, from July 2nd to 7th.

Then from the 7th until the 12th or 14th we can be reached in care of Mr. Hauts, 5400 North Lake Drive, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

After that we will be back in Brooklyn.

I hope you have a good summer. Best love from both of us,

Yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

WEBDB:lh

25-47-11

[1952]

Mrs. Yolande DuBois-Williams
2417 North Pulaski St.
Baltimore 17, Maryland

Friday

Dearest Popo -

Just so curiously I
need love & kisses ha
so all one of whom
so do I want!!

I thought may be
so had received the
letter I made after the
air-conditioning was

31-5-47

installed but I do not see how that could have anything to do with myself. I was so relieved at the fresh & cooler air I wrote it as soon as it was installed. I have heard a rumor that goes on. Please let me hear - love -

Yolande -

September 16, 1952

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2617 N. Pulaski St.
Baltimore, 17, Md.

Dear Yolande:

I am sorry to be so late in answering your last letter.

I was very much pleased that the air conditioner was satisfactory. Be sure to have the electrician check the load upon your wires. Sometimes a machine of that sort uses up so much electricity that there is danger of fire.

I trust that by this time you and Du Bois have received the book "In Battle for Peace" which I sent you. I have been busy upon this book and also have been lecturing, mostly for the Progressive Party. Last Saturday I spoke at their convention in Philadelphia, and Sunday in Boston. Later I shall talk in Easton, Pa., and early in October Shirley and I go west for half a dozen lectures.

Hallinan and his wife were with me in Philadelphia and Boston, and are very charming people.

I hope you are already prepared for the opening of school. Be sure to get plenty of sleep.

Shirley joins me in love,

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

6-24-58

September 22, 1952

Mrs. Yolande D. Williams
2417 N. Pulaski Street
Baltimore, 17, Md.

Dear Yolande:

I have only one insurance policy applying to the house, and that is fire insurance and not for burglary. Also, I am enclosing the deed.

Get in touch with Nicholas and see if he does not have a burglary insurance policy. Certainly we ought to have had it, and it seems to me I asked for it. If you have not got it be sure to arrange for it.

Also, do not go another day without making the back part of your house burglar proof. I should not be a bit surprised if the law breakers were among some of your students who know your habits of being away at school.

I am sorry, but the loss, after all, is not as discouraging as it might be.

Yours with love,

DB:lh
enc.s

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-47-8

October 29, 1952

Mrs. Yolande D. Williams
2417 N. Pulaski St.
Baltimore, 17, Md.

My dear Yolande:

Shirley and I are going to be in Washington November 7th. We would like to come up and have dinner with you Saturday, the 8th, and breakfast on Sunday, the 9th.

We would be leaving Sunday afternoon.

I hope this will find you and Du Bois all right.

Let me hear from you.

With love,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-47-4

November 13, 1962

Mrs. Yolande D. Williams
2417 N. Pulaski St.
Baltimore, 17, Md.

Dear Yolande:

Yes, I did forget one item: Light and Heat.

Yours, with love,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-47-3

December 2, 1952

Mrs. Yolande D. Williams
2417 N. Pulaski St.
Baltimore, 17, Md.

Dear Yolande:

Your difficulty is, and long has been, that you allow yourself easily to get into debt, and then find that the repayment of the debt along with your usual cash payments do not leave you enough funds. Then your temptation is to go further into debt. This habit, which you know I have long warned you against, will certainly lead to disaster unless you change it.

What you ought to do is to make a careful and complete list of the monies which you owe, and the times which they must or can be paid. Then, after subtracting these payments from your current income, simply remember that the balance is what you can spend and that you can spend no more than that.

25-47-1

You at present owe for the car at a fixed number of payments per month. There is an amount due for a coat, and the amount due on the vacuum. Also a "monthly dress bill" which I presume represents one of those purchases on the installment plan. There is a balance due on the insurance on your car and for the roof on the house. The taxes due must be pro-rated at so much a month, which I believe you have done. And then there is the payment for hospitalization, which seems to me extraordinarily high. I pay $4 a month. The bill for gratings must be included.

Payments for these things must be arranged for first. Then after that comes your telephone, heat and light, help and food, clothes, periodicals, and allowance for Du Bois.

If you will send me a detailed and complete list of your indebtedness I can then figure with you on how far your cash will go, but what you often do is to leave out of account part of the indebtedness, or forget it, which of course in the long run is impossible. And on the other hand, you must consider your income by the year, and for your monthly expenditure divide by 12 and not by misled by the 10 scheduled payments made by the school.

All this, I know, seems rather logical and unnecessary to emphasize, and yet it is going to make in your case all the difference between

being reasonably content and always in a panic. In my own case first and above all I take care of the debts, have them clearly in mind, and pay them usually before they are due. Shirley even had our last payment of interest sent in a couple of months before it was due, which I pointed out to her was rather overdoing it, but it is a great deal better than ever to be behind.

You have got to work yourself into an attitude of being very much afraid of debt; of refusing to make any contract or borrow any money or services without knowing exactly how and when it is going to be paid. Once you get out of debt to your school loan organization and your obligation for taxes, the matter of deciding how your cash will go will be very much simplified. It will go just so far and no further!

I hope this will find you both well. Let me hear from you again.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-47-2

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WILSON LIBRARY BULLETIN

25-45-18

November 20, 1952

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois,
31 Grace Court,
Brookly, 2, New York.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Enclosed you will find a tear-sheet of your auto-biographical sketch as it appears in TWENTIETH CENTURY AUTHORS, published by us in 1942.

A First Supplement to TWENTIETH CENTURY AUTHORS is now in preparation. The 1942 edition will remain in print as the foundation volume of a series projecting indefinitely into the future. The Supplement will contain a reference to your main sketch, together with additional biographical and bibliographical material covering the interval since the sketch was written.

In order that the supplementary information about you may be both accurate and up-to-date, will you kindly send us brief copy for such additional material as you may wish us to include?

One of the features of the Supplement will be a pronouncing guide to authors' names. If your name presents any difficulty which was not clarified in the original sketch, will you indicate the correct pronunciation?

Your cooperation in the past has helped to make TWENTIETH CENTURY AUTHORS the standard dictionary of modern literary biography. May we hope for a continuation of your interest and for the favor of an early reply?

An addressed stamped envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

The Editors, TWENTIETH CENTURY AUTHORS

Stanley J. Kunitz

Howard Haycraft

Stanley J. Kunitz
Howard Haycraft

SJK:MW

NATHAN WITT
9 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK
MURRAY HILL 3-6790

263

ATTORNEY

May 15

My dear Dr. Du Bois,

You are always a joy and an inspiration to hear, but you outdid even yourself Tuesday evening. Your clarity of mind and expression, your fortitude of spirit, help me to look to the future with confidence.

Sincerely and faithfully,
Nathan Witt

25-35-2

[W.H]

WITT & CAMMER

NATHAN WITT
HAROLD I. CAMMER
RALPH SHAPIRO

9 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.
MURRAY HILL 3-6790

November 5, 1952

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are giving Harry Sacher an informal reception on the afternoon of Friday, November 14.

I am writing you to ask whether you would be kind enough to attend and say a few words introducing Mr. Sacher. As you know, he recently returned to practice after serving five months of his six-month sentence for contempt.

At the reception we plan no speeches except your few words of introduction and a few remarks from Mr. Sacher himself.

With warmest greetings.

Sincerely,

Nathan Witt

NW:ms

25-30-37

[W.H]

November 11, 1952

Mr. Nathan Witt
9 East 40 St.
New York 16, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Witt:

I shall be glad to say a few words on Friday afternoon, November 14, at the reception to be given to Harry Sacher.

Meantime, will you please send me some facts concerning his career of which I know very little?

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-30-38

[W;H]

WITT & CAMMER

NATHAN WITT
HAROLD I. CAMMER
RALPH SHAPIRO

9 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.
MURRAY HILL 3-6790

November 12, 1952

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

25-30-36

Thank you for your letter of November 11, advising me that you will say a few words at the reception for Harry Sacher on Friday, November 14.

I enclose herewith a newspaper clipping which I think will give you enough about his career to suit your purposes. I would appreciate your returning the clipping to me when it has served your purposes.

The receiption is from 4:30 to 6:30 p.m. at Club Cinema, 430 Avenue of the Americas (at 9th Street).

Sincerely yours,

Nathan Witt

NW:ms
enc.

Passport - Robeson [WITT]

From the office of
Witt & Cammer
9 E. 40th St.
New York City
Telephone MU 3-6790

STATEMENT BY NATHAN WITT, COUNSEL TO PAUL ROBESON,
CONCERNING INVALIDATION OF MR. ROBESON'S PASSPORT

Mr. Paul Robeson's attention has been called to stories appearing in this morning's press to the effect that the State Department has invalidated Mr. Robeson's passport. These stories also state that Mr. Robeson has refused to surrender his passport upon demand of the State Department.

These stories, however, neglect to state that Mr. Robeson's refusal is based on the failure of the State Department to advise him why it is cancelling his passport. On Tuesday of this week, after the demand for the passport had been made on Mr. Robeson, he had me address a letter to the Secretary of State Acheson, asking for an explanation of the demand. In this letter, we said: "Since there can be no question but that Mr. Robeson has complied with all requirements pertaining to securing and holding a passport, he is at a loss to understand the basis of the request and believes that it is no more than reasonable that the basis should be explained to him."

25-40-22

To date, Mr. Acheson has not favored us with an answer but instead "a spokesman of the State Department" has given a story to the press which is slanted and incomplete.

Mr. Robeson is a native-born American and one of his inalienable rights is the right to travel freely, subject only to those reasonable restrictions which apply to all citizens. In this connection, it is important to note that Mr. Robeson's ability to earn a living is conditioned on his right to travel abroad. He has invitations to concerts in European countries, in Israel, in the Caribbean, in Australia, and elsewhere. The action of the State Department arbitrarily cuts off the right of this American citizen to earn a living.

Until we are shown to the contrary, it is also clear to us that the administration seeks to deprive Mr. Robeson of these rights as part of its effort to deprive him of his inalienable right to freedom of thought and expression. This incident forms part of the rapidly developing pattern of repression and of arbitrary deprivation of the rights of the American people.

We are sure that the people of the world will hear Mr. Robeson whether he speaks here or abroad.

In view of the stories in the press today and in view of the fact that the State Department has not seen fit to answer our letter of August 1, we are wiring Mr. Acheson today for a conference at which the action of the State Department may be explained to us.

[WNYC, Station]

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

W. E. B. Du Bois
23 WEST 26TH STREET
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

VICE-CHAIRMAN
COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

September 4, 1952

copy

Station WNYC
Municipal Building
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

I want to thank you for the program containing the series of "Great Modern Plays" which you have given during the last few weeks.

It was most entertaining, and in hopeful contrast to the trash to which I have tried to listen on the radio for a long time.

Very sincerely yours,

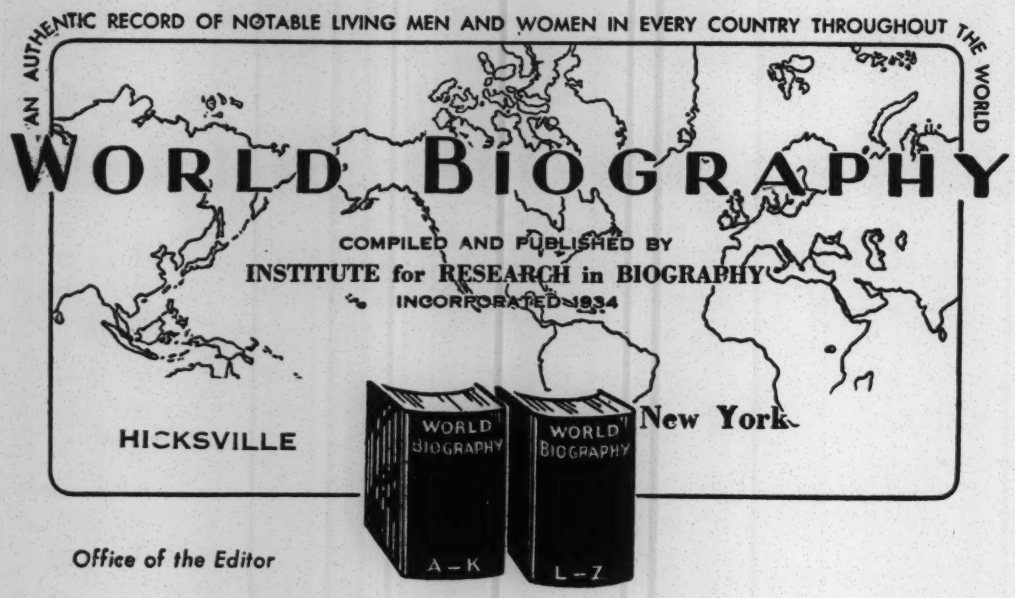
W.E.B.D.

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-45-21

[World Biography]



Office of the Editor

45-45-16

September 8, 1952

Dr. William E. B. DuBois
23 W. 26th St.,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed is a Revised Proof of your biography, as prepared for inclusion in the Fifth (1953) Edition of WORLD BIOGRAPHY, which publicizes the careers of notable leaders in every field in all countries.

Please go over this sketch, with a view to making any additional changes or corrections required, and then return the proof to us.

Should you desire to possess a copy of WORLD BIOGRAPHY, containing your biography, a pre-publication offer card is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

S. A. Kaye

S. A. Kaye, Editor.

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Honorary Secretary.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
409 Edgecombe Av.
New York 32, NY.

25-45-10

Dear Friend & Leader of Humanity,
(Please answer BY RETURN MAIL)
May we announce U/OU, among 6 or 8 others,
to Speak, 5 to 10 minutes each,
in a Special
WORLD FELLOWSHIP Symposium on
PEACE -- PROGRESS -- PLENTY for ALL MANKIND
Monday, Oct 13 (7:30-10:30pm)
in Community Church Assembly Hall
40 East 35th St.
NYC 16

Heartily
Chas F. Weller

(My time is dreadfully short
to organize this meeting
& to announce it
in 100 or more
personal letters)

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in the Community Church Assembly Hall, 40 East 35th St., N.Y.C.

Informal RECEPTION to Charles and Eugenia Weller

(7:30 to 8:30 P. M.)

Five-to-Ten-Minute Talks (8:30 to 10:30 P.M.) by

CEDRIC BELFRAGE - - - Rabbi D. A. JESSURUN CARDOZO

JOSEPH W. HELLINGER - - - CONRAD J. LYNN

Rev. RICHARD MORFORD - - - WILBUR PHILLIPS

- - and Others - - Discussion - - Collection for Expenses - -

CHARLES F. WELLER, Presiding - - EUGENIA W. WELLER, Summing Up

Peace - Progress - Plenty - for ALL Mankind

Peace is not static. It cannot be enforced. Never can it be a mere return to previous suppressions by reactionaries. Always it must be Peace with Progress - Peace <u>through</u> Progress - towards a nobler world order.

Peace must include the people's planned advance towards Plenty. It is not superior to, not apart from, economic necessities. Peace must facilitate men's achievement of adequate food, shelter, clothing, education, opportunity and fellowship.

Peace will not abide as the privilege of one group of people. Neighboring nations cannot be shut out. World-wide Peace is necessary. The modern goal is Peace - Progress - Plenty - for ALL Mankind.

It is, first and fundamentally, in the human Consciousness that practical, world-wide and persistent Peace is to be achieved.

Consciousness is individual. The creative cell, the effective focus of human consciousness is the mind, soul, spirit of each individual.

Each and every person (although seemingly obscure, inconsequential and remote from any control of human progress) can - and must - conceive, propose, create the world's necessary and dynamic Peace.

The individual must become the kind of man, woman, youth or child who really is a New World Citizen. He must fit the now-consciously-evolving World of Peace - Progress - Plenty - for ALL Mankind.

Religious revival, renewal, advance is man's great, basic need. Each person's consciousness must produce the enthusiasm (amounting, when necessary, to fanaticism), the courageous self-commitment, the Soul Force (as Gandhi exemplified it), the soul-full prayer, planning, promotion and demonstration of the new and necessary World-wide Brotherhood.

People of ALL Races, Religions, Countries, Colors, Classes, Conditions, Faiths and Convictions must be called and drawn together. They need to be self-disciplined and self-organized in the Universal Religious Consciousness (and in it's consequent courageous Conduct) that -

Peace - Progress - Plenty - for ALL Mankind is now-and-urgently <u>practicable</u> and is,

really Assured (in the unseen but actual, basic Reality of Life) - in the Law and

Love of the - GOOD LIFE UNIVERSAL, to Whom, with Whom, each, every person may consciously commune - through prayer, meditation and courageous Conduct, saying -

Here, Lord, am I. Send me.

(Recorded in his prayer-medidation hour - 6 to 7:30 A.M. - Saturday, September 27, 1952 - by Charles F. Weller, Founder-President of WORLD FELLOWSHIP, Inc., Conway, New Hampshire, U.S.A.)

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Eugenia Winston Weller
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WORLD FELLOWSHIP, Inc.

Seeking Peace, Brotherhood and Plenty for ALL MANKIND
A "Forest-Farm-Lake-and-Mountain Paradise"
Serving People of ALL Races, Faiths, Colors, Countries and Convictions

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Harry Zvengrowski, *New York*
World Fellowship of Faiths
Sakuntala Rao Sastri, *India*,
Honorary Secretary.

Boston, 10/4/52

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th St.
New York 10, N.Y.

25-45-13

Dear Noble-Souled World Leader toward Peace.
I submit my one-page statement on
"Peace-Progress-Plenty-for ALL Mankind"
I will read it (DV) to you
on Nye meeting Oct 13.
I do wish you could be there.
Can you manage to drop in and
talk to our earnest group?

Heartily yours
Chas. S. Weller

Incorporated as a non-profit, international community center and world-wide movement, it welcomes friendly folk of ALL faiths, races, countries, colors and convictions.

Started in 1918 as the League of Neighbors, it inaugurated, in 1933, its World Fellowship of Faiths. It has centered since 1941 in the 274 acres and 6 buildings of its New Hampshire World Fellowship Center, Inc.

Any Contribution makes anyone a Member for a Year

Contributions may be deducted from Income Tax returns

September 23, 1952

Mr. Charles F. Weller
World Fellowship, Inc.
Conway, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Weller:

I thank you for your invitation of September 17th to speak for you October 13th.

I regret to say that on that date I shall be speaking in Wisconsin.

I am sorry not to be able to serve you.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[WFTU Publications]

January 3, 1951.

Mr. J. Woddis
WFTU Publications Ltd
6 Chichester Chambers,
Chichester Rents
Chancery Lane, W.C. 2
London, England

My dear Sir:

In answer to your letter of December 14, I regret to say that I would not like to attempt an article on Liberia today, since I am not in possession of the facts in her case.

I have a pretty stong feeling about what is happening there, but it has been over twenty-five years since I was actually in Liberia, and in the last few years I have received no dependable data.

I am sorry not to be able to help you.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

24-50-7

[World Peace Council]

SERVICE D' INFORMATION
DU CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
PALAIS SIA JÁNSKÁ 100 PRAGUE TCH.

/ COMMUNIQUE /

The Secretariat of the World Council of Peace announces the latest figures received, January 1st, 1952, of signatures collected in favour of the campaign for a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers :

ALBANIA	865.885	INDONESIA	609.163
ALGERIA	120.000	IRAQ	20.000
ARGENTINE	3.000.000	ISRAEL	354.159
AUSTRALIA	90.000	IRAN	1.961.198
AUSTRIA	871.021	ITALY	16.000.000
BELGIUM	409.092	JAPAN	6.000.000
BOLIVIA	8.500	KOREA	7.047.821
BRASIL	3.000.000	LEBANON	200.000
BULGARIA	5.627.000	MEXICO	300.000
BURMA	129.830	MONGOLIA	633.877
CANADA	270.000	NORWAY	30.000
CHILE	500.000	PAKISTAN	14.000
CHINA	344.530.057	PARAGUAY	16.000
COLUMBIA	25.000	PERU	5.578
COSTA RICA	34.000	POLAND	18.053.000
CUBA	850.000	PORTUGAL	40.000
CYPRUS	103.824	PORTO RICO	20.000
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	9.020.522	ROUMANIA	11.060.141
DENMARK	128.278	SIAM	152.531
EGYPT	100.000	SPAIN	400.000
FINLAND	550.000	SWEDEN	265.000
FRANCE	10.000.000	SWITZERLAND	61.800
GERMANY referendum against re-militarisation and for a Peace Treaty.	16.700.000	SYRIA	265.000
		TRANSJORDAN	22.000
		TRIESTE	80.000
		TUNIS	130.000
		URUGUAY	216.000
GREAT BRITAIN	833.000	U.S.S.R.	117.669.320
GREECE	36.725	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.	5.000
GUATEMALA	100.000		
HOLLAND	342.598	VENEZUELA	45.000
HUNGARY	7.148.000	VIET NAM	7.532.378
INDIA	1.700.000		

/ TOTAL : 596.302.298 /

45-32-18

[World Peace Council]

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
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世界和平理事會

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ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE:
PAIXMONDE PRAGUE

10

35-33-5

January 3, 1952

Mr. W.E. Du Bois

Dear Friend,

The Secretariat of the Initiating Committee of the Pan-American Conference has informed us that the date for this conference has been definitely set for January 22-27, and the place in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil). We want to take this opportunity to contact you in your capacity as member of the World Council of Peace in regard to this important conference.

Although we are certain that you have seen a copy of the Conference Call, we are enclosing another copy of the text for your personal information, as well as the names of some of the many distinguished personalities who sponsored and signed the Call.

To the World Council of Peace this appears as one of the most important peace gatherings on an international scale. For this reason the Secretariat has decided to send a special delegation to attend this meeting. It is hoped that Vice President Pietro Nenni, Professor Leopold Infeld, Mr. Aimé Césaire, Mr. Pierre Cot, Mr. Jorge Amado and Mr. Pablo Neruda will be part of this delegation. All other members of the World Council of Peace residing in the countries participating in the Conference have a particularly important role to play in making the Conference a success.

The objectives of the Conference are clear. The size and composition of the U.S. and Canadian delegations will be a decisive factor in convincing the peoples of Latin America that the peace loving people of the North American continent stand side by side with them in the determination to stem the tide of further war preparations and achieve a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers.

On the other hand, the North-American and Canadian delegations upon their return, will be better able to present the special problems of the Latin American people in this decisive struggle.

We hope that you, or a group of World Council members, will be able to attend the Conference. If this is not not possible we urge that you send a personal message of greetings. We are sure that you will do everything in your power to aid in the preparatory plans for the Conference in order to make it a strong expression of the will for peace of the American people.

With best wishes for your continued good work,

Sincerely yours,

For the World Council of Peace

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

[World Peace Council]

January 14, 1952.

Mr. Jean Laffitte, Gen. Sec.
World Peace Council
Palais S.I.A.
Jansku 100
Prague, Czechoslovakia

My dear Mr. Laffitte:

I have received your letter of January 2, and am very sorry that I shall be unable to go to South America. I am sending them the enclosed letter, which I hope will be presented to the Conference.

My reasons for not going are not only the operation on my teeth, but also the cost of the trip, which I do not feel like attempting to raise on account of the cost of my recent indictment; and thirdly, I doubt very much if I could get a passport, although this is not certain as I have not applied.

The United States again is refusing to live up to its plain duty in the peace movement, and at present I am powerless to stem the tide, but I hope in the future to be able to do more.

With best regards to you and Mr. Dan,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
enc.

25-44-20

[World Peace Council]

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
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PAIXMONDE PRAGUE
C.R.

N°11

Prague, January 23rd, 1952

Dr. W.E. DU BOIS
23 West 26th Street
NEW YORK 10
N.Y.

45-33-4

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Thank you for your letter of January 14th in which you enclosed a copy of your letter to the American Intercontinental Peace Conference.

The Initiating Committee of the Conference has invited the World Council of Peace to send a delegation to this Conference when it takes place in Rio de Janeiro from March 11th to 16th. A number of members of the World Council, therefore, are being asked to represent the Council at this important Conference. It is our hope that you will accept to be a member of this delegation. The other World Council members who are being asked to form this delegation are Pietro Nenni of Italy, Pierre Cot of France, J. Iwaskiewicz of Poland and Jorge Amado of Brazil. Please let us know as soon as possible whether you accept to be a part of the World Council's delegation to the Continental Conference so that we can send the necessary travel vouchers for your joining the delegation in Rio.

As you know, the date for the American Intercontinental Peace Conference has now been definitely set by the Initiating Committee from March 11th to 16th. This delay in holding the Conference should permit the formation of a delegation from the United States which will be truly representative of the will for peace there, since a strong United States participation in the preparations for the Conference is essential for making this Conference an expression of the unity of all the American peoples in the work for peace. We have had little news here as to the preparations in the United States for the Conference and, therefore, we cannot judge whether the great importance of this Conference and of the breadth of its support in other American

.../...

.../...

countries is appreciated in the United States. Undoubtedly, the postponement of the Conference will give time for the broadest peace organisations and individuals in the United states to become acquainted with the scope and aims of the Conference so that the breadth of the concern for peace there will be reflected in the support for and participation in the Conference by your country. We should be happy to hear from you, or from other World Council members interested in the success of the Conference, about these matters.

Hoping you can join the delegation of the World Council of Peace to the American Intercontinental Peace Conference,

With warm greetings,

For the World Council of Peace

Rev. John W. DARR, jr.
Secretary

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

25-33-3

[World Peace Council]

January 23, 1952

Mr. Jean Laffitte, General Secretary
World Council of Peace
Palais S.I.A.
Janska 100
Prague, Czechoslovakia

Dear Mr. Laffitte:

The postponement of the Inter-Continental Peace Conference at Rio de Janeiro from January 22 to March 11, makes my presence possible but not certain.

I have applied to the State Department for passports for me and my wife, Shirley Graham. If these are granted I have told the Peace movements of the United States that I would be glad to join in representing them, provided they could bear the expense which I am unable to do.

I have also written to the President of the Brasil Conference.

Very sincerely,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[World Council of Peace]

January 31, 1952

Mr. Jean Laffitte and
Rev. John W. Darr, jr.
World Council of Peace
Palais S.I.A.
Janska 100
Prague, Czechoslovakia

My dear Mr. Laffitte and Rev. Darr:

I have your letter of January 23. I think I have already told you that I have applied for a passport. I do not know, of course, whether it will be granted or not, but I am waiting.

I shall be only too happy to represent the World Council in South America if I should go, but at present the chances of many Americans being permitted to go, or even of the Conference being held in South America is problematical.

I am enclosing a column which appeared in the New York Times yesterday. Of course, this is inspired, but what may happen is that although the congress will actually be held, the United States Government will claim that it is not held with permission of the Brazilian Government, and will withold passports.

But this is on the knees of the gods, and we will await developments.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du BOIS

DB:lh
enc.

25-31-38

[World Peace Council]

February 18, 1952.

25-32-48

Mr. Jean Laffitte
c/o World Council for Peace
Palais S.I.A.
Janska 100
Prague, Czechoslovakia

Dear Mr. Laffitte:

Dr. & Mrs. Du Bois have just left the city on vacation for a month.

They asked me to send you this copy of a letter just received from the Department of State.

Very sincerely yours,

enc.

Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

February 19th, 1952.

Prof. W.E. Dubois

Dear Friend,

You will find enclosed the text of an important Appeal launched by President Joliot-Curie on the subject of the great cultural anniversaries in 1952. The decision to celebrate these anniversaries was taken at the Vienna Session of the World Council of Peace.

This Appeal has been sent to all National Peace Committees and it has also been released to the Press.

With warm regards.

Very sincerely yours,
For the World Council of Peace

Emi Siao

Jean Laffitte

Emi Siao
Secretary
President of the Commission
for International Cultural Exchanges

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

[ENC]

APPEAL OF M. FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE, President of the WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

There are treasures which are the common property of all nations. These are the works of the great minds - the literature and the masterpieces of art which preserve for posterity the mark of genius.

Humanity can draw upon the inexhaustible well-springs of this cultural heritage. It has provided a common ground for bringing men together through the ages; it has given them the opportunity, today, of grasping the link which unites mankind. It opens up prospects of a future of universal agreement and understanding. It constantly strengthens their confidence in man.

At a time when mutual understanding is more than ever necessary, we call upon all the nations to pay tribute together to those men who, by the importance of their works, belong to the whole of humanity.

25-32-70

February 26th, 1952 will be the 150th anniversary of the birth of Victor Hugo whose monumental works reflected his century's hopes of achieving the ideals of justice, liberty and progress.

March 4th,1952 will be the centenary of the death of Nicolas Gogol, the great Russian writer whose concept of the brotherhood of man was born out of his love for his people.

April 15th, 1952 will be the 500th anniversary of the birth of Leonardo da Vinci, an artist whose versatile genius was expressed both in his artistic masterpieces and in his constructive talent, the result of which often anticipated modern inventions.

May 1952 will be the 1000th anniversary of the death of Avicenna, the great doctor, philosopher and scientist of the Eastern world, the whole of whose works was based on the claims of truth and integrity.

These men have a right to world tribute.

Men will meet in spite of their differences and the frontiers which still separate them. They will add new wealth to the common heritage. In this way, they will advance along the road where shadows disappear and towards the dawn of confidence and Peace.

February 19th, 1952.

[World Peace Council]

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WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
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PAIXMONDE PRAGUE

Prague, March 3d, 1952.

Prof. W.E. Dubois

nº 13.

35-46-37

Dear Friend,

Please find enclosed an important message of M. Kuo Mo Jo, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace, addressed to the President, Professor Frederic Joliot- Curie, in the name of the Chinese Peace Committee.

This message condemns the use of bacteriological weapons in Korea.

We would be glad if you would let us know your opinion on this question and any suggestions which may arise as a result of the reaction upon public opinion which the employment of weapons of mass destruction such as these are bound to have.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace

J. LAFFITTE
General Secretary

[World Peace Council]

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
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PAIXMONDE PRAGUE

Prague, March 14th, 1952.

Prof. W.E. Dubois

BC.

15

35-27-18

Dear Friend,

We are sending you herewith the text of an important protest against the employment in Korea and China of bacteriological weapons, adopted on the 9th March by all the democratic parties of the People's Republic of China.

This follows a number of such protests and, in particular those of :

- Mr Bak Hun Yung, Minister for Foreign Affairs in the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, who addressed an official protest against the use of bacteriological weapons to the United Nations on the 22nd February 1952.

- Mr Chou En Lai, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, who made a declaration on the 24th February in the name of the Government of the Chinese People's Republic in support of Mr Hun Yung's protest;

- Mr Kuo Mo Jo, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace, who sent a message on the 25th February to the President of the World Council of Peace, Mr Joliot-Curie, asking him to draw the attention of world opinion to the fact that bacteriological weapons had been used; this message was sent to you on 3rd March 1952.

- Mr Chou En Lai's protest of March 8th against the use of bacteriological weapons in China.

With kind regards,

Yours Sincerely,
For The World Council of Peace

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

[World Peace Council]

Text of a message of 25th February, 1952, by M. KUO MO JO
Vice President of the World Council of Peace
to M. JOLIOT-CURIE.

The American invaders in violation of all humane consideration have openly engaged in bacteriological warfare on a large scale in Korea.

From the 28th January to the 17th February the American armies of aggression, in a treacherous effort to wipe out the civilian population of Korea, as well as the armed forces of the Korean and Chinese people have spread by means of military aircraft both at the front and behind the fighting lines large quantities of insects carrying the germs of plague, cholera, typhus and other contagious diseases.

This monstrous crime has stirred up unparalleled indignation amongst the people of China and Korea.

This criminal act has violated the resolutions taken at Warsaw by the World Council of Peace in the name of the wish of all people, resolutions envisaging the prohibition of the use of bacteriological and chemical warfare and all weapons of mass destruction. It also constitutes an open violation of international law and all conventions which demand the prohibition of bacteriological weapons. All who love peace and who have any conscience and human feeling certainly cannot witness unmoved or tolerate such a crime.

In the name of the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and Against American Aggression I lodge a solemn protest against this atrocious crime committed by the American aggressors in flagrant transgression of international law and against this savage attack on civilisation and human justice.

It is well known that since the end of the Second World War the Americans have used numerous Japanese bacteriological war criminals who have studied and manufactured in secret various bacteriological weapons. More recently, they have repeatedly used prisoners-of-war of the Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers as well as Korean civilians as subjects for experiments

.../...

in bacteriological weapons. Today, the American invaders are blocking and stalling for no plausible reason the negotiations for a cease-fire in Korea and have dared to undertake openly and on a great scale bacteriological warfare.

Thus has been clearly exposed the evil intention of the Americans in prolonging and extending the war in Korea, so that they can put into operation their plan for a general war.

It is for this reason that the terrible crime which the Americans have committed in Korea is not only an outrage against the civilian population of Korea and the Korean People's and Chinese People's forces, but at the same time it constitutes a serious threat to world peace and against the whole of humanity.

35-46.39

The peaceloving peoples of all countries must henceforth realise that the American aggressors are the most dangerous enemy to world peace and to human justice. I am convinced that such slaughter, such an attack against world peace and the security of the human race will be condemned by all those who love peace and will evoke strong resistance on the part of the Chinese and Korean People.

So, in order to safeguard peace as well as the security of all humanity I bring before the World Council of Peace in the name of the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and Against American Aggression our just accusation against the American aggressors responsible for the crime of mass destruction : it is for the peoples of all countries who love peace to take action and to forbid the American invaders to go on with the crime of bacteriological warfare in Korea, and to demand that the American Government immediately puts to an end their tactics of delay in the talks for a cessation of hostilities in Korea, so that negociations can be concluded in agreement and without obstruction.

All people intent on peace can certainly not tolerate the shameless use of bacteriological weapons by the Americans, who, in extending the war in Korea, are destroying world peace. The solemn resolutions banning the use of arms of mass destruction which were adopted by the World Congress of Defenders of Peace and by the World Council of Peace will certainly be upheld by the gigantic power of peace throughout the world.

KUO MO JO
President.

[World Peace Council]

Statement of M. JOLIOT-CURIE, President of the World Council of Peace - March 8th 1952

I have been shocked to receive a message from Mr. Kuo Mo Jo, President of the Chinese Committee for the Defence of Peace, conveying the news that the U.S. armed forces in Korea have made use of bacteriological weapons.

Between January 28th. and February 17th. U.S. military aircraft in Korea disseminated, at the front and in the rear, the microbes of plague, cholera, typhus and other frightful, contagious diseases.

This horrible deed, that could never have been contemplated by a sane mind, has none the less been committed. It is a sequel to the no less monstrous crime of the destruction of hundreds of thousands of civilians in a few seconds by the atom bomb at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The use of bacteriological weapons is a clear violation of international law - in particular of the Geneva Convention of June 17th. 1925.

They were employed by the Japanese armies in China. The U.S. General Staff, and public figures in the United States, had earlier made no secret of U.S. preparations and intention to use these weapons.

This criminal act conflicts directly with the resolutions expressing the desire of all peoples adopted by the World Peace Congress at Warsaw calling for the prohibition of bacteriological, chemical and all other means of mass destruction.

By their support to the Stockholm Appeal, 500 million men and women, in demanding this prohibition, clearly demonstrated their desire for such slaughter never to be repeated.

Today the peoples can see the peril in which they stand, the ruthless methods of terror by which it is sought to bring them to obedience.

Public opinion must arise to denounce this crime.

Frederic JOLIOT-CURIE,
President of the World Council of Peace

THE BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Nº 23 — 15th March 1952

THE FIGHT FOR PEACE IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND OF NORTH AFRICA

32-18-26

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—RESOLUTION ON THE FIGHT FOR PEACE IN THE COLONIAL AND DEPENDENT COUNTRIES
(Berlin Session of the World Council of Peace, February 21st-26th 1951)

—RESOLUTION ON THE MIDDLE EAST
(Vienna Session of the World Council of Peace, November 1st-6th, 1951)

—PEACE PACT CAMPAIGN IN IRAN, LEBANON, SYRIA, ISRAEL, EGYPT, TUNISIA, ALGERIA, MOROCCO, TRANSJORDAN AND IN IRAQ

—PREPARATIONS FOR THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICAN PEACE CONFERENCE

—THE DAMASCUS APPEAL (May 3rd, 1951)

—THE ROME RESOLUTION (September 12th, 1951)

—RESOLUTION OF THE BUREAU OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICAN CONFERENCE
(Helsinki, July 20th-23rd, 1951)

A Peace Conference of the people of the Middle East and North Africa is to be held soon.

The idea of holding this Conference originated at a meeting of the representatives of these peoples held in Damascus in May 1951. The World Council of Peace welcomes this initiative and calls on the Peace forces in these countries to take an active part in bringing about the Conference.

This Bulletin contains the texts of the resolutions adopted by the World Council of Peace on the subject of the struggle for Peace in this region; the Appeal issued by the representatives of the countries concerned in the preparation of the Conference as well as information, not only on the campaign for the conclusion of a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers, but also on the preparation of the Conference itself.

32-18-27

RESOLUTION ON THE FIGHT FOR PEACE IN THE COLONIAL AND DEPENDENT COUNTRIES

The Charter of the United Nations, which was based on the right of free self-determination of peoples, raised high the hopes in colonial and dependent countries. But, in this sphere, as in many others, the attitude of the United Nations, which serves as a screen for the methods of force and compulsion used to maintain peoples in a state of dependence and colonial subjection, has undermined the hopes placed in it.

This situation increases the danger of a new world war. The World Council of Peace denounces the false propaganda which tends to present a new world war as a path that might lead to the free self determination of the colonial and dependent peoples, and declares that the common action of all peoples side by side for Peace constitutes a decisive factor in the realisation by the colonial and dependent peoples of the right of free self-determination.

The proposals for a peaceful settlement of the war in Korea and the major Asian problems (Taiwan, Viet-Nam, Malaya) and for a peaceful settlement of the German problem and the Japanese problem, as well as the efforts of conciliation by certain Asian, Arab, and other Peace-loving countries, contribute at one and the same time to the maintenance of Peace and to the free self-determination of peoples.

The growing opposition of the colonial peoples to aggression, oppression and the stifling of their liberties; to the inclusion of their countries in aggressive pacts; to the raising of military contingents; to the stationing of foreign troops on their territories; to the acquisition of military bases and raw material in their countries; to the lowering of their cultural values; to measures of race discrimination, all contribute vitally to the maintenance of Peace.

The World Council proclaims the solidarity of all peoples without exception in the struggle against the war that imperils all mankind.

Berlin Session
of the World Council of Peace
February 21—26, 1951

RESOLUTION ON THE MIDDLE EAST

The threat to Peace in the Middle East and in North Africa has become gravely worsened by the increasingly violent military and political grip being imposed upon the countries concerned. However, this process is encountering the resistance of the peoples, from Iran to Morocco; it runs counter to their will to achieve their economic and national independence and to safeguard Peace.

The World Council of Peace condemns the attempts to impose a military pact on the peoples of the Mediterranean world, of the Middle East and North Africa, as a serious danger to World Peace.

Already fresh foreign troops are being poured into Egypt and Egyptians have been killed on their own soil. The efforts of the Egyptian people to throw off the burden of treaties that are incompatible with their right to be master in their own house are right and just.

The growing opposition of the peoples of the Middle East and of North Africa to the stationing of foreign troops on their territories, to the granting of strategic bases, and to the expropriation of their national wealth—an opposition of which the action of the Iranian people constituted the first decisive instance—is a vital contribution to the cause of Peace.

The refusal of the Egyptian people to allow themselves to be drawn into a pact of adventure and war is strengthening the confidence of the peoples in themselves and furnishing an invaluable contribution to the maintenance of Peace in the Mediterranean area and throughout the world.

The World Council of Peace calls for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Egypt and the Sudan to enable these countries to dispose freely of their own destiny.

Vienna Session
of the World Council of Peace
November 1st—6th 1951

THE CAMPAIGN FOR A PACT OF PEACE BETWEEN THE FIVE GREAT POWERS IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND IN NORTH AFRICA

It is because the general struggle of the people for Peace corresponds to the immediate and future interests of colonial and dependent peoples that the inhabitants of the countries of the Middle East and of North Africa have taken part on a mass scale in the campaign of the World Council of Peace for the conclusion of a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers.

Four million signatures have been counted in the following countries:

Algeria; Cyprus; Egypt; Iraq; Iran; Lebanon; Morocco; Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; Syria; Transjordan and Tunisia.

(This compares with 1.6 millions for the Stockholm Appeal.)

One of the most important characteristics of the campaign is that in every district where a movement could be organised, it has received the support of people representing various social strata; militant workers; industrialists and big businessmen; peasants and outstanding intellectuals.

Another important characteristic is the numerous times that very eminent leaders of the Mohammedan religion have adopted a favourable attitude as well as the outstanding part played by Arab women in the organisation of the campaign.

It must also be pointed out that in most of these countries, the enemies of Peace have tried by repression to hinder the development of this campaign. Many signature collectors and leaders of the Peace Movement have been victimised.

But the campaign demonstrated so well the people's agreement with the claim for a Pact of Peace that no Government of this region at the recent Assembly of the United Nations rejected the proposal for the conclusion of such a Pact. On the contrary, five countries—among them Egypt and Syria—voted for this proposal and three others abstained (Iran, Iraq and Lebanon).

Furthermore, the campaign has made it possible to point out to the people of this region the fact that the same people who are making preparations for war on their soil refuse, on the international level, to negotiate and co-operate for Peace. It has thus helped the people to see through the falseness of the so-called "defence" plans.

IRAN

Two million signatures have been collected in Iran for the Appeal for the conclusion of a Pact of Peace. This number is four times that obtained at the time of the campaign for the Stockholm Appeal, when the Iran result was considered the best of all the countries of the Middle East and North Africa.

In spite of certain repressive measures, such as law suits, the destruction of the headquarters of the Association of the Defenders of Peace, shootings by the police, and so on, public opinion in Iran for Peace, which includes various religious circles, neutralists and nationalists, is unanimously supporting this campaign.

The Peace Movement in Iran is closely linked with the general struggle of the people for national independence. On the question of petroleum, the Peace Movement has explained that it must be used for peaceful construction and not for war and destruction.

The geographical position of Iran—between the two political blocs which exist in the world—ennables the Movement to point out very clearly the vital necessity for this country of peaceful co-existence.

The organisation of the campaign was the work of a very close network of local committees in districts, in villages, in factories, in schools, etc. Many different ways of collecting have been adopted. Particular success has been achieved during public demonstrations, street meetings, religious festivals, caravans for Peace in the villages, etc.

The campaign has been supported by the important weekly journal, "Maslehat", organ of the Peace Movement, which regularly publishes statements by emminent persons in favour of a Pact of Peace.

By its strength, the campaign of meetings organised by the Peace Movement assumed great political importance in Iran. It developed in Teheran (50,000 people), Babul, Isfahan, Damswande, Shiraz, Hamadan, Kerman, Tabriz, Shabi and Meshed, gathering in everywhere tens of thousands of people. Besides demanding a Pact of Peace, these meetings have expressed the opposition of the people of Iran to all political intentions to use the country for aggressive aims, as well as its solidarity with the struggle of the people of neighbouring countries, especially Egypt.

Below are given the declarations made by two important personalities of Iran on the subject of a Pact of Peace, published by the journal "Maslehat".

His Eminence Seyed Ali Akbar Borgei Ghomi,

(a religious figure):

In all sincerity, I solemnly declare that Peace will be victorious and that the Peace-loving people will thwart the efforts of the warmongers... Joliot-Curie, the great scientist, has pronounced the word "Peace". I say it also because neither do I wish to see this beautiful mosque destroyed, nor do I wish to see the beautiful monuments of his country reduced to ruins and ashes. He does not want our sons to be slaughtered in bombing attacks. I do not wish to see his compatriots killed by the atom bomb. God wishes all his people well, but the Wall Street magnates do not. He wants all people to have enough and not only those who benefit from certain privileges. Express your strongest disapproval of the actions of the warmongers; unmask them! Ask for the assistance of your mothers and your sisters in this task. Peace for all, independence for all, knowledge and education for all, prosperity for every country of the world!

Hasan Sadar,

journalist:

The only way to prevent a new war is for the people to demonstrate their desire for Peace. Today, in the countries of the Middle East, which, because of the colonial system have been the backwaters of civilisation, the people's movements for freedom and independence are on the point of winning the struggle. The people of the Middle East could, in a fraternal alliance with all other peoples, form an invincible alliance to combat the warmongers.

The Iranian Society of Artists has said:

The artist directs and concentrates all his talent and work for the benefit of Society. He will not allow his source of inspiration to be destroyed. We shall spare no effort to unmask the warmongers.

LEBANON

At the beginning of the campaign for signatures for the conclusion of a Pact of Peace, the National Committee of the Partisans of Peace expressed in the following manner the reasons why the people of Lebanon want such a Pact:

"As long as international tension exists, the danger of war will threaten our country. Action for the conclusion of a Pact of Peace represents at the present moment the principal link in the development of the international situation. Action for the conclusion of such a Pact is a decisive factor in ensuring that Peace prevails over war. It is thus also a decisive factor in our national struggle against the surrender of military bases in our country to the imperialists, so that our country should not be subjected to military occupation and to prevent our land being used as a war base and a battlefield.

"The opposite is not the case; our struggle against the warlike schemes directed against our country will not be either sufficient or effective unless it is linked with action for the conclusion of a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers, i. e. action to dispel international tension."

By the 31st January, 1952, 235,000 signatures had been collected.

Many examples demonstrated the peoples profound sympathy with the text of the Appeal. Wherever signatures have been sought (that is where a local Peace Committee is functioning) the results are immediate.

For example, at Beirut, Tripoli, Nabatieh and Zahle, 100 per cent of the adult population in whole districts have signed. At Bent Gebeil, in the South, collectors obtained 2,000 signatures in two hours; the only committee in the district of Achrafie, Beirut, collected 3,000 signatures. The town committees have gone into the villages and obtained signatures from all peasants.

Some very important personalities, among them eminent religious leaders—representing both the Mohammedan and Christian faiths—have signed the Appeal.

His Eminence, Sheik Mohamad Arahi el Azouzi, secretary of the Office of Fetiva (the highest Mohammedan religious tribunal) of the Lebanon Republic, has placed his seal under the text of the Appeal.

His Holiness, the Patriarch of Antioch and of all the Syrian Catholics of the East, Ignatos Ephraim, has also signed the Appeal as well as his Eminence, Bishop Ilyya Kazam, Metropolitan of Beirut and His Eminence, the

Sheikh All Halaoui

of Kaakaigeh (South Lebanon), who has declared:

In the name of the most merciful God, I direct my appeal to the best sons of my nation, so that they will not be tardy in fulfiling their sacred duty to humanity. What is more just and more lawful than the conclusion of this world-wide pact which expresses the feelings of millions of people in the world? They must know that we must make all the people of the land understand that they should seek Peace and bar the way of those who would destroy humanity and throw mankind into a fiery furnace. The Appeal for Peace is just and lawful and God will reward these good deeds.

Sheikh Mohamed Abdel Samad,

leader of the Druse community of Lebanon, has placed his seal under the text of the Appeal and has offered the following prayer:

O God, direct the steps of the Defenders of Peace and reward those who sign their appeals for they serve the right, and help us with them to assure Peace for the whole world.

SYRIA

Since the time when 175,000 signatures were collected for the Stockholm Appeal, 300,000 people in Syria have, by the 31st January 1952, signed the Appeal for the conclusion of a Pact of Peace.

The national Committee of the Defenders of Peace has given the campaign the objective of refusing to allow the country to be turned into a military base and of opposition to the entry of foreign soldiers.

The campaign signifies the refusal to accept any military pact or agreement seeking to drag the country into war and also any plan for its occupation or that of its ports or its aerodromes.

The campaign has the deep sympathy of various sections of the population especially among the peasants and intellectuals. The forms of activity are very varied and have popular support; large demonstrations of thousands of people, like that of the 10th of August at Damascus, street meetings in the crowded streets and markets, canvasses from door to door in the towns, excursions to the villages, collections of signatures during religious celebrations etc ...

In Damascus, the Defenders of Peace circulated in all the districts of the town, getting the workers and traders to sign in the streets. Six hundred university students signed the Appeal.

Zouheir Naddad,

Vice-president of the Rosary Workers Trade Union, has given the following reasons why the workers support the campaign for a Pact of Peace:

> *Peace preserves the independence of our country and ensures our lives and those of our children and the security of our country against destruction. Peace permits the industrial development of our country, ensures jobs for our unemployed; the raising of our wages, the reduction of the price of food, the elimination of the war-profiteers and the propagandists of war and imperialism.*

As in Lebanon, it is the town Peace Committees which have done most of the organisation for the collection of signatures in the countryside. In this way, the villages of Sehnaya, Daraya, Kesoue, Boukein, Zebdani, Ankhal and dozens of others have been visited by groups of Peace Defenders.

In El Machta, in the Anaouites, one of these groups went up into the mountains and waited for the peasants returning from the fields. At Ain Dahab, the Peace Defenders, went into the fields and read aloud to the peasants who gathered together, passages out of the Syrian weekly Peace journal, "Al Salam" ("Peace").

Very often these meetings have resulted in popular demonstrations for Peace.

In Ain-El-Labani, the "Moukhtar" (the oldest inhabitant) said after signing the Appeal:

> *The maize bread which we longed for during the two world wars represents for us an appeal for Peace. The yellow uniform of the hated police who took our young men for the defence of the Dardanelles and the Suez Canal, represent for us the appeal for Peace. I and the people of my village are Defenders of Peace.*

Very often religious festivals have been the occasion of demonstrations for Peace. At the festival of Notre Dame, a pilgrimage which brings together thousands of Syrian and Lebanese orthodox believers at the village of Serdnaya, many Peace Committees organised visits to the convent and the holy places. The journal "Al Salam" was widely sold, the people's poets sang the virtues of Peace and the people's dance, "Dakbe", ended with applause for the World Peace Movement.

Very many Parliamentary Deputies, journalists, professors at the University of Damascus, lawyers and doctors have put their signatures to the text of the Appeal. There were, for example, Maarouf Dawalibi, Speaker of the Parliament; Abdul Wahab Homad, Minister of Education; Sami Tayara, former Minister of Health.

Doctor Abdul Karim El Yafi, Professor of Philosophy at the Faculty of Literature at Damascus University, declared at the time of signing:

> *"I believe that the establishment of Peace in the world will help the Arab peoples to liberate themselves and to take part in the future of human civilisation."*

His Eminence, the Sheikh Abdul Hamid Al Said de Saphita

declared:

> *There exist today different social systems which are opposed to one another. Whoever imposes or tries to impose his system by means of war, will have violated the law and humanity, and it will reveal to us the weakness of his principles.*

His Holiness, Alexander III,

the Patriarch of Antioch and of all the East, said after signing the Appeal for a Pact of Peace:

> *"It is quite natural that all Christian Churches should take part in the struggle for Peace.*
>
> *"In spite of the efforts of those who want war and wish to throw the nations of the world into the horrors of new and terrible battles, the movement for Peace is growing and gaining strength from day to day and there is no doubt that Peace will conquer war."*

The Patriarch represents a spiritual community of 500,000 followers, mostly in Syria and the Lebanon. A large number of followers also live in the U.S.A. He has called upon the churches in two of his dioceses *"to join the fight for Peace and to explain to honest people in America the truth about the Peace Movement"*.

ISRAEL

The Campaign for a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers, which began in August 1951, has been closely associated with the protest against the re-birth of German militarism.

The total number of signatures has now reached

401,697, which is 43 per cent of the adult population of Israel and already surpasses the total for the Stockholm Appeal by nearly 90,000. In Tel Aviv 92,500 signatures have been collected; in Haifa 58,000.

Recently, the Peace Movement has taken the lead in strong action against the negotiations between the Israel Government and the Bonn Government. One of these activities was a public meeting of protest organised in association with the Committee of Writers and the Association of Poets and Artists.

Immediately after the inauguration of the campaign in August, the local Peace Committees were reorganised and 56 new bodies affiliated to the National Peace Committee were set up. A certain number of organisations, the Arab Trade Union Congress amongst others, made known their collective support for mass action. Very large assemblies were held in Haifa, Tel-Aviv and in other towns and communities. Educational and propaganda material was published in several languages and the Appeal itself in seven languages so that it might be available for all the new immigrants.

Some of the collectives (kibbutzim) have signed one hundred per cent and have lead an intensive educational campaign in the villages and settlements in their respective districts. Several are competing with the aim of collecting the highest number of signatures. "Gan Shmuel", "Mechavia" and "Ga'ash" are the most outstanding.

Towards the end of last year, an educational campaign was conducted among the youth and the members of the Israeli armed forces. It took the form of public meetings and activities to increase the collection of signatures to the Appeal. In a special plea addressed to the officers and soldiers of the army, the National Peace Committee asked them to sign the Appeal for the Pact of Peace en masse. It is estimated that 6,700 soldiers and police have signed the Appeal to date. 70 % of the Arab community in Nazareth have signed.

This campaign has much more of a mass character than that for the Stockholm Appeal. For example, 90 % of the metal workers of Tel-Aviv, the biggest town in Israel, have given their support. Besides this an impressive number of well-known personalities have also declared their support for it—Abraham Shlonsky, one of the most outstanding contemporary poets in the Hebrew language, amongst them.

The campaign is being continued and all the Peace Defenders have intensified their efforts on the occasion of the National Peace Conference which was held on March 7th.

EGYPT

The campaign in support of the Pact of Peace has met with a very favourable response in Egypt. More than 100,000 signatures have been collected for this Appeal—almost seven times the number collected in support of the Stockholm Appeal.

Many eminent people have signed the Appeal and the many statements which have been made show how well the campaign represents the interests of the whole population. Among the political leaders who have signed the Appeal are:

Mahmoud Hemaoui,

Secretary of the Egyptian Nationalist Party, who stated:

> *I signed the Appeal for a Pact of Peace because I am a human being with compassion for humanity and civilisation and afraid lest they may be destroyed. I have signed it because I am a Mohammedan and my first precept is that men are brothers and that aggression is a sin. The only fight allowed is that in defence of my beliefs, my liberty, myself and my country. I have signed the Appeal also because I am an Egyptian whose country has been the victim of bitter humiliations and imperialist aggression.*

Azzam Pasha,

General Secretary of the Arab League, in an interview reported in "Defence of Peace", said on the subject of the Appeal for a Pact of Peace:

> *I am in favour of all who can strengthen Peace, avoid war and bring about the co-operation of the Great Powers. It follows that if this proposal springs from a real desire to save Peace, I am in favour of it.*

And

Ahmed Hussein,

President of the Socialist Party:

> *I have signed the Appeal as a Mohammedan, because the name Islam is derived from Peace, and that is why Mohammedans greet each other with the words "Salam Alekom" ("Peace be with you"). As an Egyptian my patriotism makes it necessary for me to encourage all pacts which speak out against war and demand a peaceful settlement.*

Deputies of the Egyptian Parliament have made similar statements, eg. Mohamed Abazar Bey, a big land-owner, former Under-Secretary of State; Ibrahim Sabrik Bey; Fikry Abaza Pasha of the Nationalist Party; Hefni Mahmoud Pasha, former Minister and

Ibrahim Rechad Pasha,

former Minister for Public Health and President of the Association of Journalists, who declared:

> *Peace is our dearest wish, the happiness of mankind our aim, and co-operation our method.*

Mohammedan religious figures:

His Eminence Sheik Amin El Abguigui.

> *"I signed the Appeal for a Pact of Peace because Islam means Peace... and Peace is synonymous with God."*

Representatives of workers and numerous trade unionists:

Mahmoud Al Said Ferghet,

General Secretary of the Transport Workers Union, who said:

> *"What is war? Human slaughter in which we, the people, become the instrument of the greed and ambition of the capitalist exploiters whose only thought is the opening up of new markets.*
>
> *"We workers vow never to take up arms for the Anglo-American imperialists. We believe in Peace and not through faintheartedness or meekness. The Appeal for Peace is an appeal against the imperialist exploiters, against war, against the warmongers and the enemies of freedom."*

The Peace Movement has spread among the students and the professors; writers, men of letters, and intellectuals have declared their enthusiastic support for the Appeal.

Abdul Rahman El Khumessi,

man of letters, has stated:

> *I do not want during the whole of my life to see only the dead, corpses, groups of wounded, distressed and needy orphans and people. I do not want to see buildings reduced to ruins and the homes of peaceful people brought down on the bodies of their inhabitants. I do not want misery and suffering to take the place of daily work and happiness. I want resources to be used to improve life instead of dragging thousands of young people into an infernal war in which they lose their lives and shed their blood. As an Egyptian subject, loyal to his country, I declare that I am against war and it is for this reason that I have signed the Appeal for a Pact of Peace.*

Fikri Agha,

lawyer and General Secretary of the Cairo Bar Association:

> *I have signed the Berlin Appeal because I am a Peace Defender and because I am against the fact that, under the pretext of war or the danger of war, the British occupy our country and because I want a peaceful life for my children and my country and because I am against death, destruction and misery wrought only in the interests of the enemies of our country.*

The campaign has been successful among women.

Mme Cesa Nabaraoui,

President of the Egyptian Women's Institute and of the Women's Peoples Resistance Committee:

> *"As an Egyptian woman and mother, I cannot prevent myself from hating war and loving Peace. A new war means the slaughter of millions of innocent people.*
>
> *"We mothers who give life will never consent, after we have brought up our sons with great material and moral sacrifices, to give them up to perish in snares set by imperialist Governments.*
>
> *"We Egyptian mothers, whose country is at the crossroads of international lines of communication, consider Peace a vital necessity."*

Mme Enja Rushdi,

President of the Housewives Association, declared when she signed the Appeal for a Pact of Peace:

> *Housewives struggle against the high cost of living caused by war and for that reason I sign this appeal.*

The weekly journal of the Egyptian Defenders of Peace, "Al Kateb" has played a great part in popularising the campaign which has played a part in influencing the Egyptian delegation at the United Nations, who, at the time of the vote on January 19th, at the Sixth Session of the General Assembly, pronounced in favour of a Pact of Peace being concluded.

TUNISIA

In the final resolution, *"The Struggle For Peace Is A National Duty"*, in this year's National Peace Conference in Tunisia, it is clearly stated that it is in the national interests of the Tunisian people to take part in the world-wide struggle against war. *"It would be a catastrophe for Tunisia"*, states the resolution, and adds:

> *One of the aims of a third world war . . . would be to maintain and spread the colonial system.*

Realising this, the Tunisian people, while resisting the further encroachments of this system on their own lives and on their own soil, are participating in that other and greater struggle—the fight to bring about a Five Power Pact of Peace.

Already, some 130,000 Tunisians have signed the Berlin Appeal—a greater number than signed the Stockholm Appeal for outlawing the atom-bomb. Early on, the initiative was taken by the men of the phosphate, iron ore and lead mines. Within a fortnight, for instance, the miners of Radeyef collected 13,000 signatures, a figure which they quickly increased to 27,000. How these particular results were achieved has been told by one of the collectors:

> *We first of all got nearly everybody in Redeyef to sign—the mineworkers and, one by one, the other inhabitants. Then we tackled the people who come to Redeyef on market days from villages such as Tamerza and Ptitna. Mohamed ben Diaf, for example, collected 8,900 signatures and a student, Ali ben Aid, 7,000.*

Soon, through door-to-door canvassing, visiting cafes and market places, almost the whole adult populations of some of the villages were signing the Appeal, and not only those in the mining country but also in the mainly agricultural districts.

ALGERIA

More than 200,000 signatures have to date been collected in Algeria for the Appeal for the conclusion of a Pact of Peace. The signatures come from all sections of the population. The trade unions of Oran have announced that in many factories in the district the workers have signed unanimously. In the Ain-Temushent district 10,000 signatures were collected among the agricultural workers while they were on strike for a rise in wages.

From November 17th—24th, a "Peace Week" was organised in Algeria with the aim of stepping up the collection of signatures at the same time as the regional Conference was in preparation. In the town of Oran, for example, 10,535 signatures were collected in the course of this week.

In Algiers, a meeting of 400 Mohammedan and European women which took place at the end of November demonstrated the important part played by the women in the campaign for signatures.

MOROCCO, TRANSJORDAN, IRAQ

The Peace Movements in these countries work under very difficult conditions due to the increasing repressive measures taken against the patriots and all Peace workers.

More than 10,000 signatures in support of the Pact of Peace have been collected in Morocco where a state of siege exists, and many local committees have been set up in the main towns—in Ujda, Meknes, Marrakesh and Casablanca, for example—in preparation for the Conference of the Peoples of the Middle East and North Africa.

Many delegates have been elected at small meetings held in working class districts and in the villages. The Moroccan people have shown their ardent desire for Peace in the demonstrations during February in the course of which the police opened fire on the demonstrators.

In Transjordan, more than 30,000 signatures have been collected in support of the Appeal for a Pact of Peace.

Recently, a declaration addressed to the people of Jordan and signed by many political and religious figures was received with great sympathy by the people. In particular, this declaration called for:

"The defence of World Peace and opposition to the war plans in order to protect our country from ruin, our people from the destruction of their homes and our children from death.

"We know that the establishment of Peace would assist the struggle of our people for national independence and democracy."

In Iraq the campaign for the appeal for a Pact of Peace has been launched and led by Maître Abdel Wahab Mahmoud, former Minister and President of the Law Society of Baghdad; by the great religious leader, Sheik Abdul Karim Al Mashita, and by the poet, Mohamed Mahdi Al Jawahari, a member of the World Council of Peace.

20,000 signatures have so far been collected.

Among the signatories of the Appeal figure many political personalities such as Me Kamel Chadertchi, former Minister, President of the National Democratic Party and editor of the liberal newspaper "Sada-El-Ehali"; religious leaders such as Al Haj Abdul Latif Al Khalissi and many journalists and trade unionists.

The following message was addressed to the people of Iraq asking them to sign the World Council's Appeal:

"War hysteria increases every day in the imperialist camp and threatens Peace, the security of the people and human civilisation. In view of the dangers of war and the results which it would have on the people of the whole world and on the people of Iraq if it took place—devastation, famine, privation and the destruction of homes—we are firmly confident that the people can impose their will and win the struggle for Peace.

"The people can ensure Peace if they are united and if they continue the struggle to defend Peace and to remove the dangers of war. They will ensure it if they can impose on the Five Great Powers —the USA, the USSR, the People's Republic of China, Great Britain and France—a Pact of Peace and demand the peaceful solution of all international disputes and especially the Korean question."

His Eminence, Hibat El-Dine El Chehristani, one of the most distinguished religious figures of the Mohammedan world and of Iraq, recently stated in a letter to M. Joliot-Curie:

Just as last year when I made an appeal in support of the Stockholm campaign, so today, I think in these critical times when the danger of a horrible war threatens, that I cannot but repeat that appeal for World Peace so as to help in saving the world from war destruction. For it is our duty to the humane doctrine of Islam which demands that all people should live in Peace.

THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICAN PEACE CONFERENCE

The important results obtained in the campaign in support of a Pact of Peace Between the Five Great Powers, open to all states, demonstrates that the question of Peace, closely linked to the question of national independence, increasingly dominates the political life of the peoples of the Middle East and of North Africa.

The unprecedented scope and breadth of the national liberation movement in these countries forms one of the essential characteristics of the present period.

The World Council of Peace, at the session held in Vienna in November, stated that:

> *"The threat to Peace in the Middle East and in North Africa has become gravely aggravated by the fact that increasing military and political pressure is being brought to bear on the countries of this area. But from Iran to Morocco this policy is meeting popular resistance, for it runs counter to the people's desire to achieve economic and national independence and to safeguard Peace."*

Thus the conception of a Conference of the People of the Middle East and of North Africa corresponds to the desire of the peoples of this region for the establishment of Peace, which would free them from the menace of a catastrophe in which all their hopes and all their national heritage would risk destruction.

It is for this reason that when, in May 1951, a meeting of representatives from many countries of the Middle East and North Africa was held in Damascus in Syria, it was decided to launch an appeal for the holding of a large-scale conference at which all the people of this area would be represented.

Among the first signatories of this Appeal were Dr. Maarouf Dawalibi, Speaker in the Syrian Chamber of Deputies; Dr. Selim Idriss, General Secretary of the Permanent Office for Palestinian Affairs; Maître Habib Roubeiz, Secretary of the Lebanese National Congress; Dr. Ahmed Houssen, President of the Egyptian Socialist Party; Kamel Bindari Pasha, former Egyptian ambassador; Dr. Abdul Majid Abou Hajaleh, former Transjordan deputy; Dr. Ben Sliman and the Sheikh Mohamed Cherchou of Tunisia; and Jicohak Grinbaum, former Minister in the Israel Government.

To these names must be added those of other countries in the vast area which stretches from Teheran to Marrakesh.

In accordance with the suggestions made by the World Council of Peace at its session in Berlin in February, 1951, the Bureau of the World Council of Peace which met in Helsinki on 20th—23rd July welcomed the proposal of such a conference and called on the National Peace Movements in these countries as well as the members of the World Council resident in these countries to take an active part in the preparation of this Conference. (See the appended text 2.)

On the 8th, 9th, and 10th of September, 1951, representatives of 10 countries of this region met at Rome and launched an Appeal to the Peoples of the Middle East and North Africa proposing the following agenda for the Conference:

1.—The Attitude of the Peoples of the Middle East and North Africa to the Increasing Threat of a New World War.

The national struggle of these peoples and the general Peace struggle.

The attitude of these peoples to international tension and the danger of the extension of current conflicts.

2.—Importance and development of the participation of the peoples of the Middle East and North Africa in the general and concerted action of the peoples to impose Peace.

It is on the basis of this agenda and other similar appeals that this Conference will be held in the near future in one of the countries of the Middle East and will bring together delegates elected at big national meetings held in preparation of this Conference.

As shown by these declarations and the position taken in support of this great demonstration of the peoples of the Middle East and of North Africa by people from all social levels in these countries, the idea of holding this Conference has met with a great response from Marrakesh to Teheran and this is a guarantee of its success.

THE APPEAL FOR A CONFERENCE OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

issued from Damascus, May 3rd, 1951

"The peoples of the countries stretching from Morocco to Iran who have been living for many years in very bad political, economic and social conditions due to the fact that imperialism prevailed in this area (conditions which have worsened in recent years due to the present international tension, the increased danger of a new world war, and the continual efforts of the imperialists to transform these countries into the military bases and the battlefields of a terrible and devastating war) have long hoped and striven for a free and happy life and attached great hopes to the United Nations, which they thought would help them achieve their aims. But none of these hopes have been realised—a fact which forces these people to rely increasingly on themselves.

"Our peoples find themselves in like conditions, on the one hand the dangers of war and imperialist domination, and on the other, the hope of independence and a free and happy life and the struggle to this end.

"It is for this reason that the solidarity which exists between them for the unification of their efforts and forces, constitutes an essential factor at this serious and decisive point in their history. The peoples who struggle for Peace and National independence are also an essential factor, for our future is bound to theirs.

"We, the signatories of this appeal, who belong to various nationalities of this region and holding differing political and religious beliefs, call for a large regional conference at which our people will be represented, and the objective of which will be the unification of efforts and forces for the shaping of a common path to save the people from the hardships of war and to lead them to national sovereignty."

TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE ROME MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

on 12th September 1951

Following the Appeal made on May 2nd in Damascus for the holding of a Conference of the peoples of the Middle East and North Africa, representatives of these various countries met in Rome on the 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th of September, 1951. After much discussion, they reached certain conclusions and proposals were adopted unanimously.

The danger of a new world war is becoming more serious.

The stepping up of war preparations is, against our will, transforming our countries into bases for aggression, into areas of intrigue, provocation and plunder and reserves of manpower. Our soil stands the risk of becoming a theatre of destruction and slaughter.

Our peoples justly hope for a free independant life. The war which is in preparation seeks to maintain and extend the system of political, economic and cultural oppression which has long existed.

Even now for our countries, war preparations show themselves in the form of a strengthening of national oppression and by the stifling of liberties already won.

The present wars, especially in Korea and Viet-Nam, are wars of colonial conquest as well as preparation of bases for a new world conflict.

In struggling for their freedom and national independance (the struggle for the nationalisation of petroleum in Iran, for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egypt and the Sudan, for the ending of the colonial system in North Africa, etc. . . .) our peoples make a growing contribution to the averting of war. But only widespread and united action of all peoples is capable of averting war.

This action, already taken by hundreds of thousands of people, can impose Peace and render impotent those who want war—a Peace which for this very reason will shake the forces of oppression and make it easier for our people to achieve a real national independence through ways and means of their own choice.

Our peoples have, therefore, a vital national interest in resolutely opposing all war undertakings. Their large-scale participation in the general fight being waged by the peoples to impose Peace is an action which is decisive for their future.

To this end, the following agenda is proposed for the Conference.

1.—The people of the Middle East and of North Africa and the increased threat of a new world war,
—the national cause of these peoples and the general struggle for Peace,
—the attitude of these peoples to the international tension and the risks of the spread of present conflicts.

2.—The importance and development of the participation of the peoples of the Middle East and North Africa in the general and united action of the peoples to impose Peace . . .

IRAN

In September 1950, a "National Committee" for the preparation of the Middle East Peace Conference was set up in Teheran.

It consists of many individuals and leaders of popular organisations, amongst whom are:

Ali Oweissi, lawyer and land-owner; Hassan Sadre, noted lawyer and journalist who was the special Government envoy to the Hague Tribunal on the petroleum question; Bani Adam, High Court Counsellor; Farmanfarmaian, former Minister of Works; Chahverdi, President of the Association of Judges; Kouhgueli, trade union worker; Zarifi, General Secretary of the Union of Students; Falssafi, great religious leader; Atachteh, poet; Samin Bagrchehan, composer, etc.

The preparatory committee adopted a resolution which said:

— The Peace struggle is the people's most vital social struggle;

— The principle of co-existence of the two economic systems is possible and necessary for the maintenance of World Peace;

— Iran, like the other Middle East countries, must stand aloof from the intrigues of the warmongers and fight with all its strength against the setting up of military bases on its soil;

— Iran's petrol must be used for constructive ends, for Peace and not for machines of destruction, for war.

Among the important stands taken in support of the Regional Conference, was that of S. E. Ayatollah Kachani, considered in the East to be one of the best-known and most eminent leaders of the Chiites. (Among Mohammedans, the Chiites bear the same relationship to Islam as, in Christian countries, Protestants bear to Catholics.) He said:

> *I sincerely hope that this Conference will be held as soon as possible. For my part I shall contribute to it.*

Important mass meetings, consisting of tens of thousands of people have been held, particularly in Teheran, to demonstrate the people's support for the idea of the Conference. At one of these, held in the capital on February 8th. 1952, a resolution was adopted stressing that the fight of the Iranian people for the nationalisation of the petroleum industry and for the expulsion of the Western imperialists, formed part of the struggle for World Peace. It condemned the attempts of the United States *"to convert our country into a military base"*, demanded the expulsion of the U.S. "advisers" and the immediate withdrawal of British and French troops from Egypt and Tunisia. It also stressed *"that the peoples of the Middle East will not allow their countries to be dragged into warlike military alliances"*.

LEBANON

The idea of holding a regional Conference has aroused very great interest in Lebanon. Workers, peasants, students and many political and religious figures have announced their support, organised activities and elected delegates.

The National Committee of the Defenders of Peace called for the preparation of this Conference in an appeal in which the reasons why the Lebanese people should take part were as follows:

> *In accordance with Point Four of the Truman programme approved by the Lebanese Government and by the Chamber of Deputies, the warmongers will use the country's economy for their own economic and military ends; they will build bases, aerodromes, roads and strategic positions at the expense of the people, at the price of its blood and of the sweat of its brow; they will impose a still heavier burden than at present; they will plunge it into bankruptcy after their foreign companies and banks have sucked its blood, when their products have flooded its markets, killed its industries and spread misery, unemployment, want, hunger and high cost of living over the whole country.*

All over Lebanon, in the towns and villages, hundreds of meetings are being held at which the aims of the Conference are explained, delegates elected and funds collected to cover the travelling expenses of the delegates.

The Lebanese Press has given this preparatory campaign a good reception and every day publishes information about it.

Regional preparatory committees have been set up at Beirut and Sour; local committees have been established in several villages near Mt. Lebanon, in the districts of Rasheiya, Bekas and Baalbeack.

The regional committee in Tripoli published a manifesto which stated:

> *The Arab peoples, especially the people of Egypt, are the object of combined pressure on the part of the Powers, the U.S., Great Britain and France, to get them to carry out the plan of "common defence" for which Point Four prepared the ground.*

The manifesto also stresses that this plan increases international tension, threatens World Peace and conflicts with the national aspirations of the peoples of the Arab countries.

The manifesto issued by the regional preparatory committee at Nabatieh sees in the conclusion of a Pact of Peace between the Big Five the guarantee against all imperialist plans such as the plan for "common defence".

In January 1952, representatives of 2,600 workers met at Beirut and of 2,000 others at Tripoli, declared in favour of the Conference.

A preparatory trade union committee set up at Beirut by 10 trade unions has circulated an appeal to all Lebanese workers in which it asks them to support the Conference and to take part in it so as *"to check the imperialist plans for 'common defence' and to remove the danger of war; these two things being responsible for the increase in unemployment, rise in prices and the restriction of trade union rights."*

The appeal also calls on all Lebanese workers *"to assist the Egyptian, Iranian and Tunisian peoples in their fight against the U.S., British and French imperialists and to set up a united front with all sincere patriots to strengthen Peace against the so-called 'common defence' plan and Point Four, by the conclusion of a Pact of Peace Between the Five Great Powers."*

Regional peasant conferences have also been held. A *"Preparatory Committee of Lebanese Students"* has been set up and has issued an appeal to all students in Lebanon to support and take part in the Conference.

> *We call on all students to hasten the preparations for the Peoples Conference, to elect their delegates and to demand that the Government rejects the plan for "common defence" in any form and uphold World Peace and the decisions of the World Council of Peace.*

A preparatory women's committee has also been established.

A *"National Conference To Fight Against Foreign Military Occupation"* was held at Beirut on October 30th, 1951. In its resolution, it opposed the plan for a Middle East Pact between the Four Powers and pledged itself to make contact with the other Arab peoples and Governments in order to strengthen their fight against the danger of a new war.

Antonino Pietro Arida, Patriarch of the Maronite Church (which has the largest following among the Lebanese faithful), has asked the Lebanese President to reject the proposals of the Western Powers for a Middle East Command and to make a declaration of neutrality.

As has happened in Syria, very strong demonstrations against the plans for "common defence" took place on November 14th in the main towns of Lebanon, when the workers staged a one-day strike. Tens of thousands of people demonstrated in Beirut; Tripoli; Baalkak, Saida, Sour, Zahle, Nabatieh, etc.

Many distinguished people have made declarations in favour of holding the Regional Peace Conference.

Dr. Youssef Mazhar,

Vice-President of the National Lebanese Congress (an organisation which comprises all political parties in Lebanon) has stated:

> *We have been called on to hold a Congress of the Middle East and North Africa in order to unite the efforts of the people against the plan for "common defence". It is natural that these peoples should be against this plan which constitutes a renewed occupation. We have got rid of one imperialism and they wish to impose four.*

The following is an extract from a statement made by

Dr. Georges Hanna.

> *Today more than ever before the Arab peoples and all the people of the Middle East experience all the dangers which threaten them because of the worsening of the present international situation and the attempts of imperialism to extend its domination over them and to drag them into a catastrophe which it is planning and for which it makes lying and poisonous propaganda.*
>
> *Today, more than ever before, it is the duty of these people to raise their voices against imperialism; not to accept the agreements, decisions and treaties which the latter has concluded with those who preside over the fate of these countries, under the false names of "defence" against a fictitious danger, or the desire to come "to the aid" of the economically backward countries and other political misrepresentations.*

Both Dr. Salim Idris, President of the National Lebanese Congress, and the President of the Mohammedan Women's Association have approved the idea that this Conference be held.

Sheik Kamal El Din el Mougrabi,

has stated:

> *I have freely and gladly signed the Appeal for the Middle East Conference. I support this appeal and I shall always uphold every action such as this Conference, which has as its aim the establishment of Peace. Peace is our object and our desire because it puts an end to the dangers of war and the shedding of blood.*

SYRIA

A national preparatory committee has been set up in Syria. It has received the immediate approval of many people and the support of the widest sections of the population.

A National Students' conference and regional peasants' conferences have taken place, calling on support for the Conference and electing the first delegates.

Among the more important statements made was that of

Dr. Maarouf A-Dawalibi,

Speaker of the Syrian Parliament. He said:

> *Any group, whatever its character locally or nationally, unwilling to submit to law and justice and wishing to resolve problems by force, threatens Peace. We believe that the actions of the United*

Nations with regard to this region of the East and especially with regard to Palestine, constitute a strange event in the history of humanity. It is for this reason that the peoples of these regions are of necessity uniting and co-operating among themselves to cancel this injustice and these utterances in other countries.

And here is the statement of

Bajhat Chihahi,

former Prefect of Damascus and President of the Law Association.

The concrete indication of the imperialists' intentions in this part of the world is the plan of "common defence" put forward by the U.S., Britain, France and Turkey. This plan has finally unmasked the imperialists and clearly exposed their intentions—the occupation of our country, the use of its resources and products in the interests of the West in another war and the offering of our youth and wealth as victims in the interests of these greedy and egoistic men.

There can be no doubt that the four Governments which have put forward this plan have not given it the name it deserves. It is not a plan of defence as it pretends to be because we are not convinced by their allegations of the danger for which, they claim, their adversary is responsible, and it is not a common plan for we know that they have as their aim the enslaving of our country and the sacrificing of our sons to their ambitions and greed.

It is clear that "common defence" with these four Governments, with the U.S. at their head, will yield the same results as those of which we see some aspects in Egypt, and which we shall feel on a larger scale if the plan for "common defence" were to succeed. The misery will be four times greater, considering the number of Governments which have proposed the plan.

Undoubtedly, since we do not want to remain with our hands tied before the warmongers and their imperialist plans, we greet every movement which aims at the solidarity of the people for the establishment of Peace and to the uniting of their efforts for national liberation and the realisation of democratic principles. It is for this reason that I consider it essential to hold in the very near future the Middle East and North African Congress, because firm relations exist between the peoples of these countries and also a similarity in the problems which face them. I think that the holding of this Congress will constitute an important factor in the world struggle for Peace especially now that the warmongers have directed their efforts towards this part of the world.

The population of Syria has expressed many times its opposition to the plan for "common defence". The trade unions of woodworkers, printing workers, hotel and restaurant employees, engineers and teachers have denounced it, and on the 14th November, in all the big towns of Syria strong popular demonstrations took place on this same subject. One hundred thousand people in Damascus, tens of thousands in Aleppo, Homs, Hama, Deir-Ez-Zor, Tartous, Sable and Kamechli, etc.

At Damascus, the Syrian University with its rector, dean, professors and students took part officially in the demonstration during which the Speaker of the Parliament, Maarouf Dawalibi, spoke.

It should be noted also that thousands of peasants came in from the country to join the town workers in these demonstrations.

IRAQ

In Iraq a group consisting of eminent political figures, trade unionists and journalists have launched an appeal which has been widely published by the Baghdad Press.

Amongst other things, this Appeal says:

The imperialist policy of Great Britain, the U.S. and France, and also of Turkey, has as its aim the turning of our countries into bases for aggression and battlefields, in the name of the 'common defence of the Middle East' or some such phrase. It is obvious that this threatens our country with very great dangers, imperils our existence and makes cannon fodder of our sons. It is for this reason that it is essential that all citizens declare their disapproval of the policy of the imperialists and work to realise the following national objectives:—

(1) Abolition of the Anglo-Iranian Treaty of 1950;

(2) Complete evacuation of foreign troops at the moment in the country;

(3) Refusal to support the plan for the common defence of the Middle East and all other imperialist plans;

(4) War propaganda to be made illegal and liberty granted to all nationalist organisations to carry on their activities for Peace and complete independence.

We call upon all citizens to sign the Appeal and work for these demands.

Among the signatories were: Mohamed Saleh Bahr-Oul-Ouloum; Taleb Jamil, lawyer; Nouri Roufaim, engineer; Youssef Al-Ani, lawyer; Kasseb As-Saad, lawyer; Adnan El-Mohamed, landowner; Abdel Kahman As Saffar, lawyer; Edel Al-Yasiri, lawyer.

ISRAEL

Israel offers an example of a country where the allocation of raw materials for the production of arms and war stocks is causing the factories producing for civilian needs to close down and is creating an extremely dangerous situation on the consumer goods market.

It is in this setting that the preparations in Israel for participation in the Middle East and North African Peace Conference are being made.

Resistance to the efforts to drag Israel into war has become very active since June. The National Peace Committee launched an appeal to the whole nation demanding that not a single Israeli soldier be allowed to go to Korea, immediately after General Ridgway's request that the Government of Israel put troops at his disposal. The same week, the

dockers at Tel-Aviv stopped work, refusing to load fruit-juice and medical supplies being sent to the U.S. and South Korean troops.

During December and January, the proceedings and resolutions of the Rome meeting were published and brought to the notice of the whole country. The members of the Israeli delegation gave their impressions and a detailed account during a plenary session of the National Peace Committee and at a series of public meetings. Many newspapers published articles on the Rome meeting and on interviews with the Israeli delegation.

The Committee of the Defenders of Peace in Israel has affirmed that it attaches particular importance to the coming Conference, because it will advance the cause of the Peace Movement, it will be a weapon against the Middle East Command envisaged by the "Atlantic" Powers and will act as a stimulus for the liberation of the people of this region.

EGYPT

Political figures, belonging to widely differing national parties, who support the convocation of a Middle East and North African Peace Conference, have made statements some of the most important of which are given below:

Nour El Din Ali Tarraf,

Deputy of the Nationalist Party:

> *The idea of holding a Congress which brings together the peoples of the Middle East and North Africa is full of wisdom and justice. This Congress will pose these peoples' problems and their desire to live free from the demands of the imperialists. The invitation should be gladly welcomed by all patriots true to the struggle of the Middle East and North African peoples.*

Abdel Fattah el Shalakhani,

President of the Bar Association and member of the Senate, said before his death recently:

> *I welcome all assemblies of these peoples and of all with whom we are united by the fight against a common enemy.*

Salah Harb Pasha,

Egyptian Mohammedan Youth leader:

> *The idea of holding this Conference is a masterly one and a blow against imperialism. The British, American and French imperialists are united and it is essential that the people unite to free themselves.*

Makram Ebeib Pasha,

President of the "El Kotla" Party, thinks that this Congress will afford an opportunity to demonstrate the opposition to the *"system of Middle East defence"* which, in his opinion, means *"enslavement and permanent occupation."*

Aziz Fahmy, Wafdist Party Deputy, has given his unreserved support as has Ibrahim Shoukri, Socialist Deputy and Kamel el Shenaoui Pasha, Foreign Editor of the newspaper *"Al Ahram"*.

The following people have also stated their approval of the Conference:

Edgard Gallad,

proprietor of the weekly paper "El Zaman" and of "Egyptian News"; and

Sayed Kobt,

journalist, who said:

> *I am in complete agreement with such a plan to unite the strength of the Middle East against imperialism which is represented, not only by Western imperialism but also by its agents in our own countries.*

The editor of the review, "Al Kateb", asked the opinion of certain people regarding the convocation of the Middle East and North African Peace Conference.

Ahmed Abdul Fattah,

Editor of "Al Misri", the largest newspaper in Egypt, replied:

> *I agree with this Appeal and I am prepared to do all I can to ensure that it takes place and to work for its success.*

Salama Moussa,

writer, in response to the same question, said:

> *The imperialist states try to convince us that we need their protection. But we are capable of protecting ourselves. In fact, we are not afraid of imperialism and we know which imperialist state is afraid of us.*

The idea of this Conference has met with a very favourable response among Egyptian wives and mothers and especially among many leaders of women's movements. For example:

Mme Doria Chatik,

President of the women's movement "Bent El Nil" ("Daughters of the Nile"); and Mme Haywa Idris, member of the Women's Union, who said:

> *The most important question is that of the unity between the peoples of the Middle East and to emphasise the point that we must unite to avoid disaster.*

TUNISIA

Last June, an appeal was launched in Tunisia in support of the proposed Peace Conference of the countries of the Middle East and North Africa.

Many eminent figures associated themselves with this Appeal, in particular, Dr. Ben Sliman; Sheik Ben Lamine; Maître Fathie Soukir; Mohamed Djerad; Sheik Mohamed Cherchour; Professor Abdesselem Knani; Mohamed el Horchani and many other lawyers, professors, workers and agriculturists.

The National Committee which was formed took the initiative in the preparatory campaign over the whole country and called a National Conference.

In districts of Tunis and Ferryville, meetings were held and popular assemblies took place in the villages. Everywhere delegates to the National Conference were elected and funds were collected to pay their travelling expenses.

In spite of the fact that the French authorities forbade it, the Conference was held on the 13th January 1952 in Tunis, and it was a great success. Three hundred delegates took part, representing all districts and all important centres of Tunisia, such as Tunis and its outskirts; Sousse and several centres of Sahel; the mines in the South; Dherid; Ferryville; Mateur; Beja; Souk-el-Arba; El Alia; Touireuf; El Batan; Soliman; Kairouan; El Djem, etc.

The delegates represented all sections of society and the main political opinions; people with no political, party affiliations; members of both the new and the old Destourian parties and Communists. A quarter of the Conference delegates were women. After electing the delegates who will represent Tunisia at the regional Conference, the National Conference adopted the following resolution:

THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE IS A NATIONAL DUTY

The Tunisian people, whose fundamental desire is to win their independence alongside all other peoples, have a national interest in participating in the struggle to avert war.

It is in their immediate interests, because the Tunisian people are already feeling the consequences of war preparations—the intensification of colonial oppression; the increase in poverty and the strengthening of foreign military occupation.

It is in their future interests, because a third world war would be a catastrophe for Tunisia. Furthermore one of the aims of this third world war prepared by the forces of oppression, would be to maintain and spread the colonial system.

In contrast, the victory of the Peace forces... could only help the people of Tunisia to effectively achieve their independence.

Indeed, continues the resolution, *in struggling for their freedom and independence and for an end to colonialism our people are making a growing contribution to the universal struggle of the peoples for Peace...*

Colonialism in itself is a cause of conflict and war and it is under cover of the colonial regime that the advocates of war can carry out their war preparations on numerous points of the globe. That is why the resolution approves the World Council's recent Appeal to the United Nations in which it declares: *"The maintenance of Peace in the Middle East and in North Africa cannot be assured in a satisfactory way by the continuation of arrangements and situations contrary to the peoples' right to self-determination."*

The Conference declares its support for the Tunisian people having recourse to the United Nations, a step which contributes to the struggle for Peace.

The resolution forcefully points out that: "Alongside the struggle they are waging for independence, the mass participation of the Tunisian people in the general struggle of all other peoples to avert war, is a national and vital necessity and it is activity which will be decisive for their future."

Therefore the Conference calls upon the Tunisian people to strengthen this participation and to tighten their bonds with the world movement for Peace. It calls upon patriots, democrats and defenders of Peace of all political opinions, to form all over the country broad committees to:

act firmly against war preparations on our own soil;

firmly oppose any integration of our country into military pacts;

intensify the signature campaign for a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers, open to all States;

demand an end to the wars in Viet-Nam and Korea and the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egypt and the Sudan;

finally, to give wide publicity in broad meetings to the Middle East and North African Peace Conference.

ALGERIA

After the Appeal was made in Rome for the holding of a Middle East and North African Peace Conference, an initiating committee was set up in Algeria. It is composed of individuals and representatives of groups who, in the words of one of its statements, *"are firmly resolved not to let the forces of war use their country and their people in an undertaking which has nothing in common with the interests of Algeria."*

The initiating committee also defined its position in an Appeal where it *"greets all those who have taken the important step of co-ordinating the efforts of the countries of this region for the purpose of joining the struggle for Peace which will shake the foundations of the colonial systems and thus facilitate the march of the peoples to freedom."*

At the same time, the Committee called upon *"all patriots, all Algerian democrats and all national organisations to energetically participate in preparing the Conference."*

In the course of an important series of meetings, the Committee made known the aims of the Conference over the whole of Algeria. Later at Constantine, Bone, Oran, and Sidi Bel Abes, Philippeville, Perregaux, Blida, etc., regional, initiating committees were set up.

Many popular discussion-meetings took place in the douars (tented villages), in factories, in the villages and in districts of the towns, in every house or block of houses and among the dockers at the ports. A remarkable feature of these meetings was the large-scale participation of Mohammedan women. During these meetings delegates were elected who later took part in people's conferences organised in each main centre. In December and January, conferences of this kind were held at Bone, Algiers, Constantine and Oran. At these meetings, delegates were elected to represent the Algerian people at the Conference.

A resolution was adopted at the Conference in the Algiers district which:

Draws the attention of the United Nations, in particular, to the great deception of the people and to its obliviousness of all the promises given in the Atlantic Charter.

During this campaign, cultural and religious personalities and political leaders of all complexions have made statements supporting the idea of the Middle East and North African Conference.

Ahmed Taoufik El Mandan,

Secretary of the Algerian Front and General Secretary of the Association of Oulemas (a Mohammedan association grouping religious laymen and priests) said:

For my part, I unreservedly support the Conference. I am certain it will have a favourable response in the Arab and Mohammedan world.

I support the Conference for four reasons:

Firstly, as a human being, I am on the side of the two billion people who want Peace. The Defenders of Peace express themselves in their name and not in that of the imperialist fomentors of war;

Secondly, as a Mohammedan, because it is in Peace that the peoples of the Middle East, as all other peoples will realise their aspirations;

Thirdly, as an Arab. And all know that the Arabs fear aggression from only one quarter, that of the imperialists. Peace is essential to progress and advance;

Finally, as an Algerian patriot, the citizen of a country which has been offered as its highest award a corrupt constitution and concocted elections, and which experienced events such as those of Setif, Guelma and Dechmya, although it had participated at grievous cost in two world wars.

Yes, indeed, the people and all mankind desire Peace. They need Peace.

I wish the Conference every success and greet the efforts of the Defenders of Peace, because in their reign the nightmare of the imperialist warmongers will disappear.

Sheik Bayoud Brahim,

Director of the free institute "Ach-Chabeb" and Oued-M'Zab delegate to the Algerian Assembly:

In my capacity as a Mohammedan devoted to his faith—Islam being a religion of charity and Peace—I am for any sincere and disinterested undertaking which calls for Peace. I wish complete success to all meetings which take place with the aim of seeking the means of establishing Peace in the world, as well as to any group which devotes its work to brotherhood and harmony between countries and people and which seeks peaceful solutions to the problems of today.

Sheik Taieb El Okbi.

God calls for Peace and brotherhood. And we Mohammedans and men of religion, are convinced that humanity can live, prosper and know real happiness only in times of Peace.

We are against the criminals who want war, who wish to wipe out humanity and destroy progress.

The heavens are above our heads, the ground under our feet. Our ardent desire for Peace, are as real as these.

How can it be expected that we, the oppressed and the slaves, should not use all means in our power to safeguard Peace?

Our path is in Peace. Our ideal is Peace, gateway to salvation.

Ben Ismael,

Secretary of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Federated Trade Unions of Algeria:

I think that Algeria must take an active part in the preparation and the holding of the Conference from which, it is evident, decisions will emerge to speed up the struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples for national independence and Peace. Egypt and the Middle East countries are giving an example to other countries in their fight for these aims, in opposing the application of the Atlantic Pact to their countries and in struggling against the promoters of this Pact.

B. Braham Moussa,

Secretary of the Co-ordinating Committee of Federated Trade Unions in Algeria:

The Algerian Trade Union Movement, faithful to its traditions of anti-imperialist struggle and of solidarity with the peoples in their fight for their liberty and national sovereignty, will take an active part in the Peace Congress of the countries of the Middle East and North Africa.

In contributing to the success of this Congress, the Algerian workers are justly aware that they are fighting for the betterment of their living conditions which have deteriorated owing to the war preparations.

From this Congress will come decisions which will consolidate the Peace movements in the Arab and North African countries and will step up the tremendous struggle waged by these people for their well-being. Peace and national independence.

CYPRUS

The people of Cyprus have let slip no opportunity of demonstrating their opposition to the military purposes for which their island is being used.

During several months, more than 103,000 signatures have been collected for the Appeal for a Pact of Peace, among a population of less than 500,000 people.

The campaign for the Peace Pact has been linked with a campaign for the demilitarisation of the country.

Recently, more than 100 mass meetings have been organised throughout the whole island to make known the decisions of the World Council in Vienna and at these meetings resolutions have been adopted expressing the solidarity of the Cypriot people with the struggle of other peoples of the Middle East and especially of Egypt.

Telegrams have been sent to Trygve Lie, General Secretary of the United Nations, protesting against the transformation of Cyprus into a military base.

Intense activity in support of Peace is growing all over the island despite difficulties resulting from increasing repressive measures against the movement, and the censorship imposed on all publications and speeches made by the Cypriot Peace workers.

ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN

In Sudan a strong movement in support of the People's Conference and for the election of a delegation to this Conference is developing.

At the Sudanese General Workers Union Congress, following many recommendations and proposals, the Congress adopted resolutions amongst which was:

That support be given to the Conference by the people of the Middle East and North Africa and that delegates be sent from the Workers Union to this Conference.

Many Sudanese political and cultural figures of different trends and opinions have made statements on the question of the Conference. The newspaper As-Saraha, in Khatoum, published the statements of the following people: Ali Ahmed; Hassan Abou Jabal; Ahmad Youssef Hachem; Abdul Aziz Hassan; Anwar Moukar Feltes; Mahmoud Sayed Fereghly; Mohamed Abdo Nouh; Hassan Zrouk; Moubarak Zrouk; Mohamed Noureddine Bek, etc....

All these people declared their support for the Conference which will work to achieve World Peace and the liberation and evacuation of the Nile Valley.

RESOLUTION ON THE CONFERENCE OF NORTH AFRICA AND MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES ADOPTED IN HELSINKI, JULY 20—23, 1951

The Bureau of the World Council of Peace welcomes the initiative for a Conference grouping representatives from North Africa and Middle East countries.

It notes that the preparatory work in the different countries concerned is provoking a wide discussion relating to the following points:

1.—People's action can impose the peaceful settlement of the conflicts now taking place.

2.—The peoples of North Africa as well as the peoples of the Middle East have, in common with all other peoples, for their future well being, an interest in establishing Peace, because they are among the first to suffer the consequences of preparations for a new world war. The consequences are expressed notably by their incorporation in military pacts, the raising of contingents, the stationing of foreign troops and the setting up of strategic bases on their territory, the acquisition of their raw materials, as well as by a worsening of the conditions of life of the populations and the intensifying of oppression in all fields.

3.—The peoples of North Africa as well as the peoples of the Middle East have, in common with all other peoples, for their future well being, an interest in establishing Peace because the unleashing of a third world war would be, without doubt, catastrophic for these countries, especially in view of their strategic importance and their geographical position.

On the other hand, the victory of the forces of Peace by the united action of all peoples, preserving them from such a catastrophe, can only facilitate the effective realisation of the right of each people to self-determination.

4.—Therefore, alongside the struggle which they are waging for their own aims, the peoples of North Africa and Middle East have a national interest in taking part, together with all other peoples, in the struggle to prevent war and to achieve the conclusion of a Pact of Peace between the Big Powers, open to all states.

As these preoccupations are also those which men of all countries, all beliefs, all opinions and from all walks of life, have already expressed in the World Council of Peace, the Bureau of the World Council undertakes to ensure the realisation of the Conference of North Africa and the Middle East countries.

It calls on the national Peace movements, as well as the members of the World Council living in these countries, to give their active support to the preparation of this Conference.

WESTERN UNION

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS

19 MAR 2 PM 3

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

[World Peace Council]

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JEAN LAFFITTE

25-27-44

[World Peace Council]

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
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PAIXMONDE PRAGUE

Oslo, 1st April, 1952.

25-38-43

Dear friend,

We are sending you the enclosed documents voted by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace at its meeting in Oslo on the 29-30-31st March and 1st April 1952.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours

For the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace,

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

[ENC]

Meeting of the Bureau of the WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Oslo, 29th, 30th, 31st March and 1st April, 1952.

APPEAL AGAINST BACTERIOLOGICAL WARFARE

25-38-44

We have examined with the utmost care the documents relating to the bacteriological warfare now being waged in China and Korea. This study has profoundly shocked us and filled us with horror. Bacteriological warfare is not only an abominable crime which must be put down; it is a menace to the whole of humanity.

We appeal to the conscience of all men and women everywhere to call for a halt to bacteriological warfare and to demand the outlawing of bacteriological weapons. Particularly do we address ourselves to the men and women of the United States, for before each one of them there rises a question of honour and human dignity.

The fact that the war in Korea is being waged in the name of the United Nations constitutes a particularly grave circumstance. We place squarely face to face with their responsibilities the Governments that have approved the intervention of the United Nations and which consequently bear moral and political responsibility for the methods of war employed.

For our part, we have a double duty. Firstly, to inform public opinion and make the truth appear clearly in the sight of everyone.

In order that every human being may judge the terrible facts of which we have been made aware, we have decided to publish the documents submitted to us. The utmost possible light must be cast upon these criminal deeds.

With this in view, the Chinese Committee for the Defence of Peace has proposed the setting up of an International Commission to gather all the facts and all the evidence. The competence and impartiality of this Commission must be beyond dispute. To create it, we shall invite the participation of men and women outstanding in the fields of science, of law and of religion. We are sure that world public opinion will give its support to the labours of this Commission.

[ENC]

Our second duty is to safeguard all the peoples against bacteriological warfare.

We note that the Unites States of America is the only one among the Great Powers to have failed to ratify the International Convention of June 17th, 1925 forbidding the use of asphyxiating gases and bacteriological weapons. We call on all the peoples of the world to press their governments, with the aim of securing that this Convention be signed, ratified and observed by every State without exception.

We call upon them likewise to act decisively to secure that those guilty of employing this most cowardly and monstrous of all weapons be brought as war criminals before a competent tribunal.

In demanding the protection of the innocent and the punishment of the guilty, we are certain that we interpret the feeling of the immense majority of men and women. In their name, we proclaim the most noble of all causes: that of the right of every child to life and respect for every human being.

If the peoples fail to act now unhesitatingly to stop bacteriological warfare, there will be no bounds to cruelty, nor to the unleashing of the forces of destruction of life.

We call upon humanity to defend itself.

Adopted unanimously,
1st April, 1952.

[ENC]

Meeting of the Bureau of the WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Oslo, 29th, 30th, 31st March and 1st April, 1952

GENERAL RESOLUTION

25-32-46

The Bureau of the World Council of Peace records the fact that the signatures in favour of a Pact of Peace have today reached the number of 603,570,000. To this figure, already 112 millions more than the number of signatures obtained for the Stockholm Appeal, should be added the increasing acceptance by public opinion of the idea of arriving at peaceful solutions by the method of negotiation. Progress on this scale emphasizes the growing influence of the Peace Movement throught the world and expresses the highest hopes of all the peoples.

The campaign for a Pact of Peace must be intensified. The maintenance of this campaign in all its force can halt the arms race that is exhausting the peoples, ruining their economy and compromising their independence.

In recent months the situation has grown more acute. The Bacteriological weapon is being used in Asia. Against the will of the great majority of the German and Japanese peoples, the rearmament of Japan has become an accomplished fact and the rearmament of Western Germany has begun. The longing for independence of the colonial peoples is encountering ever more violent repression.

The proposals of the World Council of Peace adopted at its Vienna meeting constitute, more than ever, a necessary basis for establishment of Peace:- the ending of the wars in progress; a demilitarised and united Germany, a demilitarised Japan - both these nations re-established as independent under guarantee of peace treaties signed by all the interested nations; the withdrawal of foreign troops from the countries of Asia and the Near and Middle East.

By their pressure, the forces of peace have obliged the United Nations to discuss general disarmament. This discussion is now in progress; a Disarmament Commission is sitting in New York. The action of the peoples must induce the United Nations to adopt a solution that shall bring about the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction and gradual, simultaneous and strictly controlled disarmament.

[ENC]

The peoples, to whom the policy of war and poverty is bringing more and more suffering, are becoming aware of their strength. If they act firmly, they can reverse the course of events, by achieving the conclusion of a Pact of Peace enabling the differing political and social systems to exist peacefully side by side.

So that the peaceful forces of the peoples may be rallied on the largest possible scale, the Bureau resolves to convene a meeting of the World Council of Peace on June 21st, 1952 and will propose to it the gathering this year of a great Congress of Peace.

Adopted unanimously,
1st April, 1952.

25-38-47

Statements and Reports on the American Crime of Waging Bacteriological Warfare in China and Korea

32-33-77

Supplement to People's China
April 16, 1952

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An Appeal of the World Peace Council Against Bacteriological Warfare

The Bureau of the World Peace Council held a session in Oslo from March 29 to April 1, 1952 and issued the following appeal "Against Bacteriological Warfare".

We have thoroughly studied the documents pertaining to the bacteriological war which is being waged in China and in Korea.

The study of these documents greatly shocked and horrified us. Bacteriological war is not only a vicious crime which must be stopped, it is a threat to all mankind. We appeal to the conscience of all men and women and urge them to demand discontinuation of this bacteriological war and the prohibition of the bacteriological weapon.

In the first place we appeal to the men and women of the United States because for everyone of them this is a question of honour and dignity. The fact that the war in Korea is being prosecuted under the name of the United Nations is a particularly serious circumstance; we place the responsibility for this on those governments which approved the interference of the United Nations and consequently bear the moral and political responsibility for the methods of warfare that are being used.

As for us, ours is a double duty: first of all to inform public opinion and to make the truth known to every man so that every one can form an opinion of those atrocious facts which have been made known to us. We have decided to make public the documents that are at our disposal. It is necessary that these criminal actions be given wide publicity. In order to shed light on them, the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and Against American Aggression has suggested that an international fact-finding commission be set up.

The competence and impartiality of this commission must be beyond doubt. With a view to setting up such a commission, we appeal to the outstanding representatives of scientific, legal and religious circles. We are certain that world public opinion will give support to the efforts of the commission.

Our second duty is to safeguard all nations against bacteriological war.

We state that the United States is the only one of the great powers that declined to ratify the international convention of June 17, 1925 banning the use of poison gas and bacteriological weapons.

We demand that the peoples of the world influence their governments with a view to having this convention signed, ratified and observed by all states without exception.

We likewise demand that energetic measures be taken to commit for trial as war criminals the persons who are guilty of using this vilest and most terrible weapon.

We are certain that by demanding protection of the innocent and punishment of the guilty we express the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the people. On their behalf we uphold the noblest cause—the right of all children to life, the respect for human dignity. Unless the peoples take immediate action so as to put an end to bacteriological war, there will be no bounds to the cruelty and rampage of the forces of destruction. We urge mankind to defend itself.

Frederic Joliot-Curie, President of the World Peace Council

Gabriel d'Arboussier, Alexander Fadeyev, Kuo Mo-jo, Eugenie Cotton, Professor Bernal, Professor Leopold Infeld, Artur Lundkvist, Vice-Presidents of the World Peace Council

Jessie Street, Pierre Cot, Ilya Ehrenburg, Professor Hromadka, Lombardi, Louis Saillant, Laurent Casanova, Mao Tun, Yves Farge, Alexander Korneichuk, Jan Mukarjovsky, Members of the Bureau of the World Peace Council

Jean Laffitte, General Secretary of the World Peace Council

Isobelle Blume, Gilbert de Chambrun, Georgio Fenoaltea, P. Gulyaev, John Darr, W.R.T. Gore, Emi Siao, Montagu, Secretaries of the World Peace Council.

The invited participants to the session—*Wilmann* (representative of the German Peace Committee), *Jaques Denis* (World Federation of Democratic Youth), *Li Ki Yung* (Korea), *Madame Kirsten Hansteen* (Norway), *Gordon Schaffer* (Britain).

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A Statement by Li Teh-chuan, Chairman of the Commission For Investigating the American Crime of Waging Bacteriological Warfare

Since our arrival in Korea on March 20, the members of the Commission, working in teams, have carried out on-the-spot investigations of the monstrous crime of waging bacteriological warfare by the U.S. aggressors, both at the front and in the rear in Korea. In the course of our investigations, we saw a mass of evidence concerning the large-scale bacteriological warfare waged by the American aggressors, heard reports from anti-epidemic workers from different places on their examination of the germs scattered by the American aggressors, and visited inhabitants and armed forces in areas where germs have been dropped. On the basis of the evidence we have gathered, it has been definitely established that the American aggressors have launched and are carrying on inhuman bacteriological warfare in Korea, regardless of their brazen attempts to deny responsibility for their crime.

The evidence we have obtained proves that the American aggressors have dropped various types of bacteria-carrying vermin and poisonous matter on a large scale in northern Korea. Germs have been dropped on 27 counties, including Chorwon, Ichon, Kumhwa, Yangdok, Kangdong, Yaichon and Uiju. Vermin dropped are of many types—flies, fleas, snow fleas, and several scores of types of germ-infected mosquitoes, rats and dead fish, etc. Over a score of types of infected articles have been dropped, including biscuits, cotton, pork, canned food, cigarettes and poisoned leaflets, etc. From January 28 to March 15, germs were dropped on over 226 occasions. Dissemination has been in the main made by aircraft on moonless nights or in misty or foggy weather by spraying, or dropping biological bombs. Containers made of chemical substances and light metal are among the means used. The American aggressors have also repeatedly fired bacteria and poison gas shells of various types at the front. The germs spread by the American aggressors are highly virulent and are artificially cultivated. Not only insects, food of various types, or other substances have been infected with these germs, but also various kinds of artificially cultivated cold-resistant insects. The purpose of the American aggressors in adopting these vicious means is to carry out mass extermination of the Korean people and the Chinese and Korean people's forces. They hope to attain the aggressive ends which they have failed to attain at the conference table during the Korean armistice talks and on the Korean battlefield.

The American aggressors, fearing that their crime of waging bacteriological warfare might become known to the whole world, have brazenly tried to camouflage the evidence of their crime. For instance, a number of unexploded containers, loaded with germ-infected insects, carried the inscription "Empty". The American aggressors attempted in this way to hoodwink people throughout the world.

The fact known to the entire world is this: the American aggressors are continuing to wage large-scale bacteriological warfare in violation of international law and moral principles of humanity and in complete defiance of the just denunciations by people the world over. Today the American aggressors have dropped bacteria bombs for mass slaughtering on the Chinese and Korean people; tomorrow they may also drop them on peace-loving people in other parts of the world. American imperialism is the enemy not only of the Chinese and Korean people but of all humanity as well.

We earnestly appeal to honest people throughout the world to take prompt action and, for the sake of defending the peaceful life and security of humanity, condemn with one voice the crime of the American aggressors and stamp out the flames kindled by their germ warfare.

Issued in Korea,
March 31, 1951

Report of the Northeast China Group of the Commission For Investigating the American Crime of Waging Bacteriological Warfare

The atrocities committed by the American aggressors in dropping insects carrying virulent bacteria in areas of Korea and Northeast China have stirred the whole of the Chinese people to boundless wrath. The Chinese people unanimously demand that the severest possible penalties known to justice be imposed on the American aggressors who are now waging bacteriological warfare. The Commission for Investigating the American Crime of Waging Bacteriological Warfare was formed in response to this demand of the people of China and in accordance with the resolution adopted by an enlarged meeting on March 12 of the Standing Committee of the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and Against American Aggression. One part of the Commission is now conducting on-the-spot investigations in areas of Korea. The Northeast Group is the other part of the Commission. This report is signed by all members of the Northeast Group, which includes specialists in different branches of natural science, experts in international law, representatives of people's organisations, as well as workers in the field of literature and art, and journalists. Our investigations on the spot lasted two weeks and were completed on March 31. On the basis of the authenticated facts we have gathered in our investigations on the spot, we hereby submit the following report.

Within the past two weeks, we made on-the-spot surveys and enquiries at twenty one places in the areas of Mukden, Antung, Kwantien and Fushun where insects carrying virulent bacteria and virus and other infected objects dropped by American aircraft have been discovered. We collected various material evidence, listened to accounts of the dropping by American aircraft of bacteria-infected insects, as related by officials of the local governments and local people, and examined the results of tests made by the local public health and anti-epidemic organisations.

The large number of eyewitness depositions and the mass of evidence we collected during our enquiries and surveys on the spot have established conclusively the perpetration of the most horrible crime by the American aggressors in using aircraft to drop large quantities of insects of different types carrying virulent bacteria and viruses and other infected objects over areas of Northeast China.

In the first place, we took note of the fact that from the latter part of February to the present, American aircraft have continuously and on a wide scale violated the territorial air of the People's Republic of China. Statistics compiled by the Northeast air defence establishments show that during the period from February 29 to March 21, 175 formations of American aircraft intruded over areas of Northeast China in 955 sorties. These intrusions occurred mostly in cloudy weather or at night. The areas over which they were active include 70 cities and counties in Liaotung, Liaohsi, Kirin, Sungkiang and Heilungkiang provinces. The nature of the activities of these American aircraft after their intrusion was ascertained by investigation. Apart from 17 American planes which carried out bombing and strafing over the Changtienhokow area of Kwantien county, in Linkiang county area in Liaotung province, and in the area of Chi An Railway Station on March 1, 5 and 16 respectively, causing casualties among local inhabitants and destroying civilian houses, the other American aircraft were mostly engaged in scattering insects carrying virulent bacteria and viruses and other infected objects.

Next, we concentrated on investigating direct evidence of the dropping of bacteria-infected insects and other infected objects by American aircraft. The inhabitants in many places testified before us that they had seen with their own eyes the dropping by American aircraft of bag-shaped objects which burst on reaching a low altitude, and that immediately afterwards large numbers of insects such as flies, mosquitoes, spiders, springtails, and various objects such as tree-leaves, birds' feathers and balls of cottonwool were found on the ground. We also discovered a bacteriological bomb which had been dropped by an American military aircraft.

On March 22 one team of our Investigating Group made an on-the-spot survey of the remains of an American bacteriological bomb on a farm near the river bank in Louhotao (one kilometre from the county seat) outside the east gate of Kwantien county. According to eyewitnesses, this bacteriological bomb was dropped by an American aircraft on March 12. The eyewitnesses include Han Yung-pin, merchant; Li Chi-wen, woman anti-epidemic worker; Li Szu-chien, student; Kao Chun-shan, chief of the Kwantien Township Administration Office and Hu An, head of Kwantien county administration.

At 12:52 in the afternoon of March 12, eight American planes flew over from the west to the east. Han Yung-pin, owner of Tungchuho Grocery inside the south gate of Kwantien county seat testified that he saw one of these planes drop a white-coloured object which fell very slowly. As it came down low, it was possible to make it out as something grey in colour and shaped like a cylinder. It came down at a slant in a northeasterly direction. He calculated then that it had probably landed inside the east gate and at once related what he had seen to Li Chi-wen, a member of the anti-epidemic corps who was passing by. He then rushed to the Kwantien Township Administration Office and reported the incident to Kao Chun-shan, the chief of the Office. That afternoon, the Township Administration Office and the anti-epidemic corps sent a number of people to search for the object inside the east gate but they failed to locate it. It was not until 1:30 on the afternoon of March 21 that this white-coloured object was discovered by Li Szu-chien, student of the Kwantien Middle School. On receiving this news, county head

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Hu An went to the scene and made a survey that same afternoon. A team of our Investigating Group (composed of entomologists Liu Tsung-lo, Ma Shih-chun, and Kuo Shu-tien, press photographer Wang Chun-teh and guard Wang Shan-lin) arrived there at noon on March 22 to investigate. There was no doubt, in their judgment, that this silvery grey object is a kind of bacteriological bomb specially made in the United States. When the bomb landed, it made a crater approximately 12 centimetres deep. Three metres away from the crater a twisted axis of the bacteriological bomb was found. It was made of iron with a twisted iron base disc which was attached to one end of the axis. The axis is 25 centimetres long and 0.7 centimetres across. The top end of the axis has a hexagonal screw head measuring 1.1 centimetres across. The lower end of the axis has another screw, which is 1 centimetre across at its upper end and 3 centimetres across at its lower end. The iron base disc attached to the lower end of the axis is 19 centimetres in diameter; some 8 metres northwest of the bomb crater, feathers were scattered around, singly and in heaps, including yellow and white short down and black feathers. The quills of the feathers were clear of any flesh or mud. There were no remains of any fowls in the vicinity. Fifteen metres southwest of the bomb crater, there were scattered several hundred bomb fragments of different sizes, silvery grey in colour, made of a substance like plaster. These fragments were rather thin and fragile. When county head Hu An inspected the bomb crater there were still large numbers of infected insects such as flies, mosquitoes, spiders and springtails nearby and in the vicinity. These facts established that the object dropped by the American aircraft was a type of bacteriological bomb specially made in the United States. By means of a fragile bomb case, the bomb could burst and cause the bacteria-infected insects and bird feathers to scatter over a wide area. The fragments of this bacteriological bomb and other proofs provide most convincing and direct evidence that American imperialism is carrying out inhuman bacteriological warfare against the Chinese people.

We next gave attention to the fact that in the areas over which the enemy planes intruded there were repeatedly found large numbers of flies (including such species as Anthomyiid flies, blow flies, non-biting stable flies, sunflies, house flies, horse flies), mosquitoes (including such species as aedes, culex, midges, etc.), spiders, springtails, ants, fleas, migratory locusts, pigmy locusts, crickets, etc.

Considering the areas where these insects were discovered in relation to the intrusions by American aircraft, the distribution of these insects, the places and the season in which these insects appeared, there is not the least doubt that these insects were disseminated by American aircraft.

(1) The localities in which these insects were discovered are in all cases areas over which American aircraft have intruded or adjacent to such areas. So far, no such insects have been discovered in other places at the same latitude and with the same temperature and geographical conditions. We have checked the records of intrusions by American aircraft against reports from places where insects were discovered, and they completely confirmed this point.

(2) The dispersion of these insects showed that they were densely massed in clusters and were concentrated in particular places. For instance, according to the report of Chang Shu, Mayor of the Municipal People's Government of Fushun, after the infected insects were first discovered in the city on March 3 widespread and thorough searches were repeatedly carried out. Such insects were found, up to March 20, in areas amounting in all to 3,687,380 square metres, or 3.69 square kilometres. In all cases, they were massed together in each particular place in clusters. But in the same period, no such insects were discovered anywhere else in the city which covers an area of 546 square kilometres.

According to the report of Chang Tieh, Director of the Public Health Department of the People's Government of Liaotung province, springtails were discovered in Tapienkow village of the seventh district of Hsinpin county on March 4, extending over an area about 250 metres in length and 200 metres in width north and south of the telephone line. On March 13, mosquitoes and flies were found over an area of one kilometre by one-fourth of a kilometre, with a density averaging roughly 60 per square metre in the vicinity of Sanchakow and Peiyinssu in Kushancheng, Antung. On the same day, mosquitoes were found in an area of about 1,500 square metres in a ditch fronting Sunchiayin of Tienching village of Tayin district, Chuangho county, averaging roughly 100 per square metre. In some places, the density of certain infected vermin was as much as roughly 70 per square metre. From our own first-hand investigations at Chiuchan village, (about twenty kilometres from Fushun) Chiuchan district, Mukden, we discovered large numbers of springtails, flies and mosquitoes. According to the testimony of an eyewitness, an old peasant by the name of Chao Wen-hsiu, when insects such as springtails were first discovered on March 3 they were densely concentrated in an area of one kilometre in length and half a kilometre in width. The dispersion of these insects in such concentrated separate clusters in particular places is fundamentally different from the general, even dispersion of local varieties of insects.

(3) The places in which these insects appeared and the conditions under which they lived and moved about were unusual. The facts are as follows:

(a) Blow flies were discovered on March 15 on the cement basketball ground in the vicinity of the dormitories of the Department of Trade of the Northeast People's Government at Yangwu street in Mukden. This was abnormal both as far as time and place are concerned.

(b) Large numbers of flies and mosquitoes were discovered on sandbanks, on high terrain, open fields, and even on the surface of snow in Antung and in Kwantien county. This is impossible in normal circumstances, as flies and mosquitoes exist near water, in weeds, garbage and places where people and animals live.

(c) Springtails were discovered on the six-metre-high grandstand built of reinforced concrete on the race course at Fushun.

(d) Locusts are normally found only in weeds beside lakes or rivers or on farms but, instead, they

were discovered on an open-air concrete veranda on the first floor of the building of Department of Trade of the Northeast People's Government in Mukden in the cold of mid-March. There is no doubt that unless they were dropped by American planes, it would have been impossible for these insects to appear in these places at this time of the year.

(4) The insects were found at a much earlier date than is natural for local insects to appear. For instance, in the Northeast the adult male of the culex only appears in mid-May at the earliest, the blow fly in June, locusts in May and June. Yet all three were discovered in the vicinity of the dormitories of the Department of Trade of the Northeast People's Government in Mukden on March 15. The house fly normally appears only in late April; yet large numbers of male and female house flies were discovered in mid-March in Szeping city, Liaohsi province. Sunfly emerges late in April at the earliest; yet in mid-March large numbers were discovered in the fifth and sixth districts of Chinchow. Ants appear on dry earth only after mid-April; yet many were discovered at a place covered in wet snow in Kwantien in early March. Spiders only begin to move about after mid-April; yet on March 3, many were discovered around Chenkiang hill, Antung. Aedes should appear in late May at the earliest; yet on March 4, the adult males and females of this species of mosquito were discovered at Tiehling in Liaohsi province.

The foregoing facts show that the flies, mosquitoes, spiders, springtails and other insects discovered in large numbers in Northeast China could not have emerged under the natural conditions in that area, but must have been cultivated artificially in the American bacteriological war laboratories and disseminated by American aircraft.

During our investigations in Northeast China, we examined the results of laboratory research on bacteria and virus made by the anti-epidemic organisations in Mukden, Antung, Kwantien and Fushun. The experts in these four places all proved that various types of insects and other objects dropped by American aircraft carried various types of disease-bearing bacteria and viruses. Some of the laboratory findings are as follows:

(a) *Bacillus anthracis* were found on feathers dropped by American aircraft. This is fatal to draught animals such as oxen, donkeys and mules and infectious to human beings. The specimens tested were taken from among feathers dropped on March 11 by American aircraft over Peichingtzu village, Peichingtzu district, Antung county. Bacteriologists Hsin Chun, Ching Kuan-hua, and Chao Cheng-lin in tests conducted at Mukden, injected a quantity of 0.5 cubic centimetres of the rinsings of the infected feathers into each of two small white mice. The mice were seized with convulsions and died within 36 hours. Both in the dead mice and on the feathers, *bacillus anthracis* were found. *Bacillus anthracis* were also discovered on houseflies dropped on March 17 by American aircraft over the municipality of Szeping.

(b) On spiders dropped by American aircraft, pathogenic bacilli with bi-polar stain belonging to the Pasteurella group were found. In this category come the bacteria of bubonic plague and of the hemorrhagic septicemia of chickens and ducks. Further examination confirmed that the bacteria discovered on the American-released spiders are the bacilli of such diseases as the hemorrhagic septicemia of chickens and ducks. This type of bacteria was discovered in tests made in Mukden by bacteriologist Ching Kuan-hua.

(c) *Salmonella typhosa* was found on non-biting stable flies dropped by American aircraft. This is the bacilli of the dangerous typhoid fever. Specimens for the tests were taken from the flies dropped on the night of March 15 by American aircraft in the vicinity of the dormitories of the Department of Trade of the Northeast People's Government, Yangwu street, Mukden. Bacteriologist Ching Kuan-hua carried out the tests.

(d) *Salmonella typhosa* and an organism of the Salmonella group was found on sunflies and midges dropped by American aircraft. Specimens for the tests were taken from infected insects dropped by American aircraft in the fifth and sixth districts of the Municipality of Chinchow. Bacteriologist Ching Kuan-hua found an organism of the Salmonella group on the sunflies and *Salmonella typhosa* on the midges.

(e) On springtails dropped by American aircraft a kind of rickettsial bodies was discovered. This belongs to the group of microbes which cause such dangerous diseases as typhus and spotted fevers. Specimens for the tests were taken from the infected insects dropped by American aircraft over Chiuchan village, Chiuchan district, Mukden. Bacteriologists Chu Chi-ming and Wei Wen-pin carried out the tests.

(f) From the crane flies dropped by American aircraft a virus of acute encephalitis was isolated. Since March 9, a number of deaths from acute encephalitis occurred in Anshan and other cities. Cases of this type of encephalitis have never before been found in our country according to expert evidence. Examination by experts further established that in Anshan and other cities, where cases of this type of encephalitis occurred, the pathological changes in small white mice subjected to tests with the virus carried by these crane flies were identical with those that occurred in patients affected with this type of encephalitis. The virus of this type of encephalitis was identified by six specialists: Li Pei-lin, Hsu Ying-kuei, Chu Chi-ming, Chang Hsueh-teh, Wu Chih-chung and Ching Kuan-hua.

Specialists in various branches of natural science are continuing their tests and researches. They will undoubtedly be able to expose in their entirety the various bacteriological and biological weapons employed by the American aggressors.

On the basis of the foregoing facts, we have drawn the following conclusions:

1. The American government has systematically employed military aircraft on a large scale to intrude into our great, free and independent Motherland—the People's Republic of China. And this large-scale aggression by the American government still continues.

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2. In their intrusions into the inviolable territorial air of the People's Republic of China, American aircraft have not only resorted to bombing and strafing, but have also used systematically and on a large scale bacteriological and biological weapons which are prohibited by human conscience, international law and international conventions. As already mentioned above, American aircraft have intruded into various parts of Northeast China and have scattered, by means of bacteriological bombs and other containers, large quantities of various types of insects and other carriers infected with the virus of encephalitis and germs of such diseases as typhoid, paratyphoid, typhus, anthrax and hemorrhagic septicemia. The American aggressors are employing bacteriological and biological weapons for mass destruction of peaceful Chinese people, their domestic animals and fowls and crops. These savage acts of aggression by the U.S. government are still continuing.

3. These acts of aggression and inhuman atrocities are being carried out surreptitiously by the U.S. government against the People's Republic of China. They constitute a particularly vile, despicable and shameful kind of predatory aggression.

4. The U.S. government in carrying out savage and vile aggression against the People's Republic of China has committed not only crimes of aggression, but also crimes against humanity and crimes in violation of international conventions, international law and the rules of war. The acts of aggression by the U.S. government in its use of bacteriological weapons against the People's Republic of China completely violate the provisions of the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 concerning the prohibition of the use of poison weapons and the provisions in the Geneva Protocol concerning the prohibition of the use of bacteriological weapons which was signed in 1925 and ratified by the majority of nations and is therefore universally recognised by civilised mankind.

5. On the basis of these facts, the predatory aggression carried out by the U.S. government with bacteriological weapons presents a grave threat not only to the Chinese and Korean peoples, but also to human justice, to civilisation and to world peace. It is a grave threat to mankind as a whole.

We solemnly condemn the shameless efforts of the U.S. government and army leaders, such as Acheson and Ridgway to deny their criminal responsibility for carrying out bacteriological warfare. The great mass of solid, undeniable evidence that we have collected in the course of our investigations on the spot thoroughly refutes their sophistry and denials. The irrefutable facts stated above fully indicate that the action of the responsible leaders of the U.S. government and the U.S. army of aggression in denying their heinous crimes is most despicable and villainous.

We solemnly appeal to the people throughout China and to the peace-loving and freedom-loving people all over the world to unite immediately and take concerted action to stop the inhuman atrocities of the American aggressors in waging bacteriological warfare against the Chinese and Korean peoples. We demand that the responsible leaders of the U.S. government and of the U.S. armed forces and the degenerate elements among the American scientists be branded as war criminals to be tried by the people throughout the world and severely punished.

We firmly believe that we can defeat the criminal bacteriological warfare now being carried out by the American aggressors. During the past two weeks we have seen for ourselves the people in various parts of the Northeast, under the banner of Mao Tse-tung and under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government, organising vast, powerful defences against bacteriological warfare. Specialists in various fields of natural science and the masses of the people of the Northeast have come together, applied their wisdom, their creative energy, their vigilance and their patriotic spirit in the heroic struggle and thus have eliminated and are eliminating the American-spread germs and infected insects, with the result that the American bacteriological weapons so far have been unable to achieve the desired results. This inspiring fact fills us with the conviction that so long as all patriotic Chinese unite and strive together under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government and join in common efforts with the just and peace-loving people throughout the world, the criminal bacteriological warfare of American imperialism will undoubtedly be thoroughly smashed.

(Signed):

Chen Chi-yuan, director of the Supervisory Committee of the People's Relief Administration of China, leader of the Group.

Deputy general secretaries: Shen Chi-yi, plant pathologist and member of the standing committee of the All-China Association for Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge; Wu Mao-sun, secretary-general of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs.

Members: Peng Tse-min, vice-president of the Red Cross Society of China; Fang Shih-shan, secretary-general of the Chinese Medical Association; Liao Kai-lung, representative of the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and Against American Aggression; Tien Teh-min, chairman of the All-China Students Federation; Wang Jun-feng, representative of the All-China Federation of Labour; Mei Ju-ao, jurist; Chou Chien-jen, biologist; Hsieh Shao-wen, bacteriologist; Liu Tsung-lo, entomologist; Cheng Shao-chiung, veterinary specialist, and Chao Chen-sheng, entomologist.

Experts and writers in Northeast China who joined the Group: Hu Hsiang-pi, veterinary specialist; Sun Hsi-pu, epidemiologist; Ma Shih-chun, entomologist; and Tsao Ming, authoress.

Staff: Chu Tan, epidemiologist; Kuo Shu-tien, entomologist; Li Chun and Tai Yu-ping, journalists; Wang Chun-teh, Tsang Teh-kuan and Liu Ching-jui, press photographers; Tao Hsueh-chien, news-reel cameraman; Aertushing, assistant news-reel cameraman; Shen Shen, artist; Ma Cheng-hsin, secretary; and Chien Chang-yi, in charge of general affairs.

April 1, 1952

COMMISSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF DEMOCRATIC LAWYERS

Report on the Use of Bacteriological Weapons on Chinese Territory by the Armed Forces of the United States

I. FOREWORD

A Commission, composed of jurists from eight countries, was entrusted by the International Association of Democratic Lawyers with the task of making investigations on the violations of international law by the American armed forces in Korea.

The composition of this Commission was as follows:

Mr. Heinrich Brandweiner, Professor of International Law in the University of Graz (Austria), President

Mr. Luigi Cavalieri, Lawyer at the Supreme Court of Rome (Italy), Vice President

Mr. Jack Gaster, Solicitor, London (Great Britain)

Mr. Marc Jacquier, Advocate at the Court of Appeal, Paris (France)

Mr. Ko Po-nien, Director of the Department of Research, the People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, Peking (China)

Mme. Marie-Louise Moerens, Advocate at the Court of Appeal, Brussels (Belgium)

Mr. Letelba Rodrigues De Britto, Advocate at the Court of Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)

Mme. Zofia Wasilkowska, Counsellor at the Supreme Court, Warsaw (Poland)

During the time when the members of this Commission were in Korea, where they have investigated particularly the use of bacteriological weapons by American air forces against the civilian population, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Chinese government publicly accused the U.S.A. of also using bacteriological weapons in the Northeastern provinces of China.

The Commission was requested by the International Association of Democratic Lawyers to extend its investigation to the facts denounced by the Government of the People's Republic of China.

For this purpose the members of the Commission went to the Northeastern provinces of China.

The cases of the dissemination of bacteria, of which the authorities have been informed, were so numerous that they could not be all examined by the Commission. The Commission had to confine itself to the examination of ten of these cases which occurred in various localities in the southern part of Northeast China.

Mr. Pei Hsi-ching, chief-adjutant of the Public Health Department of the Northeast People's Government, communicated to the Commission the facts, for which the Commission has procured the testimonies of a certain number of witnesses.

In addition, the Commission has also heard the testimonies of many bacteriological, entomological, pathological, neurological, and general clinical experts who furnished the Commission with the results of their examinations, analyses and experiments:

Chen Sicien H., graduate of Futan University (1928), Doctor of Paris University (1934), director of the Laboratory of Entomology, Academia Sinica, Peking and vice-director of the Museum of Aurora University, Shanghai.

Chin Yao-ting, graduate of Cheloo University (1914), professor and director, Department of Biology, China Medical University, Shenyang (Mukden).

Hsin Chun, Doctor of Medicine, Nagoya Imperial University, Japan, Chief of Laboratories, Northeastern Infectious Diseases Prevention Institute.

Chin Kuan-hua, graduate of South Manchurian Medical College (1942), professor and director, Department of Bacteriology, China Medical University, Shenyang (Mukden).

Luh Pao-ling, professor, Department of Entomology, Peking University of Agriculture, Peking.

Chu Chi-ming, graduate of Shanghai Medical College (1939), Doctor of Philosophy, Cambridge University (Great Britain), chief technical expert, National Vaccine and Serum Institute, Peking.

Li Pei-lin, Member of the Pathological Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Professor of Pathology, China Medical University, Shenyang (Mukden).

Wu Chih-chung, Fellow of the Royal Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow (Great Britain), Professor of Medicine, China Medical University, Shenyang, (Mukden).

Chang Hsueh-teh, Doctor of Medicine, Peking Union Medical College (1941), Master of Science, University of Illinois (United States), professor of Peking Union Medical College, Peking.

Hsu Ying-kuei, Doctor of Medicine, formerly in charge of research at the Institute of Psychiatry of Munich (1933), Professor of Neurology and Psychiatry, Peking Union Medical College.

Lastly, General Kao Peng, adjutant-commandant of the Northeast Air Defence, furnished the Commission with the dates and places of the appearance of the American aircraft observed by his intelligence service, and he certified that at that time no Chinese

airplanes were above the same localities and that the aircraft mentioned above were identified as American military planes.

On the other hand, the Commission has received a copy of the *Journal of Immunology* of May, 1947, which contains a long report by three American bacteriologists of Columbia University. This report confirms that since this time, very thorough studies have been undertaken in the United States on the use of bacteria as war weapons.

The information, thus obtained, are presented in the present report.

II. DISCLOSURE OF FACTS

1. On March 3, 1952, towards evening, a farmer of Kiu Tsai village some 20 km. from Fushun, discovered in front of his house insects leaping and crawling on the snow. He informed the local authorities of his discovery, and the work of collecting and destroying the insects was organized in the following days. The insects were scattered over an area of more than 1 km. long (2 Chinese *li*), and about 500 metres (1 *li*) wide. The inhabitants of this village had never before seen insects of this kind even during the hot season, while in the beginning of March it was still very cold in this region, and snow and ice were not yet thawed.

Three witnesses, including farmer Liu Kuan-i, the first to see the insects, informed the Commission of the circumstances of the discovery and the conditions under which the specimens were sent to the authorities.

Professor Chin Yao-ting who made an entomological examination of these insects, pointed out that insects of these kinds (Collembola) had been scattered in large quantities in Korea and in Northeast China.

Dr. Chu Chi-ming told the Commission about the results of the bacteriological experiments carried out by three experts on a guinea pig; the guinea pig died 8 days later and numerous rickettsiae appeared in its spleen. Thus it established the fact that these insects carried a kind of Pathogenic rickettsiae.

The Fushun region was invaded by American aircraft on February 29. Two additional witnesses testified definitely that on this day the air raid alarm was sounded in Fushun.

2. On March 4, 1952, swarms of insects were discovered on the banks of a river in the village of Lao Kuan in Pen Hsi region over which U.S. aircraft flew on February 29. Insects were scattered over an area more than 1 km. (2½ *li*) in length and 1½ *li* in width. There were insects of many kinds, notably spiders and mosquitoes.

Professor Ching Kuan-hua pointed out to the Commission that experiments made upon mice and guinea pigs showed that the spiders carried bacteria of the Pasteurella group to which plague bacilli belong.

On February 29, 1952, American aircraft were observed by the military observation service in the south of Pen Hsi and in both the north and the south of Fushun.

3. A member of an anti-epidemic team in Chinchow, Mr. Jen Tsan-i, testified before the Commission that on March 5, 1952, he had seen groups of mosquitoes flying in the village of Fan Chia, Chinchow.

On March 6 and 7, mosquitoes, flies and spiders were discovered in large quantities in other parts of the city, particularly on the ice of a partially frozen river.

According to the testimonies made by Professor Ching Kuan-hua before the Commission, certain insects identified as *Chironomus* or as helomyzides flies carried typhoid bacilli and paratyphoid bacilli.

The Chinchow region was invaded by American aircraft on March 4, at six in the morning.

4. On March 7, 1952, an American airplane flew over the Fushun region. On the same day a railway employee discovered a large number of flies 10 km. from Ku-chia-tze station. The flies were flying over and under the bridge of Wu Li Tai. A few days later, on March 11, he and other railway workers went to the same place to look after the rails; there were still flies and they caught some of these flies and sent them to Shenyang (Mukden). It was very cold at this time and the temperature was 10° C below zero.

The Commission heard the testimony of Professor Chen Sicien who studied these insects and identified them as *Hylemyia* flies, *Diptera* of the Anthomyiidae family. On this subject, the witness made the following explanation: these flies could be found in large numbers during the month of May, but they could not normally survive on the snow. They are very hairy and are suitable for carrying and spreading bacteria. Professor Chen Sicien stated further that these flies were similar to those discovered behind the lines in Korea.

5. Since March 9, 1952, in Anshan and other towns, many cases of death because of encephalitis have been noticed.

The region of Anshan was invaded by 2 American aircraft on March 2 at 2 o'clock in the morning, and some days later the presence of numerous mosquitoes was discovered in the city.

Professor Ching Kuan-hua testified before the Commission that mice inoculated with ground mosquitoes died with the same clinical symptoms of encephalitis and a neurotropic virus was discovered.

The Commission heard also the testimony of Ying Hua-hsin, physician at Anshan, who, having confirmed the abnormal presence of mosquitoes in the city during this season, disclosed 2 reports from his file, which he made on March 17 and 18 describing encephalitis-like symptoms of 2 patients before their death.

Many expert physicians reported to the Commission the result of the post-mortem examination of the two patients, which indicated conclusively an acute attack of encephalitis.

Professor Li Pei-lin, who carried out the post-morten examination, emhasized the similarity of the brain lesions found in human victims and in the experimentally inoculated mice.

6. On March 1, 1952, at 8 a.m. and 11 a.m. and each time on these two occasions, the Antung area along the Yalu river was invaded by 4 American aircraft.

On that day at 11 a.m., the inhabitants of the village of Pei-tsin-tze heard the sound of engines and saw three airplanes coming from the northwest flying southeast. They saw dropping from an airplane an object which could not be located. But a large quantity of fowl feathers, many of which were white and some were yellow, were discovered in the fields.

Dr. Hsin Chun testified before the Commission that by experiments on mice it was proved that the feathers carried anthrax bacilli.

7. In the morning of March 12, 1952, a group of 8 American aircraft flew over the Antung and Kwantien area.

Mr. Han Yung-pin, grocer in Kwantien, testified before the Commission that just before noon he was at the door of his store in the South Gate quarter when the planes were passing. They were flying at a great height from the west to the east, and the weather was very clear. The witness heard the sound of the engine and saw streaks of white smoke from the aircraft.

Han Yung-pin then saw a white object dropped, which appeared to have the form of a tube, and which seemed to fall in the eastern part of the city.

On March 21, a pupil of the secondary school of Kwantien, by the name of Li Szu-chien, who had participated in the search for insects under the order of the authorities, discovered in the maize fields about 1 km. outside the east gate of the city a hole four *tsun* (Chinese inch) deep. Near this hole, there were numerous small fragments, the inner surface of which was greyish-white and the outer silvery-grey, and three metres away from these fragments was a steel rod, at one extremity of which was attached a metal disk. The witness, who testified before the Commission, found in the vicinity of the hole chicken feathers, some of which were short, yellow and white, and some, long and black. Judging by the quantity and different colors of the feathers, they seemed to have come from many chickens. He did not find bones of any fowls around there.

Li Szu-chien saw also living insects, of which he did not know the species and which normally would not exist in this area. He handed to one of his teachers specimens of the feathers and fragments which seemed to him to have come from a bacteriological bomb. He collected and burned the insects, except some specimens which were kept and turned over to the authorities.

The members of the Commission were able to examine personally the fragments of the bomb and the specimens of the feathers found at Kwantien. The analysis of the feathers and the fragments of the bomb is now taking place. The inoculated mice died, but the bacteria has not yet been isolated.

8. On March 15, 1952, near 21:30 hours in Shenyang, a soldier of the Bureau of Public Security, who was on guard duty in the southern section of the city, saw "2 flashes and something luminous" drop from above the Ma-lu-wan quarter, at an interval of 4 or 5 seconds, without hearing an explosion. Another soldier noticed the same phenomenon.

Sirens were not used for giving the alarm to the inhabitants. But the Commission was informed by the chief of the Information Section of the Bureau of Anti-air-raid Defence of the city that they had been aware of the presence of an American aircraft. In addition, General Kao Peng told the Commission that the presence of an American plane at 21 hours was noticed and the military authorities were informed.

Madame Li Shan-ping, president of the labour union of the Department of Commerce and chief adjutant to the anti-epidemic service of this department, laid before the Commission the text of a report dated March 18, 1952 which was confirmed by her. The report gave an account of the searches made on March 15 and 16 by 200 employees who had collected in their building and its neighbourhood a large quantity of insects of numerous kinds, particularly flies and locusts, the presence of which in the city at this period of time was absolutely abnormal.

The same witness pointed out that the anti-epidemic committee of the Department of Commerce was established on March 9, 1952, that complete disinfection work was carried out from March 9 to 13, and that no suspected insects were found before the evening of March 15.

Three experts testified before the Commission concerning the subject.

Professor Chen Sicien H. identified the locusts as *Locusta migratoria.* In the Shenyang area, these insects, after laying eggs, generally disappear at the end of autumn or at the beginning of winter and the eggs hatch in May or June. Those which were found living on March 15 in Shenyang, in the opinion of Professor Chen, could not have come from this region.

Grasshoppers found on the concrete floor of the courtyard of the building were identified as the kind *Acrydium.*

Professor Luh Pao-ling studied the flies and found them to be *Muscina stabulans,* bigger than house flies. They are favourable agents for transmission of cholera, dysentery, typhoid, and paratyphoid. This kind of fly lives especially in the warm region. Experts consider it to be impossible that at this time and in this region such flies could exist in large quantities outside the house.

Professor Ching Kuan-hua pointed out that the flies caught carried typhoid bacilli.

9. On March 17, 1952, an inhabitant of Sze-ping city discovered flies outside the village. A systematic search was made the next day, and a large number of fly groups were found.

Professor Chin Yao-ting, who had examined many of these insects, testified before the Commission that they were flies of the species *Musca vicina,*

which normally did not exist in winter in the open air in snow-covered areas. Preliminary experiments showed that they carried anthrax bacilli.

General Kao Peng declared before the Commission that he had not received any report on American airplanes flying over this region on March 17 or during the days before.

10. On March 19, 1952, an employee of Tiehling Railway Station discovered in front of the station and in many parts of the building of the station groups of mosquitoes which were flying when the temperature of the day was 10° C below zero.

Professor Chin Yao-ting examined some of these insects and identified them as the kind *Aedes koreicus*. He stated to the Commission that generally this species appeared only in late May in Northeast China. Experiments to determine whether these insects carried bacteria are now proceeding.

An American airplane flew over the area on March 15 at 21 o'clock.

III. CONCLUSIONS

The documents and testimonies obtained by the Commission enable it to consider the following facts as established:

1. During March 1952, the unusual presence of insects of different species was noted and verified in different localities in the south of Northeast China, but most of these places are far away from the Korean border.

2. In all these cases, the presence of these insects was unusual, particularly because of the season and the temperature; also because of the fact that they were concentrated in limited areas.

3. In many cases feathers were also discovered in these localities; their presence could not be considered as natural.

4. In most of the cases, the results of examinations and experiments on guinea pigs and mice showed that these insects and feathers carried disease-producing micro-organisms: bacteria of the pasteurella group, anthrax, typhoid and paratyphoid; rickettsia, and virus of encephalitis.

5. It was established in nine cases examined by the Commission, that American aircraft had flown over the areas in which insects or feathers were discovered, on the very same day or a few days before.

6. In many cases, witnesses had seen objects dropping from airplanes. In one case fragments of a container were found which was apparently used for holding insects.

7. Although up to now sanitary measures taken by the authorities have eliminated all dangers of epidemics, still 17 persons contaminated by microbe-carrying insects had died.

The Commission considers that the infected insects and feathers could only be transported to these areas by American aircraft which had neither the right nor any avowable reason to fly over the Northeastern territory of China.

This conclusion carries all the more weight when it is drawn from the facts procured by the Commission during its investigation in Korea. The report made after this first investigation indicated notably the discovery of fragments of a special bomb which carried an inscription in English, and established the fact that the American forces disseminated in Korea germ-carrying insects. Many infected insects discovered in China are similar to those found in Korea.

The use of bacteriological weapons is prohibited by the laws and customs of war. This prohibition, confirmed by the Geneva Protocol of June 17, 1925, must be held to apply even more strongly when there is no armed conflict.

The Statute of the International Military Tribunal of Nuremberg has also termed the killing and extermination of civilian populations a crime against humanity, without distinction whether there be a state of peace or a state of war.

The Convention of December 9, 1948 for the prevention and punishment of genocide positively applies "in time of peace as in time of war" to murders or grave injuries to the physical integrity of the members of a national, ethnical or racial group, committed or attempted with the intention of destroying such a group, in whole or in part.

We consider that the facts reported above constitute an act of aggression committed by the United States, an act of genocide, and a particularly odious crime against humanity. It indeed hangs over the whole world as an extremely grave menace, the limits and consequences of which cannot be foreseen.

Our conviction is founded on the facts which we have verified with the strictness of juridical discipline and the consciousness of our responsibilities.

As jurists, we raise our solemn protest against these violations of international law.

As democrats, we denounce the act of aggression which threatens the peace of the world.

As men and women, we express our indignation against the monstrous use of the progress of science for criminal aims.

THIS REPORT IS WRITTEN IN FRENCH AND SIGNED BY ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION IN PEKING ON APRIL THE SECOND, 1952

Eminent Chinese Scientists Testify Against Bacteriological War

Chinese entomologists, bacteriologists, physicians and pathologists, speaking from personal experience and the results of their own research, have exposed the crime of the American and British imperialists in waging bacteriological warfare, attacking science and civilisation and preparing the slaughter of the people all over the world.

The specialists are Li Pei-lin, pathologist; Chu Chi-ming, bacteriologist; Chen Sicien H., entomologist; Luh Pao-ling, entomologist; Hsu Ying-kuei, neurologist; Chang Hsueh-teh, epidemiologist; Chin Yao-ting, entomologist; Wu Chih-chung, Doctor of Science; Hsin Chun, bacteriologist; and Ching Kuan-hua, bacteriologist, who gave evidence before the Commission of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers during their investigation of U.S. bacteriological warfare in Northeast China. They expressed their unanimous support for the just statements of the Commission and bitterly condemned the American bacteriological war criminals whose hands are stained with the blood of the people.

Li Pei-lin, Professor of Pathology, China Medical University, who received his doctor's degree from the University of London and is a Member of the Pathological Society of Great Britain and Ireland, said:

"As I know, the American and British imperialists have prepared for bacteriological warfare for a long time. The ruling classes of these countries make scientists serve them by means of various inducements. In recent years, the United States has organised scientists to do research work on a type of acute anterior poliomyelitis virus. All the results of the research have to be handed over to military medical institutions. If they are only for 'prevention', then why is it necessary to deliver the fruits of scientific research to military organisations?

"During the Second World War, when I was living in England, I refused their request to install me in the service of a military medical organisation. I knew at the time that they were doing research in bacteriological and poison-gas warfare under the pretext of 'defence'. These facts prove that the British imperialists are accomplices of the American imperialists in carrying on bacteriological warfare.

"We have already established that a type of germ-infected insect dropped by the American imperialists has given rise to encephalitis. This type of encephalitis has never occurred in our country before. We have obtained identical results from examinations of animals implanted with these infected insects and from post-mortem examinations of infected victims. This proves that this type of encephalitis is caused by insects infected with the virulent virus dropped by the American imperialists. The virulence of this type of encephalitis is very great. The intention of the American imperialists is the mass extermination of our nation and mankind. We scientific workers have the responsibility of protecting the health of the people. We are determined to contribute all our ability in the battle against bacteria until the bacteriological war criminals are brought to justice and have paid their blood debt to the people of China and Korea."

Chu Chi-ming, bacteriologist, chief technical expert at the National Vaccine and Serum Institute, Peking, who holds the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Cambridge University, England, and was a research fellow in the National Institute for Medical Research, England, said:

"The great amount of factual and scientific evidence which the Commission of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers has collected in Northeast China should, through their report, enable people throughout the world to see more clearly the true face of the American murderers. In the vicious American scheme to prepare and conduct bacteriological warfare, the British imperialists have played the role of an accomplice. In England, there is a special institution, camouflaged as the 'Microbiological Research Institute', in which studies on bacteriological warfare is being carried out.

Chen Sicien H., director of the Laboratory of Entomology, Academia Sinica, who received his doctor's degree at the University of Paris and did research work in British and French museums and in the German Research Institute, said:

"I deem it a great privilege to be able to take part in the research work against bacteriological warfare, and in giving evidence in the investigation of America's bacteriological war crime. Preliminary research done on the infected insects recently dropped by U.S. planes has made me realise clearly that the methods used by the American imperialists in carrying out bacteriological warfare are extremely sly and vicious.

"The germ-carrying insects discovered in different places in the Northeast include, apart from such well-known pests as mosquitoes and flies, many insects which are formerly unknown in medical entomology, for example, the Anthomyiid fly (*Hylemyia*) that I studied. Under ordinary conditions they are not considered as medical insects. The body of this type of Anthomyiid fly is thickly covered with hairs suitable for carrying and spreading disease germs.

"Although the American imperialists want to use such tricks to cover up their crime, or to dull our vigilance, their actions prove how fiendish their intentions are. Now all the people of the Northeast have risen to take part in the struggle against bacteriological warfare. All the more, we scientific workers should stand at the forefront of this campaign. We should contribute our technical knowledge to our country and to the people. No matter how viciously the American imperialists may act, I

believe we are assured of final victory in this struggle against bacteriological warfare."

Luh Pao-ling, entomologist, Professor at the Department of Entomology, Peking Agricultural University, said:

"I have examined some of the insect specimens sent here recently from various parts of Northeast China. These insects do not normally appear in the local climatic, geographical and other conditions. Moreover, bacteriologists have found bacteria on the bodies of these insects. Military organisations have confirmed that American aircraft have intruded over these places. This proves that these infected insects have been dropped from American aircraft.

"No matter how cunningly the American imperialists may try to prevaricate, these facts remain indisputable. We entomologists, working for the people's welfare, cannot on any account tolerate this crime committed by American imperialism. I want to devote all my abilities to the task of combating bacteria. I hope all entomologists throughout the country will rise up and smash the plot of American aggressors to kill peace-loving peoples with these vermin."

Hsu Ying-kuei, Professor of Neurology and Psychiatry, Peking Union Medical College, who did research work at the Department of Neurology, Chicago University, U.S.A., said:

"All the peoples of the world are protesting against the criminal acts of American imperialism in waging bacteriological warfare. We scientific workers are all the more furious at their bloodthirsty and barbarous behaviour.

"As scientific workers, our aim is to eliminate deadly insects and vermin for the sake of human well-being; but American imperialism and its hired 'scientists' use science as a means of achieving its aggressive purposes and killing peace-loving people. This is the basest and most brazen conduct.

"We now have ample scientific evidence to establish and expose the crime of the American imperialists in waging bacteriological warfare. We must call the serious attention of peace-loving peoples throughout the world to this crime so that they may rise up unanimously and punish the U.S. bacteriological war criminals."

Chang Hsueh-teh, epidemiologist who received his M.S. degree at the University of Illinois, U.S.A., and a professor at the Peking Union Medical College, said:

"When I was in America, I saw with my own eyes the frequent use of living persons by American institutions as experimental subjects for testing certain drugs.

"In America, institutions of hygienic sciences, both state-owned and private, are all under the control of two organs: the big capitalist drug monopolies and the military organisations. There is practically no freedom for American scientific workers. Even private practitioners are often ordered by the military to do research work for them. Taking part in the investigation of encephalitis virus, I have been filled with profound indignation. I am determined to make good use of my scientific knowledge to fight against bacteriological war now being waged by American imperialism.

Chin Yao-ting, entomologist, professor and director, Department of Biology, China Medical University, said:

"I fully endorse the conclusion presented in the March 28 telegram of the Commission of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers. Their objective views are in complete accord with the facts. American imperialism has recently clamoured for the 'International Committee of the Red Cross' to come to China and Korea for an investigation. The mission of the "investigation" by this notorious organisation in the exclusive service of American imperialism is the same as that of the U.S. and Chiang secret agents captured at the Korean front a few days ago. They want to investigate the effect of the bacteriological warfare for their American master. We now have proof of the facts described by local inhabitants as well as the scientists' conclusions based on research. Like the Commission of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, peace- and justice-loving peoples throughout the world can all be our witnesses. The American imperialists can by no means evade by denial their crime of bacteriological warfare."

Wu Chih-chung, Professor of Medicine, China Medical University, who is a Fellow of the Royal Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons (Glasgow) and did research at Guy's Hospital, London University, and the Tuberculosis Research Institute of the University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A., made the following statement:

"The bacteriological warfare by the United States imperialists, carried on so blatantly, over such a wide area and on such a large scale, with the use of so many types of germ-carrying insects, is unparalleled in the history of war.

"In an article in the U.S. *Journal of Immunology* for May, 1947, Professor Theodor Rosebury of Columbia University, who took part in the manufacture of bacteriological weapons at Camp Detrick, Maryland, had the effrontery to declare that of all the bacteriological warfare of the past, including 'the use of bacterial warfare by Japan in China'.... 'none seems more than a tentative or even amateurish performance.' Rosebury also said: 'It is considered a military axiom that any weapon is judged useful if it can be expected to accomplish a military purpose, that is, the destruction or immobilisation of men or of essential productive and military equipment and materials, without excessive risk to the user.'

"These words fully expose the vicious ambition of the American imperialists to carry on bacteriological warfare on a large scale. I hope that all peace-loving scientific workers throughout the world who have any conscience will rise to curb this monstrous crime of American imperialism. Those 'scientists' whose senses are dulled by profit and whose conscience permits them to be accomplices of the imperialists in murder should immediately withdraw their hands that are already sullied by blood, other-

wise they will never escape the just punishment of humanity."

Hsin Chun, bacteriologist, Chief of Laboratories, Northeastern Infectious Diseases Prevention Institute, who received his degree of Doctor of Medicine at Nagoya University, Japan, said:

"The data that I have studied proves conclusively that the American imperialists have employed bacteriological weapons on Chinese territory. The criminal nature of these bacteriological weapons stems from the fact that they are an attempt at the wholesale annihilation of mankind. This is a most barbarous, callous and inhuman act. By making this criminal act of American imperialism public to the whole world, the Commission of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers has certainly made a great contribution to the cause of world peace. I think the American imperialists are suffering from a complete illusion in trying to use bacteriological weapons to avoid defeat, because they are completely ignorant of the great strength of our scientific technique, linked with the masses of the people. The people of Northeast China have already acquired rich experience in wiping out various epidemics. The American imperialist conspiracy to wage bacteriological warfare will certainly end in complete bankruptcy."

Ching Kuan-hua, professor and director, Department of Bacteriology, China Medical University, said:

"I was born in the Northeast. In my early years, I suffered oppression under the yoke of Japanese imperialism. I therefore have all the more hatred for the American imperialist crime of acting in collusion with the bacteriological warfare criminals of Japan. When I gave evidence before the Commission of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, I was moved by the grievances of the past and the present and felt bitterly indignant. At the same time, I also feel privileged to have the opportunity of accusing the American and Japanese bacteriological-warfare criminals before the peoples of the world.

"The American imperialist crime of using bacteriological weapons is an extremely grave one, because such weapons are a serious menace not only to the front but also to the rear, not only for the present but also for the future, not only to Korea and China but also to other countries.

"For long years many famous scientific workers throughout the world have dedicated their lives, with the spirit of martyrs, to conducting bacteriological research. But the fruit of their scientific research has been stolen by the American imperialists for use in destroying mankind. This enrages the people.

"I am grateful that the Commission has been able to report to the world the results of its present investigation, so that the peace-loving people of the world may rise and curb the pernicious crime of the American imperialists."

[World Peace Council]

COPY

April 24, 1952

Dear M. Laffitte:

As you know, we Americans who have been members of the World Peace Council and its predecessors have long been ashamed of the fact that we have had no affiliated organization in the United States. This was because of the McCarran law which requires registration and other acts of any organization affiliated with a foreign organization which distributes political propaganda in the United States. You will remember that the Peace Information Center was asked to register, but the case was thrown out of courts. Nevertheless, this verdict, while exonerating us, still left us with no national body officially connected with the world peace movement.

Some of us propose to stop this situation. Beginning with those who are members of the Peace Council, we propose to form an organization affiliated with you, even if we have to register, report receipts, and label our literature.

I am therefore writing you to know just what we should do: What would be the duties, rights, and obligations of a national group in the United States affiliated with the World Council of Peace? What procedure for thus affiliating we should take. Also, any copies of by-laws, rules and regulations which set forth these matters.

Kindly look into this and let me hear from you. My best regards from us to you, M. Joliot-Curie and Mr. Darr.

Very sincerely,

(signed) W.E.B. Du Bois

25-32-27

THE BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Nº 24 2nd May 1952

THE CAMPAIGN FOR A PEACE PACT

32-18-20

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The Campaign in Italy

In Italy a fresh impetus has been given to the Five Power Peace Pact signature campaign linking it, nationally and locally, with other important issues such as the economic effects of re-armament and the presence on Italian soil of a foreign army.

The result of this impetus can be seen in the average of more than 6,000 signatures collected daily since the beginning of the year, which has brought the total to over 16,034,000.

New printed forms carrying the Appeal for a Pact of Peace have been issued in several provinces on the occasion of special efforts or of particular political events. Along with these forms was an invitation to sign which explained how the billions allocated for re-armament could be used for construction and re-construction of the areas devastated by the floods. Besides this, arguments were given (already raised in the discussions at the National Assembly for Disarmament and Peace) in support of the claims of employees and pensioners.

One aspect of the campaign has been the encouragement given to children and young people by the introduction of competitions. For example, in Livorno (Leghorn), a youth Peace meeting was held at which prizes were awarded to outstanding young Defenders of Peace, while at a children's meeting in Rome, prizes were awarded to children who had collected the highest number of signatures to the Five Power Pact. At the same time, a competition was announced for the best competition on the theme "Why I do not want a war", for children between the ages of eight and 13.

AGAINST RE-ARMAMENT

In several big towns in Italy, provincial conferences on disarmament have been held (in accordance with decisions of the *National Assembly for Peace and Disarmament)* and these have been very successful. Following the decisions of the new war expenditure by the Council of Ministers, many Committees started protest movements. In Turin, Florence, La Spezia, Ferrara, Bari, Potenza, Genoa, Milan, Massa Carrara (Tuscany), at meetings called by the Peace Committees, trade union, political and technical organisations have taken part for the first time. Contacts were made with factory councils in large factories. Delegations have been to the Governors, Mayors and Municipal Councillors, and economic conferences in which financial and commercial circles will take part have been planned, to examine the economic crises in the respective provinces and the consequences which follow the Government's decisions.

The wave of protest aroused by the visit of Admiral Carney to military installations and his inspection of several military works in Northern Italy was very great and was manifested in all the towns through which he passed. Everywhere there were posters, meetings, processions and delegations of victims of the Po Valley floods. In Padua, on the day of Carney's visit, these joined in the collection of signatures and in one day collected 6,000.

An important success which caused a great sensation in the Italian Press, was the fight that the inhabitants of Como made against the UNESCO plan (which had received Governmental approval) for the

setting up of a nuclear physics centre there. While the Municipal Council, under the Chairmanship of the Christian Democrat Mayor, was discussing this proposal, the district Peace Committee informed the people of the danger which the setting up of an atomic centre in the town constituted, not only for Como, but for the whole of Italy. A delegation from the Peace Committee placed before the Mayor a motion opposing the setting up of an atomic centre in the name of the 501,000 people of the district who had signed the Stockholm Appeal. Meetings were held and leaflets distributed in the town and in the factories. Delegations of workers from the main factories went to the Town Hall. All these demonstrations for Peace on which all the inhabitants were united, have obliged the Municipal Councillors to turn down the UNESCO plan. Similar action has been taken in Turin which had been proposed as the future headquarters of the "European Command".

INQUIRY AMONG OUTSTANDING ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FIGURES

Besides the wide inquiry among the popular masses in the form of a questionnaire which is reproduced below ("Notebooks For Peace"), the Italian Peace Committee has made other special efforts in the struggle against re-armament.

Four thousand copies of the three following documents have been printed and sent to scientists, technicians and public administrators:

Firstly, details of the estimated damage caused by the recent floods and of the influence of war preparations on agricultural production, on real wages, on food consumption and so on;

Secondly, a questionnaire, together with a letter of Riccardo Lombardi (economist and member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace) dealing with the general problem of the economy of a country burdened with re-armament;

And finally, another questionnaire in which two questions are posed:

> *The recent national disasters have placed before public opinion in a dramatic manner the following dilemma: Is it possible to have at one and the same time reconstruction work and military expenditure in view of the resources at our country's disposal?*
>
> *How, in your opinion, should the national resources be used taking into consideration the need for reconstruction and national defence?*

AGAINST FOREIGN OCCUPATION

One of the campaigns upon which the Italian Peace Movement lays great stress is that against the privileges granted to the foreign army in Italy, that is, the *Agreement Between the North Atlantic Treaty States on the Statute Of the Armed Forces.*

This Statute constitutes a veritable statute of occupation. It grants foreign (U.S.) troops stationed in Italy the benefit of extraterritorial rights.

The National Peace Committee has issued tens of thousands of copies of the *Agreement,* together with *Speakers Notes,* with the object of promoting thousands of conferences and debates all over the country.

This campaign coincided with the "National Assembly of the Occupied Towns" which took place in Livorno at the beginning of March. It consisted of delegates from cities where U.S. military forces have already been conceded bases—Sicily, Venice, Florence, Pisa, Naples, Bari, Foggia and from Livorno itself. It was opened by Professor Tevene, a member of the Republican Party. The main speaker was His Excellency Saverio Brigante, first President of the Italian Court of Appeal, who emphasised that public opinion must be kept on the alert against the efforts of those "who want us to believe that war is a natural cataclysm which cannot be controlled".

Mario Cevolotto, a former Air Minister, told the delegates that the Atlantic Pact did not provide for the concession of landing and supply bases such as the ones the U.S. forces have installed in Livorno. Andrea Finocchiaro-Aprile, member of the Supreme Court of Sicily, said that U.S. troops coming to Italy *"to defend us"* is the same as Hitler's troops who came to "defend" Holland, Denmark and Norway.

At this conference, not only the political problems were discussed but also the economic, social, moral and sanitary problems of the inhabitants of these cities as a direct result of the presence of foreign troops.

THE GREAT NATIONAL INQUIRY FOR PEACE AND RECONSTRUCTION

In order to strengthen the campaign for a Five Power Pact, the Italian Peace Committee has begun a *Great National Inquiry for Peace and Reconstruction.* To carry out this inquiry the Committee has issued to all local Peace Committees and other organisations *"Peace Notebooks"* to be used for *"the mass investigation of the necessity of diverting the extraordinary sums from rearmament and using them for reconstruction and restoration".* It is intended that each form should be addressed to:

The President of the Italian Republic; the President of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate; the President of each Parliamentary and Senate Group; the editors of all Italian newspapers; the President of the Council; and to the Five Great Powers.

The *"Peace Notebook"* campaign, according to a statement of the National Secretariat of the Italian Peace Defenders, which met on March 6th under the chairmanship of Pietro Nenni,

> *"will not be just a campaign with a cold statistical list of needs, but will embody the results of discussion among millions of Italians who want to advance the prosperity and greatness of their country... to create employment, to carry out land improvement schemes, education and public health, assistance to children and old people—all measures which cannot be postponed in favour of military expenditure. This campaign will represent a new contribution to the success of the world-wide peace Movement.*

Here is the text of the *"Peace Notebook"* which is being used throughout the whole country:

At the proposal of our local Peace Committee, we have organised in our area (communities, factories, farms, villages, and so on, comprising *x* inhabitants)

a great popular enquiry among all sections of the population, regardless of class or party, on the questions most affecting our population and on the proposal drawn up by our compatriots with the aim of guaranteeing Peace and prosperity in our country, that all may work in an atmosphere of Peace, to improve our material and cultural conditions and that we may look forward to a future full of confidence for ourselves and our children.

We draw your attention to this enquiry. The results must be such that the voice and inspirations of the people—as indeed they should be in a free and democratic country—must in fact become the force which directs and guides the line of action of the rulers of our country, in the field of foreign policy as well as in that of home policy, and in economic as well as in military policy.

The people of our community have a deep horror of war and of all the atrocities which they have already experienced.

In the 1915-1918 war, there were *x* deaths, *x* victims of tuberculosis, *x* disabled and mutilated, and *x* deaths resulting from Spanish influenza.

We have *x* war widows.

There are *x* ex-servicemen from the First World War who do not receive adequate pensions and who have never even seen the famous bonus promised after the victory.

In the 1939-45 war, we had *x* dead and *x* wounded, disabled and invalids; *x* prisoners and soldiers reported missing.

To this day we have *x* widows and *x* war orphans.

x people receive war pensions which are inadequate, and there are *x* war victims who are still awaiting settlement of their pensions.

In the last war we had *x* houses destroyed, *x* houses damaged and *x* families separated or broken up.

x partisans, *x* soldiers in the liberation corps and *x* patriots fought in the war. They fought to liberate our country and to free us from people who had plunged us into war, and to drive out the Germans.

We do not hate war because of cowardice. Apart from the memory of two generations of those who shed their blood, we also remember the heroism typified by the following figures:

x citizens of our community with military decorations;

x acts of heroism by our fellow citizens.

We had *x* people condemned, arrested, molested, tortured and deported to Germany by the special Fascist tribunals for fighting for freedom and for a peaceful Italy.

We have suffered human and material losses as a result of the last war.

The material damage during the years, when we had to work hard reorganising our life, corresponds to the value of *x* lire.

All sections of the population in our area are experiencing economic difficulties resulting from the whole policy carried out over a period of 40 years by the ruling circles, of always putting military expenditure before the improvement of the nation's economic potential, and as the indirect consequences of all the damage caused by the war.

In particular, we have *x* unemployed among whom *x* are partially-employed and *x* are young people who have never been able to find work at all.

The records in our district show that there are *x* poverty-striken people, *x* old-age pensioners with inadequate incomes. We lack adequate sanitary equipment.

There are *x* children who do not attend school regularly.

We lack . . . accomodation for schools.

In the last three years there have been *x* bankruptcies among small and middle businessmen.

During the same period the sum total of taxes paid was *x* lire.

The following are the public utility works of paramount necessity, already planned and recognised as indispensible, but which are not yet carried out nor even started . . .

For these reasons, the people welcome with warm interest and sympathy all projects and stands taken in favour of national and international agreement and relaxation of tension, such as the appeal launched at Sala Capizucchi, the Giavi motion, the "Inter-Parliamentary Entente for Peace" manifesto, and the recent declarations supporting neutralism in the "Osservatore Romano".

For these reasons, they approve of the demand formulated by the "National Assembly for Disarmament and Peace" for the promotion of a policy of general disarmament with the aim of bringing agreement between the peoples and calling for the immediate development of great national activity to get the 250 billion extraordinary expenses for rearmament devoted to work for the restoration of the Italian economy and in particular to the rehabilitation of the flooded areas. Italy cannot support such a burden which, not only does not guarantee our national defence, but which can rapidly lead to the most tragic social deterioration of our country.

*

The text of this memorandum has been discussed and approved:

(Signed by local figures such as the Mayor and his colleagues on the Municipal Council, pharmacists, doctors, professors, religious persons and leaders of sport and cultural organisations and so on.)

REGIONAL ASSEMBLIES FOR PEACE IN FRANCE

At the National Public Assembly for Disarmament and Peace which took place in Paris on December 22nd-23rd 1951, in the presence of 15,000 delegates from all over France *(see the World Council's Bulletin No. 20)*, the idea of large Regional Assemblies for Peace took shape.

These Assemblies which were held at Bordeaux on January 26th-27th; at Nancy on February 2nd-3rd; at Marseilles on February 10th; at Lyon on February 23rd-24th, and in Lille and Limoges on the 29th and 30th March were a great success in spite of the Government ban (as at Marseilles) and the intervention of political, administrative or religious authorities to influence the French men and women who wished to take part.

These Assemblies have been preceded by a short study-period on one or other of the respective themes upon which the activity of the Peace Movement has been centred—disarmament, German re-armament, the ending of current conflicts and on economic and cultural exchange.

At Bordeaux, one of the districts where the effects of U.S. occupation are most sharply felt, more than 10,000 people from six Departments of the South-west assembled in order to "join with all the peoples of the world in demanding disarmament and in opposing the occupation of the country".

At Nancy, 15,000 people from 12 Departments of the East demonstrated "their opposition to any form of rearmament of Germany". Addresses to the people of Germany and France were adopted enthusiastically (see page 15).

At Marseilles, the French port which well knows the price of the war in Viet-Nam as it has seen the expeditionary forces depart and the dead, seriously wounded and sick brought back, 10,000 Peace Defenders from five Departments of the South-east assembled to demand "disarmament, the ending of current wars and the renewal of economic relations with all countries".

At Lyon, 25,000 people from ten Departments took part in a big assembly organised by the Peace Movement. The theme of the meeting was the examination of the existing economic difficulties, with special reference to those of this region; the search for possible ways of improving economic and cultural exchange between countries and, allied to this, the question of disarmament.

The theme of the **Limoges** Assembly at which there were 15,000 people, was "The Consequences of the Arms' Race" and "The Peasants In The Fight For Peace" while that of the Lille Assembly, at which there were 30,000, was "The Fight Against German Re-armament".

The preparation for these Assemblies by the Peace Committees in the factories, the villages and the boroughs has, on the one hand, enabled the people taking part to compare their ideas on these subjects. These small meetings, which form the basis of the movement, have, on the other hand, carried the question of Peace more widely among the people. They have created new expressions of will and, in this way, have led to the strengthening of the Committees.

Some people quite far from the Peace Movement, attracted by the discussion themes, have now joined its ranks. The widespread discussion, which took place during the short study-period which preceded the Assemblies, has also, by continually linking the Peace struggle to *regional* and *local* problems, raised the level of *national* understanding.

These meetings, and the widespread preparation for them, have certainly contributed to the successes achieved by the Assemblies for Peace organised on the occasion of International Women's Day on March 8th, which were attended by 40,000 women in the Paris area; 20,000 at Lyon; 10,000 at Chateauroux; 10,000 at Arles; 8,000 at La Rochelle; 7,000 at Tarbes; 5,000 at Lille; 5,000 at Rennes and 5,000 at Clermont-Ferrand.

In certain Departments, such as Bouches-du-Rhône, Aisne, Seine Inférieure, Sarthe and Vosges unity was established on the initiative of individuals and groups outside the Peace Movement, mainly on the question of the threat of German re-armament.

This shows that the activity of the French Peace Movement, which increasingly emerges as a decisive factor in the action for Peace, disarmament and against the remilitarisation of Germany, is bearing fruit.

The work of the Movement on the three important subjects:

—Struggle against German re-armament;
—Progressive disarmament and the control and banning of weapons of mass destruction, and
—The renewal of economic and cultural exchange between all countries,

must achieve, by deepening the understanding of the nation, the reversal of the policy of war and misery pursued by the Government.

An appraisal of this work was the main task of the National Council to be held in Paris on April 19th-20th 1952.

NEW STIMULUS IN PEACE PACT CAMPAIGN IN BRITAIN

At the meeting in February of the National Council of the British Peace Committee, it was announced that there was a striking new change in the public response to the Five Power Peace Pact Campaign. People were signing now who had previously refused to do so, while the proportion of refusals was diminishing rapidly.

The total of signatures has already surpassed 1,000,000.

The change was particularly marked after the return of Mr. Winston Churchill from the United States. An increasing number of trade union bodies passed resolutions linking a call for Big Power negotiations with demands that Britain should not be

implicated in an extension of the war in the Far East. Scores of Members of Parliament were flooded with telegrams from groups of factory workers and by resolutions from trade union branches, Peace Committees and individuals, opposing any promise that may have been given to the U.S. to support a war against China.

The Trades and Labour Council in Sheffield (a Northern steel town), representing 40,000 workers, unanimously passed a resolution declaring that if Mr. Churchill committed Britain to support a policy of sanctions against the Peking Government, either by action in the air, invasion or blockade, it would be vigorously resisted by the Council.

Delegates to the Birmingham Trades Council—representing trade unions in one of the most densely industrialised areas of Britain—passed a resolution by an overwhelming majority, at the beginning of February, in which they declared that "the Government's first duty must be to secure a conference of the Great Powers to conclude a Pact of Peace and to end the war in Korea", and demanding that there should be no war with China. About five weeks later, delegates representing some 40 Trades Councils in the Birmingham area, at an annual meeting of the Midland Federation of Trades Councils, passed a resolution urging talks between the Five Great Powers to ease world tension.

Two divisional committees of the Amalgamated Engineering Union in Scotland (where 200,000 signatures have recently been announced) passed a resolution in which they stated:

> *We are of the opinion that millions of people throughout the world desire Peace, irrespective of their beliefs as to the cause which has brought tension between the Great Powers... We instruct the Executive Committee to demand that the Government support (1) the prohibition of the manufacture of atomic weapons, with control and inspection; (2) all-round reduction of arms; (3) a meeting of the Five Great Powers... for the signing of a Peace Pact.*

The rising cost of living, the cuts in social services and the abandonment of all plans for improving living conditions generally, are increasingly being attributed to rearmament, as is shown by the growing number of resolutions throughout the trade union movement, at rank-and-file level, protesting against this situation and drawing attention to the cause. For instance, a petition was signed by workers in a big engineering works in Birmingham urging their Members of Parliament *"to oppose outright this attack on the workers' conditions and to fight in support of an independent policy for Britain; a reduction in armaments and a Peace Pact Between the Five Powers"*. Or again, 250 shop stewards representing more than a quarter-of-a million metalworkers in Sheffield, passed resolutions at a conference calling for wage increases and *"for Peace and trade with all countries and a substantial cut in arms by all the Great Powers"*.

Meanwhile, there are almost daily reports by signature collectors of the eagerness with which British people are now signing the Berlin Appeal and of the numbers of signatures collected within a short space of time outside factory gates in the lunch break, outside railway stations, in the street and from door to door. A worker in a locomotive works took the Appeal to 20 of his workmates and none refused to sign; yet (according to a message he sent to the British Peace Committee) his efforts in support of the Appeal three months previously had yielded two signatures. *"It just shows how everyone is aware of the grave danger of war and beginning to see the need for action,"* he wrote. Another Peace volunteer, in London, left an Appeal form in the waiting-room of a doctor's surgery. When he returned, there were 60 signatures. In some South-east Midlands' towns, Peace signatures are being obtained at the rate of 2,000 a week.

Outstanding signature collectors in Britain are Percy Riley, with a total of 20,000 signatures to his credit, and George Owen with 22,000. Both of them from the large Northern county of Yorkshire, Mr. Riley reported that his local Peace Committee (Dearne) was planning to take the Appeal to the miners at the pit gates. "We have canvassed all the mining townships in the coalfield and obtained over 500 signatures from 20 mining communities", he has reported; while Mr. Owen sent this letter to his Member of Parliament:

> *I am a disabled ex-Serviceman who has collected 22,000 signatures to the Appeal for a Five-Power Pact of Peace. I consider this work of paramount importance, not only for a party or section, but for suffering humanity.*
>
> *The British people are demanding Peace—carry on the good work to end the shameful and ignoble wars in which we are being forced to participate against the wishes of the people.*

One form which the signature-collecting is taking is that of making a concerted drive for signatures prior to the visit of deputations to Members of Parliament. For example the Peace volunteers in Leyton (a London district) made a special effort one week before seeing their M.P. and were able to show him how, during that one week alone, another 800 people in his constituency had signed the World Council's Appeal. In this way they made their deputation far more authoritative. People invited to sign the Appeal in the Midlands were told that their Member of Parliament would be informed, with the result that 5,000 signatures were collected during one week-end. As one leading Peace fighter put it: *"The deputations were an added argument for the signatures, and the signatures an added argument for the deputations—or any other form of action."*

The biggest manifestation for Peace by British women since the end of World War Two was the

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF WOMEN

Representing some 400,000 British women throughout the British Isles, the 1,500 delegates far surpassed the number originally expected and the Assembly (on Sunday March 9th) overflowed from the St Pancras Town Hall, London, into an adjoining hall and a nearby café where they listened to the conference through a loudspeaker.

Unanimously, the delegates passed a declaration pledging them to "carry the Assembly's message of hope throughout the length and breadth of the country".

> *This first National Assembly of Women of Great Britain is the greatest occasion in the lives of all of us here. It has turned our fears into hope,*

was the message with which Monica Felton, world-

renowned Peace fighter, opened the Assembly. Standing in front of a banner of a mother with a baby releasing a dove of Peace, Mrs. Felton began by reading a telegram from Mrs. Pak Den Ai, leader of the women's movement in Korea which Mrs. Felton herself had visited with the International Womens Delegation in 1951.

There are women in this hall, she said, *who have lost husbands and sons in two world wars; some who have husbands or sons in Korea today. There is among us the mother of a 19-year-old boy killed in Egypt only a few weeks ago.*

Between us we hold the future of women and children of the whole world in our hands. And we own a special obligation to the women and children of Korea because they are enduring the rehearsal for a third world war.

Every day now we are seeing our standards of living and our future jeopardised by fresh actions leading to war. Everyone of us is living under the shadow of fear—fear of German re-armament and what that might mean.

There is not a single difference among the people of the world that cannot, with good will, be solved round a table. It is the job of this Assembly to make this understood by all the people of Britain and to turn their fears of war into hope and work for Peace.

As the Chairman was reading messages of greeting to the Assembly from all over the world, a German woman-visitor suddenly stepped on to the platform. Without giving her name, she said she was in England on a visit and that when she saw that delegates from Germany had been prevented from attending, she felt it was her duty to come and speak of their work for Peace. *"Fascist methods are being used to suppress the desire for Peace in Germany,"* she said. *"But we German women will not permit our husbands and sons ever again to bring sorrow to the other women of the world."*

One of the Scottish delegates held up medals which had been given to the Dundee delegation in the train on their way to London by a sailor who, after hearing the purpose of their journey, told her:

I am going to give you my medals. I will never wear them, for in Korea we have been asked to do things we have hated doing. It is a very dirty war.

Another delegate, a Catholic, to whom Mrs. Felton had given the first news of her son missing in Korea, read a letter from him written in a prisoner-of-war camp. He had written:

Do anything you can for Peace. Whatever you do, Mother, try to bring the women together and work for the end of the war in Korea.

Alderman Mrs. Green of Rotherham, Yorkshire, who said she represented 18,000 members of the Labour Party, said that "the question of human life and Peace, irrespective of any party, is paramount"; while another delegate, an executive member of the Cambridge Labour Party, claimed that the thought of the atom bomb was hanging over everyone and that all talk about civil defence was "complete nonsense". There was no civil defence against the atom bomb.

Many delegates gave examples of the effects on living conditions of war preparations. A Welsh delegate who was sponsored by a branch of the National Union of Mineworkers, and who had collected 300 signatures for the Big Five Peace Pact Appeal of the World Council of Peace, drew attention to the low incomes and ravages of industrial disease in the mining industry. "The miners' wives are 100 per cent for Peace, but without a Five Power Pact there can be no Peace", she said.

Another delegate, speaking for 30 women in her factory, described the unemployment in the cotton industry and the inability of housewives to buy the goods they needed—both the result of expenditure on re-armament. *We want our country to go forward to prosperity. That can only come through Peace. The good days depend on that,* she told the Assembly.

Mrs. S. O. Davies, a member of the World Council of Peace, also speaking on the economic effects of war preparations said:

I often lie awake at night thinking of the rat-infested hovels in which our own people are living. There is something wrong with a society where some children must always wear the cast-off clothing of other children.

A big ovation was given to Mrs. Clunes who obtained 8,167 signatures to the Peace Appeal.

"Peace is in our hands", she said, and advised the delegates to *"Carry a Peace Appeal form wherever you go."*

Closing the discussion on Peace, Mrs. Rhoda Fraser of Glasgow told the delegates of the Scotswomen who had collected 1,000 signatures in one day for a Peace petition, and of the Edinburgh women who had got their Member of Parliament to come to one of their homes to discuss Peace.

This delegate concluded:

We are expressing the conscience of the women of Britain and we know the people of the world can bring the statesmen together and keep them together till Peace is won.

THE PEACE CAMPAIGN IN THE UNITED STATES

The campaign for a Pact of Peace continues to grow in the United States, spearheaded by the drive of the American Peace Crusade for one million signatures to its petition urging President Truman and Congress to call a conference of the Big Five to conclude a Peace agreement.

At the National Delegates Assembly for Peace in Washington on April 1st, it was announced that 500,000 signatures had already been collected.

From all corners of the United States come reports of petition activities. Some totals are small and seem unspectacular, but they are mounting up and the enthusiasm to sign is undoubtedly there. As a leading Tacoma, Washington, collector has put it: *"New, strong and fresh winds for Peace are blowing."*

Meeting with a warm reception, the Columbus, Ohio, Peace Crusade collected 56 signatures outside a cinema where last year canvassers were arrested for collecting signatures to the Stockholm Appeal. In Cincinnati, Ohio, over 1,000 signatures were collected in a week. The Ohio Peace Council states that the response confirmed the Gallup poll taken, which showed that at least 70 per cent of the American people want a meeting of the Five Big Powers. In trade unions in Chicago, Illinois, more than 5,000 signatures have been collected. A branch of the United Automobile Workers of America in Cicero, Illinois, has collected more than half its target of signatures and has 4,000 more to collect to complete it. This brings the Illinois total up to over 20,000. In Detroit, one collector attained 3,300 signatures. A ten-year-old girl in Seattle, Jane Phillips, is collecting signatures and has so far obtained 35. Women of Oakland, California, have so far collected 1,200.

Three Veterans for Peace in San Francisco are aiming for 1,000 signatures each. Joe Passen, Chairman of the Veterans' Association, says: *"All you have to do is to go out and see the people. They really want some way of expressing themselves for Peace."*

The Garment Workers Peace Committee of New York is organising a drive for signatures to the pact and has set itself a target of 5,000 by March 20th. Representatives of 17 American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations and independent unions pledged themselves to collect 60,000 signatures by the same date.

Here is a *"Recipe for Peace"*, a leaflet put out by the Minute Women for Peace in New England, to assist them in their drive for signatures:

> BRING TOGETHER the representatives of the Five Great Powers of the earth, the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France and the Chinese People's Republic.
>
> ASSEMBLE the qualities and capacities of these nations and the desire of their peoples for life, happiness and Peace.
>
> ADD to this the following ingredients, Productive Capacity, Science, Natural Resources, Industry, Trade, Education, Culture, Consumer Needs, Food, Housing.
>
> BLEND all these together.
>
> NEXT REMOVE the scum of war, disease and corruption.
>
> POUR OFF the dregs of illiteracy, undernourishment, poor housing, fear and discrimination.
>
> NOW ADD in generous portions—security, equality, understanding, goodwill and brotherhood.
>
> COMBINE THOROUGHLY and serve at once. This palatable and wholesome fare will satisfy the Peace hunger of the world.
>
> COST OF RECIPE is less than the outlay for a single weapon of war.
>
> The responsibility for the lives and welfare of our children and families rests on the women of our nation. ADD YOUR VOICE TO THE DEMAND FOR FIVE POWER NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE. Let President Truman and your Congressman know how you feel.

Trade union leaders are recognising the need for a Pact of Peace to put an end to the existing tension. Harold Neilson of the Chicago Packinghouse Workers declares:

> *Working people have the power to bring about Peace. I have strongly favoured, as have most Americans, a cease-fire in Korea. We must demand it. We must also insist on renewed efforts by our country, together with the other Big Powers, to come to an agreement to reduce arms and to settle differences.*

Trade union branches are collecting signatures to the appeal launched in November 1951, by the American Peace Crusade, urging a conference of the Major Powers to draw up an agreement for lasting peace.

The first number of a newspaper, *"Labor's Voice for Peace"*, has just been issued by the East Bay Labour Peace Committee. East Bay is an industrial region on the East side of San Francisco Bay. The Committee is composed of a group of trade unionists who believe a genuine Peace programme is essential to the welfare of the working people and the defence of the trade unions. Their aims are: an immediate armistice in Korea: negotiations among the Big Powers to end international tension: the end of the wage freeze and the reduction of taxes for working people.

The first stage in the signature campaign was marked by a National Delegates' Assembly for Peace held in Washington on April 1st, and to which hundreds of delegates came from all over the country. The aim of the Assembly was to have the American people present their programme for Peace to their Congressmen and Senators and stir them into action for Peace through a meeting of the Five Big Powers. Delegations organised along Congressional District lines must lobby Congressmen and tell them about the results of the petition campaign for a Pact of Peace. High up on the list of resolutions considered by the Assembly was the demand to stop the rearmament and re-nazification of Germany. The Assembly was convened by 30 well-known personalities, including, the Right Reverend Walter Mitchell of California, retired Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Arizona; Professor Robert Morss Lovett, former governor of the Virgin Islands; Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and scientists, writers, trade unionists and educators.

This National Assembly for Peace also helped to express the demand of Peace loving Americans that

there be candidates supporting a real policy of Peace in the coming Presidential and Congressional Elections to be held this Autumn.

As a mother from Knoxville, Kentucky, writes:

> *We don't want a warmonger for our leader. We would like a man that lives his religion to be our leader.*

That mother lost a son in the fighting in Korea.

The film *"Peace Will Win"* helps the campaign for a Pact of Peace. This film account of the Warsaw Peace Congress is being shown by Peace Committees in many States, and is making a great contribution in helping the people to realise the breadth and scope of the World Peace Movement. Fred Stover, President of the Farmer's Union and Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace says of the film:

> *It certainly is a wonderful help in tearing aside the veil of lies and getting the story of the World Peace Movement to our membership.*

Howard Fast, internationally-known author says:

> *I don't think that in the entire postwar period I have seen a more meaningful film than "Peace Will Win". Just as war is the awful threat of our times, so is Peace the pattern and essence of a good future. The film touches upon the heart and core of the world-wide struggle for Peace.*

Albert E. Kahn, author of *"The Great Conspiracy"*, declares:

> *If only every man, woman and child in the land could see the film, the phrase "War is inevitable" would be dropped from the language; and on all lips would be the words "Peace is invincible".*

In the United States the fight for a Pact of Peace is bound up with the demand to end the war in Korea and to live in peaceful coexistence with all peoples throughout the world.

Concern is being expressed in small local newspapers as well as in the big national dailies at the length of time the talks for a cease-fire are dragging on in Korea, and further, people are beginning to ask *"Is the war in Korea really necessary?"* Mothers who have lost sons in Korea refuse to be consoled with the time-worn phrase that *"They died for their country."* Mrs. Cooper of Memphis, Tennessee, has written to President Truman returning the Purple Heart Medal and Scroll which was awarded posthumously to her son. "I cannot mar my son's memory by a medal and stereotyped words that have no meaning and fail to promise a better tomorrow for those he died for. To me he is a symbol of the 109,000 men that have been sacrificed in this needless slaughter."

THESE TWO TELEGRAMS WERE SENT FROM THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE TO THE NATIONAL DELEGATES PEACE ASSEMBLY WHICH WAS HELD ON APRIL 1st IN TURNERS ARENA, WASHINGTON, D.C.

"Warm greetings to the National Delegates Peace Assembly which is contributing to the common defence of Peace by all Peace-loving peoples. Your Assembly joins the voice of Peace-loving Americans to the voice of 600 million people of all lands who, by signing the Appeal for a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers expressed their will for the peaceful co-existence of nations, for the ending of the crushing burden of armaments and war preparations which is shackling the national independence of the peoples and for peaceful economic development and trade. M. Joliot-Curie, President of the World Council of Peace, in condemning the use of bacteriological arms by the American armed forces in Korea and China, warned all peoples 'under what a menace they live, by what ghastly means some seek to intimidate then' and appealed to all peoples to condemn this crime. The eyes of shocked humanity are on the American people, certain that all honest, decent Americans will join world conscience in condemning the use of bacteriological arms and in demanding their banning. We are confident that a world of Peace will be won through unity and the determined action of the American people, Negro and White, and the peace-loving people of all other lands."

For the World Council of Peace.
Jean Laffitte,
General Secretary.

"Greetings to old and new Peace friends from their representative on the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace. At the World Council Bureau just ended at Oslo, I got the facts from Kuo Mo Jo and from a Korean eye-witness and saw photos of the monstrous crime of bacteriological warfare in China and Korea. This vile aggression against the Chinese people which is adding horrible weapons to the shameful arsenal for lynching and suppressing the colored peoples of the United States, Korea and all over the world, must be ended urgently before it is too late. That this aggression takes this secret form is testimony of the will for Peace of the American people and their refusal to fight an aggressive war. The situation is dreadfully serious and demands the strongest action. The peoples of the whole world are doing their utmost to save Peace and are praying the American people awake in time. I am confident that your Assembly will greatly advance the noble fight of all peoples for Peace."

Reverend John Darr, Jr.
Secretary of the World Council of Peace.

DEFEAT OF UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING—A VICTORY FOR THE PEACE FORCES

There is nationwide feeling against the Bill for Universal Military Training. This Bill proposes that every young man of 18 years should have six months compulsory military training, followed by seven-and-a-half years in the military reserves. In January of this year the Armed Services Committee of the House of Representatives held open hearings on the Bill. In spite of opposition by church-people, labor, youth, women's and other organisations the Committee reported the Bill favourably and the House started to consider it on February 26th. Knowing the opposition to the Bill the Administration used every method possible to influence people to support it. General Eisenhower sent an urgent cable demanding adoption of the Bill. But the voice of the people was stronger than the pressure of the militarists. The A.F.L. and C.I.O. went on record against it. Mrs. Theodore Wedel, representing ten milion women of the National Council of Churches of Christ, voiced her organisation's opposition to the Bill, during the hearings held by the Armed Services Committee of the House of Representatives.

Only those who want to prolong the war in Korea and spread it to all parts of the globe, are pushing this Bill, said Melvin Williamson for the National Council of the Labor Youth League. *Talk about United States leadership of the free world is hypocrisy considering the Government's refusal to grant first-class citizenship to Negro people.*

Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples, in opposing the Bill for U.M.T. demanded: *No racial segregation in the armed forces.*

The American Labor Party in a memorandum to the Senate called the Bill "a brass-hat, goose-step plan to militarise our youth and pour four billion dollars a year into a blueprint for war."

The United States Chamber of Commerce called for further study of the programme on the ground that it would cost four billion dollars in the first year and might mean *"a waste of manpower and a waste of money."*

Dr. Walter W. van Kirk, head of the National Council of Churches of Christ, warned that passage of the Bill *"would be a signal to the whole world that Congress has abandonned the idea of peaceful settlement of international differences."*

In spite of various amendments to the Bill to make it more acceptable to the people it was rejected in the House on March 4th by 236 votes to 162. It has now been sent back to the Armed Services Committee "for further study."

Dr. ENRIQUE GONZALEZ MARTINEZ

On February 19th, Dr. Enrique Gonzalez Martinez, Mexico's celebrated poet and President of the Mexican National Council of the Defenders of Peace since its inception, died at the age of 80.

In his last book—he wrote 20 books of poetry, seven anthologies of his works were published, two autobiographical volumes and thousands of articles, essays, reviews and prefaces—he wrote:

> **"I shall be a Peace-lover till death closes my eyes; a man who condemns armed aggression as a crime. I will condemn, from the depth of my conscience, the use of weapons inspired by forces whose actions are turned from their beneficial and creative aim to destruction and death."**

With the death of Gonzales Martinez, American culture, the Mexican, Latin American and, indeed, the whole World Peace Movement, loses a revered poet, a staunch patriot and a great fighter for Peace.

AMERICAN CHURCH LEADERS ENTER THE CAMPAIGN FOR NEGOTIATION BETWEEN THE GREAT POWERS

Nine of America's leading Protestant Churchmen have written an Open Letter inviting the American people to join them in using a Prayer for Peace in church services, private meditation and public meetings and to join in sending the Prayer to President Truman with a message calling on the President to initiate steps to Peace agreement between the heads of states.

Those who have signed the Open Letter include Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, a President of the World Council of Churches and Secretary of the Council of Methodist Bishops; Mrs. Welthy Honsinger Fisher, Chairman of the World Day of Prayer; Lewis Hoskins, Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers); the Reverend Donald B. Cloward, Executive Secretary of the Council on Christian Progress of the American Baptist Convention; the Reverend Paul N. Poling, Director of the Commission on Social Education and Action of the Presbyterian Church; the Reverend James A. Crain of the United Missionary Society. Rabbi B. Benedict Glazer of Temple Bethel-El in Detroit joined the Protestant leaders in issuing the letter.

The Open Letter states, in part:

> *Surely we must pray God to guide those in high places to bring an end to the dying and devastation in Korea, and to prevent the outbreak of hostilities in other tension areas. It is increasingly apparent that a permanent Peace waits upon a more general settlement of differences among the Major Powers... To encourage our President and our Congressmen to do their utmost to reach a permanent world accord, and to ward off an atomic holocaust, we recommend the use of the attached Prayer of Peace...*

In the Prayer for Peace it is stated:

> *We deplore our share in spreading evil rumours, trumpeting our hates, whispering our suspicions, unashamedly parading our prejudices. Driven into the most stupendous and suicidal armaments race of all time, we are appalled to find ourselves staggering headlong toward a third world war... Forgive us, we pray, for putting such pre-eminent trust in weapons of destruction... Grant, O God, that*

our moral influence may induce those in high places to strive persistently to settle their differences by reliance upon reason and right, rather than resort to violence... Especially guide, we pray, the great powers upon whom rests the major responsibility for the destiny of man... Grant that all nations may strive to curb their pride and devote themselves to the achievement of mutual trust, high rivalry in goodwill, and in creative competition to see which one can give most to the well-being of the world...

Attached to the Prayer for Peace is a message to President Truman in the form of a petition to be signed by 25 persons. The message states, in part:

This Prayer for Peace expresses the inmost desires of our hearts... We believe you should not wait for the heads of other states to initiate steps to agreement and reconciliation, but rather that you should keep our country ever to the forefront in all valid plans for universal Peace through justice to all peoples.

Among the groups that have responded to the invitation to use this Prayer is the Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Church (nine million members) which is sending out 23,000 copies of the Open Letter and the Prayer for Peace with its attached message to President Truman.

ALL-INDIA PEACE COUNCIL

meets in Delhi, February 24th 1952

EXCERPT FROM THE RESOLUTION ON PEACE AND INDIA'S ECONOMY, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO DISARMAMENT

The time is ripe for mankind to call a halt to this piling up of armaments and to this hatred. The disarmament proposals of the World Council of Peace show that a practical path exists, taking into account the fair requirements for security of all countries, to relieve humanity of its crushing burden.

The Council appeals to all to join the world-wide effort to secure negotiation and settlement of their differences between the Great Powers. A Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers would have among its consequences the restoration of normal economic relations throughout the world, would spare mankind the terrible wastage entailed by the war drive, and open the way to speedy economic progress, relief of want and improvement of living standards.

RESOLUTION ON CONFLICTS IN ASIA AND NORTH AFRICA

The Indian People are deeply disturbed by the growing deterioration in the international situation. The delay in the conclusion of the Korean armistice, the statements and threats by leading personalities, advocating the extension of hostilities to the Chinese mainland and in South East Asia, show how immediate is the risk of a Third World War and with it, a conflagration from which India could not hope to emerge unscathed.

The signing of the San Francisco Treaty with Japan and the plan for remilitarisation of Japan, the establishment of foreign bases, the building up of Kuomintang forces in Burma and the continued refusal to seat the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is a clear indication of the danger of further conflict in the Far East.

In addition to these dangers, conflicts have broken out in the Middle East and North Africa, from Morocco and Tunisia to Egypt and Iran, where the assertion of the national right of the peoples to dispose of their own fate and resources and their reluctance to see these territories used for war purposes come into conflict with the strategic demand of certain Great Powers.

To restore Peace in Asia and North Africa, not only must all hostilities in progress be immediately brought to an end, but the just claims of peoples to independence and to conduct and manage their own affairs, without foreign pressure or intervention and without being subjected to military occupation, open or disguised, must be effectively recognised.

Indian public opinion is unanimous in its support for any measures taken by the Government of India to bring about the cessation of hostilities in the countries of Asia and North Africa and to guarantee the integrity and sovereignty of these countries.

The Council urges the Government of India to ensure that India's resources and manpower, its ports and aerodromes or transit bases and other facilities are in no way allowed to be used for the prosecution of repressive wars.

We appeal to the Indian people to do their utmost to encourage the settlement by the Great Powers of the issues between them by negotiation, in order to create a situation favourable to the peaceful settlement of the conflicts in progress and the peaceful achievement by the peoples of their just aims.

THE CAMPAIGN IN GREECE

In spite of the severe repression of the Peace Movement, signatures for the Berlin Appeal and support for the conception of negotiations and Peace are still being given by the widest strata of the Greek people, and throughout the country. These include high church dignitaries, such as the Patriarch of Antioch and Alexandria; Mayors, scientists, workers, peasants, shopkeepers and traders.

The latest published figure was nearly 37,000 signatures.

In nine districts, 13,330 were collected within the space of a few days.

Nine Metropolitans of the Greek Orthodox Church have openly expressed their support for the Peace Movement or even signed the Berlin Appeal. For example, Metropolitan Chryssostomos of Zante stated:

I believe with all my heart in the idea of Peace and that it is the only way by which we can travel the road of progress... We have suffered a great deal. It is time that feelings of hate were banished.

Or, again, Metropolitan Dionyssios of Edessa said when signing the Peace Pact Appeal:

I agree that atomic weapons should be prohibited... The teaching of Christ forbids war-propaganda.

The Metropolitan of the Aegean island of Hydra also maintained:

Every man, whether he is a priest or not, must pray for Peace. If general and effective disarmament is realised, the money which is expended on arms could be used for peaceful ends and for raising the people's standard of living. I agree that atomic weapons should be banned. If they were used in war, civilisation would be destroyed.

War-propaganda must be made illegal.

The Rector of Athens university, Professor K. Moutoussis, in a reply to a questionnaire submitted to him by the journal of the Greek Defenders of Peace (since suppressed), said:

A scholar must of necessity be in favour of Peace, for Peace ensures people's development and wellbeing. In my capacity of scientist, I emphasise the fact that when I speak of Peace, I speak of that genuine Peace which guarantees liberty and progress.

SWEDEN'S PEACE MONTH

Half-way through Sweden's "Peace Month" which began on February 15th, the Swedish Peace Committee was able to announce that 11,000 new signatures for the Berlin Peace Appeal had been obtained, while 120 local trade union branches had endorsed the Appeal to the United Nations made by the Nordic Peace Conference in Stockholm, last November. *(This Appeal urged negotiations for a Five Power Peace Pact.)*

On one Sunday, 120 Peace volunteers in Stockholm collected 1,759 signatures within two hours, sold 250 copies of the Peace periodical *"Live in Peace"*, and 167 Peace pamphlets.

Various Peace Committees throughout the country set signature targets for *"Peace Month"* and special Peace groups were formed which competed in the collection of signatures.

Meanwhile, a campaign is being undertaken against the proposed rescinding of the law by which Swedish soldiers at present cannot be sent abroad. An attempt is being made to change this law so that Swedish units could be sent, for instance, to Korea. The Youth Peace Committee in Gustavsberg (30 kilometres from Stockholm and one of the centres of the ceramic industry) circulated a questionnaire to young people between 15 and 30 which asked, first:

"Do you think that Parliament should change the military service law so that Swedish youth could be ordered to participate in foreign wars?"

Of 104 young people to whom the question was put, 100 answered "No"; four gave no answer and no one thought that the law should be changed. To the second question:

"Do you think that the existing period of military training is sufficient?"

—99 out of the 104 answered "Yes" and five had no opinion.

During the Peace Month in Sweden, the writer Artur Lundkvist, Vice-president of the World Council of Peace, spoke on March 1st at the Gothenburg Concert Hall on the occasion of a Peace Evening of Trade unionists.

At the outset Mr. Lundkvist spoke of how the thesis that the two systems cannot live side by side in Peace is untenable. It is simply a question of good will, he said. It is a question of showing under peaceful conditions, which of the two systems is the better.

In the Western Democracies Peace propaganda is combatted by violent counter-propaganda which says that the Peace Movement is Communist. It is true that among the leaders of the World Peace Movement there are also some Communists. But this, said Mr. Lundkvist, is not sufficient reason for suppressing or disqualifying a movement. Half of the world is Communist. One may consider this good or bad, but it is an indisputable fact and refusal to deal with Communists will lead to catastrophe.

Many non-Communists have supported the Appeals of the World Peace Movement "and I am one of them" he added.

One has the feeling that it is not because of fear of Communism, but because of fear of Peace that the Peace Movement is attacked, Mr. Lundkvist continued. He declared that all honest men can join in the work of the World Council of Peace. Signing for the Peace Pact makes people participate in the work for Peace and makes them feel that they are bringing a contribution to the resistance against those who want war.

OTHER PEACE CAMPAIGN NEWS

DANISH PEACE CONFERENCE

The Defenders of Peace in Denmark met in Copenhagen at their National Conference, March 8th-9th. Among the 300 people who took part, were many guests such as Quakers and representatives of various pacifist groups.

The Resolution, which was adopted unanimously, called for widespread unity for Peace.

A National Committee of 57 was elected and Professor Mogens Fog was re-elected as its President.

The Conference had been preceded by a month's campaign in order to step up the collection of signatures, particularly in the country districts, where letters had been sent to every family, and for the sending of delegates to the Conference.

NEW TOTAL IN NORWAY

The Norwegian Defenders of Peace have announced that 3,000 new signatures to the Berlin Peace Appeal were collected in February, bringing the total to 49,475.

900,000 NEW SIGNATURES IN AUSTRIA

Nearly 900,000 signatures for the Five Power Peace Pact had been collected in Austria by March 15th. In Vienna, alone, 20,000 more signatures have been collected than for the Stockholm Appeal. Success has been particularly marked in those regions of Western Austria in which military preparations are being made. In the Salzburg region the signature campaign is carried on jointly with an appeal for a referendum against the building of military bases.

The *"Young Austrian Peace Fighters' Committee"* has convened a conference in Vienna from April 19th-20th. *"Without young people, there can be no war"*, says the Committee's Appeal.

THE CAMPAIGN IN PAKISTAN

Over 15,000 people in Lahore (Pakistan) signed the Five Power Pact Appeal within a fortnight of the launching of the campaign. Among the signatories are thousands of workers, Government employees, students, 40 prominent lawyers, 13 editors of daily newspapers, poets and artists.

Hashmat Ali Wafa, office secretary of the Pakistan Trade Union Federation, has been awarded a Peace prize for collecting 4,000 signatures.

More than 200 prominent Lahore citizens were present at a meeting at which the Peace Committee was set up and the campaign launched. Mazhar Ali Khan, who was one of the Pakistani delegates to the Vienna session of the World Council of Peace, said that war preparations in other countries had a direct effect on Pakistan and he mentioned particularly the rise in prices of commodities.

German Rearmament

AT THE END OF THE LARGE ASSEMBLY FOR PEACE HELD AT NANCY ON 3rd FEBRUARY, 1952, THE FOLLOWING APPEAL WAS ISSUED.

APPEAL TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE

We, the inhabitants of Eastern France have been subjected to invasion three times in 75 years.

We express our firm solidarity, our sympathy and our confidence in all those people in Germany who are opposed to any re-armament of their country. We know that re-armament would make impossible the unification of Germany.

We are convinced, on the other hand, that the opposition of the German people to re-armament is the only possible way of assuring for Germany a peaceful and democratic future guaranteed by the Great Powers. We consider that the common struggle of the German and French people against German re-armament will determine the development of peaceful relations between our two countries and will form the best security of the establishment of lasting Peace in the world.

REPLY OF THE GERMAN PEACE COMMITTEE TO THE NANCY APPEAL

Dear Friends,

We greet you and thank you for your report of the great and powerful demonstration which was attended by the people of Eastern France several days ago at Nancy.

The adoption of Adenauer's war plans by the German Federal Parliament at Bonn constitutes a very grave danger for our two peoples and for all the peoples of the world.

Once more, German militarism wishes to be the aggressor of Eastern Europe. But the fact that these plans are also directed against France escapes no one.

Adenauer's hypocritical declaration on the "new Franco-German friendship" does not hide from the eyes of the world the fact that, once again recently, one of his Ministers who is still in office, called for the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine and that sôme Deputies of the Federal Parliament look forward to the day when, in their own words, they will be able to talk with France "more plainly".

The United States war group has, in Europe, entrusted the rôle of chosen partner to the Ruhr magnates, against the interests of the people of Western Europe and the German people itself.

The powerful movement which is developing among the people of Western Germany shows that they have not forgotten the past. They no longer want to share the crimes of the war profiteers. They want to live in Peace with the Soviet Union, with Poland and with France. They do not want to carry arms again.

Dear Friends, we thank you for the confidence you place in us and we say only: "Down with the new Wehrmacht, long live the common struggle of the French and German people for Peace!"

GERMANS OPPOSE RE-MILITARISATION

Throughout the length and breadth of Germany—and especially amongst labour in the Western sectors—a huge wave of protests is mounting daily against the decision to re-constitute the Wehrmacht.

Delegates to the emergency Bavarian Trade Union Congress, on February 10th, declared that West German trade unions must use every weapon, including the general strike, against the formation of the new West German army. The 120 delegates, representing nearly one million members, roared their disapproval of the Chairman of the West German Trade Union Federation when he appealed for their support for re-militarisation and, after nearly ten hours of debate in which every speaker rejected the idea of a new army, they voted unanimously for a resolution which stated:

The inclusion of West Germany in the so-called Western defence system would make it impossible to re-unite Germany peacefully;

Re-militarisation would still further worsen the already low standard of living in West Germany;

The trade union leadership should be commissioned to work out the necessary measures to be taken to prevent the creation of a new army;

"These necessary measures would naturally include the general strike weapon", stated Max Woenner, Bavarian Trade Union Secretary.

This was the climax to several weeks of protests, demonstrations and token strikes against the creation of the new army. In the Social Democratic Party circles this was expressed, for example, by the Social Democratic Party workers of South Hesse and Nu-

remberg (U.S. zone) who met early in February and passed, almost unanimously, resolutions protesting in the strongest terms against any form of re-militarisation, and, on the 25th, Social Democratic trade union officials in Darmstadt urged that a special congress of the Party be convened to decide on the course of the Party's struggle against re-militarisation. Previously, another Social Democratic conference, in Essen (Ruhr), passed resolutions in which they voiced the indignation of the German people against the Bonn Government's decision to reconstitute the Wehrmacht. The Deputy, Georg Stierle, publicly urged the Social Democratic leadership to come out openly against re-militarisation, while the chief editor of the Social-Democratic paper, "Westfaelische Rundschau", Walter Poller, declared recently at a women's conference in Dortmund, that:

> *No sacrifice is too big in the fight to safeguard Peace... But the setting up of a West German Army is not a factor which will serve to ensure Peace.*

Even before the general strike warning at the Bavarian Trade Union Congress, strikes varying in length from 15 minutes to two hours had been carried by the workers of the following concerns (among many others):

6,000 workers of the Deutsche Werft shipbuilding yards in Hamburg; 5,500 workers of the Daimler car works, Stuttgart;

All engineering and metal-working factories in the Ruhr city of Gelsenkirchen;

All workers in the industrial towns of Durlach and Urach;

Miners of the Brassert pit in Marl; the Norddeutsche pit in Lintfort and many others.

Trades Councils in Remscheid, Heilbronn and many other places called for general strike action against re-armament.

Since the Bavarian Congress, trade union organisations throughout Western Germany have recommended their district branches to follow the example of the Bavarian trade unionists. For example, in the metallurgical industry, the following trade union branches passed resolutions against re-militarisation:

Union branches representing 60,000 metal workers in Stuttgart;

40,000 in Frankfurt-on-Main;

30,000 in Mannheim

as well as metallurgical trade union branches in Solingen, Luenburg, Aschaffenburg, Hamburg and Remscheid. The works' council chairman of the biggest enterprise of the L.G. Farben concern, Badische Anilin und Soda Fabriken, at Ludwigshafen, with 26,000 workers, declared that German re-militarisation can only increase the danger of a new war.

Transport unions in Frankfurt-on-Main passed resolutions in the name of 192,000 workers and employees. A joint action committee of railway workers at Hannover, issued an appeal to all German railway workers, regardless of differences of political opinion, to fight together against re-militarisation and the Schuman Plan; while representatives of more than 800,000 transport workers at a Trade Union Congress in Hamburg expressed their strong opposition against the rearmament programme of the Adenauer Government. *(This was the second biggest collective demonstration of trade union hostility to this policy, after the Bavarian T.U.C. meeting.)*

The miners are as equally outspoken on this question as are the transport and metal-workers. In Gelsenkirchen, miners addressed a resolution to the Bonn Government in which they declared:

> *We demand the cessation of any kind of re-militarisation and immediate negotiations on the unification of Germany. We had to fight two world wars in one generation. We, therefore, cannot watch inactive while a third war is being prepared.*

Almost 90 per cent of the miners employed at the colliery of the war criminal, Wilhelm Flick, are refusing to do Sunday "Panzer" shifts to deliver coal to the armament's industry. This reflects the mood of the resolution passed at the All-German Mineworkers' Conference in Essen, in January (at which French miner delegates took part together with 1,000 of their German colleagues) and at which a Central Committee of 50 was elected to direct the German Miners' Peace Movement. This resolution, which was mainly directed against the Schuman Plan, stated in part:

> *Our struggle against the Schuman Plan is all the more necessary in that it constitutes, with the Pleven Plan, an economic and military dictatorship in order to make Western Germany an armaments centre and to make our country a springboard for a new world war... But we have no intention of allowing our sons and brothers to die in a new war of aggression for the sake of the plans for world hegemony of the German and U.S. monopolists. That is why we will defend with all the power of the trade unions, all democratic organisations; for the Schuman Plan, after the seizure of the German Saar, now tends to wrest from the German people the free disposal of the Ruhr, the heart of German economy, and this imposes on us miners a great national responsibility.*
>
> *Without coal, which they ask us to get, production of arms is impossible; without coal it is impossible to go to war.*
>
> *To save the Ruhr for Germany, to keep our country out of war means to see that our coal is not used for arms' production, but for the construction of our peaceful German industry. That is the national duty of the German working class.*

At a meeting in Dortmund on the 16th March of the Central Committee Against Re-militarisation, attended by more than 300 delegates, it was announced that 9,119,667 men, women and young people have given a positive answer to the Referendum which asked, in effect:

"Are you against the re-militarisation of Germany?" and "Do you support a Peace Treaty?"

In a secret ballot at Sulzbach-Rosenberg, Bavaria, in March almost 90 per cent of the 2,200 miners refused special shifts as a protest against the renewal of German war industry.

Dockers are also taking action against the war preparations. In Hamburg *(British Zone)*, they went on strike rather than unload a British ship carrying ammunition and about 1,000 unemployed refused to accept jobs in the harbour offered to them at the Labour Exchange, thus refusing to act as strike-breakers.

This strike afforded an example of what German women are doing in the fight for Peace. A delegation of Hamburg women demonstrated in the harbour and called on all harbour employees to join in the strike and not to permit war-material to be handled and transported to Western Germany *(as the West German dockers had decided in a resolution some time before).*

A hundred delegates of the Democratic Union of German Women in Nuremburg, passed a resolution at a conference in February, declaring their will to struggle with all their might against war.

Young Germans, mindful of the sacrifices that they would have to make in another war, are also protesting against the formation of a new Wehrmacht into which they would be conscripted. At a Conference in Darmstadt, at which French youth participated, delegates from practically all youth organisations in Western Germany, expressed their categorical opposition to re-militarisation and unanimously passed a resolution to this effect. An appeal to the young generation to act jointly against military legislation and against forced recruitment was also passed unanimously. In a telegram to the Bonn Federal Government, the delegates demanded immediate negotiations with the Government of the German Democratic Republic.

Those who have already been the victims of war are also adding their voices to the protests. A spokesman of former war prisoners declared at a district conference in Nuremberg that, contrary to the misrepresentations of the warmongers, 98 per cent of the former prisoners are against re-militarisation; while several thousand permanent invalids and war veterans demonstrated at Duisberg against the war plans and met with considerable support and sympathy from the population. They carried posters which read:

"Did you not have enough war? Look at us!"

The opposition is by no means confined to labour. It is being expressed by all sections of the German people—by the 45 Protestant priests of the province of Hannover who addressed a letter to the Adenauer Government protesting against German re-armament; by the members, belonging to all parties, of the Freiburg Town Council *(French Zone)* who supported a motion recommending municipal officials to boycott all preparations being made for the building of new barracks, airfields and munitions dumps in the vicinity of the town; and by the nearly 194,000 men, women and young people of Hamburg who, when asked their opinion on re-militarisation and conscription, declared their opposition. Out of the 205,000 people asked, only 1,800 supported the policy.

It has been estimated by United Press (the American news agency) that, altogether, some 50,000 individual protests have been received by Ministeries, Government offices and by Parliamentary Deputies in Bonn, expressing their opposition to re-militarisation.

THEY ARE AGAINST GERMAN RE-ARMAMENT

Writing in the Italian Socialist fortnightly review *"Mondo Operaio"*, **Pietro Nenni**, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace quoted the recent statement of Georg Dertinger, Foreign Minister of the German Democratic Republic who said that, with the help of the French people, the re-birth of militarism and imperialism in Western Germany can be prevented.

Signor Nenni comments:

> *The fact that there are Germans who have such a clear programme for Peace ... is a positive element, perhaps the most positive in the German enigma presenting itself to a troubled Europe.*

*

J. A. Van Halem, a Dutch scientist, in an article in the conservative weekly *"Elseviers"*, writes:

> *In fact the formation of a German Wehrmacht is as important as the rise of the Hitler movement in Germany a few decades ago which was regarded by the European Powers with a smile. Germany is tempted now to become, once again, the most active military force on our continent.*

*

Bishop D. Mitzenheim, Evangelical Bishop of Thuringia told his congregation at St James Church in Weimar, East Germany, that every thinking person must demand that the responsible circles in both East and West Germany come together to discuss German unity. He added:

> *We have held special services for Peace in our churches since 1949, and we greet every step which helps to bring the peaceful re-unification of Germany nearer.*

Pastor Niemoller, West Germany Protestant Church leader who was imprisoned by Hitler because of his opposition to war, received a letter from a West Berlin mother in which she said:

> *My son is 18, and we are all worried about conscription. I am writing in the name of many parents and in the name of the young people who do not want to be soldiers. Please help us.*

Pastor Niemoller replied:

> *If occasion arises all my three sons will refuse military service under all circumstances, and will be ready to take the consequences. I can only recommend the same course to your son. Most papers and means of publicity are closed to us friends of Peace, but something can be done by personal contact and so on. My experience shows me that we form the great majority of the West German people, and at the right moment this will make itself felt.*

*

Dr. Hans Ehard, Catholic Prime Minister of Bavaria, has declared:

> *I am heterodox enough to believe that the idea of a consultation between East and West German circles is not at all bad.*

*

A petition drawn up by **Dr. Gustav Heinemann** (a former Minister in the Federal Government who resigned on the re-armament issue) and addressed to the President of the Bonn Government, was adopted by 200 eminent cultural personalities of Western Germany at the *"West German Cultural Congress of 1952"*, at Vilbel near Frankfurt. It said:

We are convinced that West German rearmament will not secure Peace, but will increase the danger of war... We do not believe that West German rearmament will lead to a peaceful liberation of the Soviet Zone and the re-establishment of a unified Germany...

The **Right Reverend Walter Mitchell,** retired Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Arizona has declared: *"The great danger is war and the danger spot is Germany".* When announcing his support of the National Delegates Assembly for Peace which met in Washington on April 1st. He added:

Why should not our leaders urge the United Nations to propose German disarmament, withdrawal of all foreign troops from Germany, constant inspection to see that Germany never rearms and, when the right time comes, let all Germans decide what kind of government they really want?

*

Peace groups in 25 Brooklyn *(New York)* communities have informed the **Brooklyn Peace Council** that German re-arming is causing the greatest anxiety to their people. The Brooklyn Peace Council (which consists of church organisations, small business associations, parents, youth and neighbourhood groups) has circulated a questionnaire to 4,000 public leaders in Brooklyn, to assess their views on German re-armament.

*

In **Israel,** where the campaign for a Five Power Peace Pact is linked with the denunciation of German re-armament, amongst a number of manifestations against negotiations between the Israel and Bonn Governments, was a successful mass-meeting sponsored by the *"Initiating Committee of Partisans and Underground Fighters of the Ghettos, Detainees of Concentration Camps and Members of the Jewish Brigade"* jointly with the National Peace Committee. The meeting was addressed by:

Dr. Adolf Berman, member of the Knesseth, who was a member of the Jewish Anti-Nazi Underground Committee in Poland; Chaika Grosman, one of the leaders of the Bialistok anti-Nazi uprising; M. Alpen and R. Benshalom, of the Nazi underground in Slovakia and Hungary; M. Silberthal and S. Litwak of the Jewish Brigade Committee during World War Two.

WIDOWS OF ITALIAN GOLD MEDALLISTS AGAINST GERMAN RE-ARMAMENT

In Italy an appeal has been launched against German re-armament by many widows and families of *"Gold Medallists"* the great majority of whom are people quite far removed from the "Peace Movement". The "Gold Medal" is the highest military distinction in Italy and is held in very high esteem.

APPEAL

We, relatives of victims of the war who received the military award "The Gold Medal", mothers and wives of noble sons of our country whose heroic death crowned the fearless struggle against the German invaders of our country;

Aware of the disastrous decision to re-arm Germany, and realising that the intention is to give back the power of wreaking further death and extermination to the Nazi Generals who conceived and brought about the slaughter of whole peoples and races;

Convinced that this disastrous decision will bring about the re-appearance of the sinister shadow of the massacres of Dachau and Mauthausen, of Ausschwitz and Marzabotto, of Grugliasco and Fosse Ardeatine, and hundreds upon hundreds of martyred villages from Stalingrad to Coventry, from Paris to Rome;

In the name of our beloved dead, in the name of their courage which was the same courage as that shown by the Italian people united in the fight against the German barbarian,

We sound a cry of alarm and protest, which we want the Governments which share the heavy responsibility of these decisions to hear.

The possibility of a repetition of these atrocious crimes to humanity must not arise and the Nazi chiefs, animated with the desire to return to power and for revenge, must not be given back their arms.

"A DOCUMENT OF HISTORICAL VALUE"

This letter was sent to the Peace Committee of the German Democratic Republic by the People's Peace Committee of the martyred Czechoslovak mining village of Lidice.

Lidice, January 20th, 1952

As president of the local people's Committee of new Lidice, it is my pleasure to thank you personally and on behalf of all the women of Lidice for the gifts you sent to our children.

We are sure you will appreciate this letter as being not just a simple letter of thanks but as being a document of great importance and even of historic value. It is the first official letter to Germany from this so tragically famous Lidice, sent seven years after the war and ten years after the destruction by the Nazis of this community which had existed since the 14th century.

The Nazis murdered all its male population, all the women were put into a concentration camp, where 50 of them died, and all the children under 15 were deported, of whom only 16 out of 105 came back.

The news of this dastardly crime which was and which will always be considered as a symbol of barbarity, was given in an official Nazi communiqué to the whole world and made of our community, unknown until then, one of the most outstanding symbols of the last world war. These facts are known to you and to us because they are known to the whole world. We can neither conceal nor blot out the pages of world history from our minds and we could not but remember when our children received your gifts, nor can we forget while writing this letter.

Important as these facts are, equally important is the way in which we judge them and succeed in thinking of them as a part of the general chain of world events.

There was a time when we, the women of Lidice, judged these events from our own point of view—as mothers with unnutterable suffering in our hearts. Our wounds were still unhealed and our sorrow was insupportable. Afterwards, we came to realise that our sufferings were sufferings common to our whole country, even to the whole world; that Lidice is the symbol of the suffering of thousands and thousands of other mothers' hearts throughout the world.

Then a new stage inevitably followed in our development when we saw that our affliction had not been a warning and a lesson to all those who declared their sympathy with our suffering. When we learned that U.S. aircraft in Korea were destroying whole towns and villages, that the British in Malaya were uprooting whole hamlets, we understood that the word "ausradieren" (to wipe out) was not only a special word used by Hitler; that the destruction of villages was not only a characteristic of the Nazi regime, but on the contrary, the same U.S. circles and newspapers who had formerly wept crocodile tears for Lidice, have shamelessly coined a new phrase for the destruction of villages—the phrase "to make Lidices".

It was then that we stopped making generalisations, because we understood how wrong it would be to persist in thinking that it was the German people who destroyed Lidice. No—it was fascism and Nazism and their vile ideology which brought the destruction of Lidice and hundreds of towns and villages in the Soviet Union, in the Ukraine, in Poland, in France and in other countries. At the same time we understood that it was not America nor the American people who desire the destruction of Korean villages and towns, and threaten Korea with the atomic bomb, but it is fascism again, this time in another form and speaking another language.

We have come to see clearly that it is precisely we who must stretch out our hands to all people who love Peace, no matter where they live and no matter what nationality they may be, in order that we may struggle in common against fascism and through this struggle attain Peace and a happy life for our new village. We see, too, that all peace-loving and democratic people in Germany must be in this struggle alongside us.

Dear friends, at the same time when we, with sorrow gnawing at our hearts, were entirely devoting our energies to the search for our children and to the building of our new homes, you had begun a radical purge with the fraternal help of the Soviet Union and the building of a new life, free from all the memories of Nazism. We know about all your successes and your difficulties because we followed them attentively. This has brought about the meeting between representatives of honest and peace-loving German people with the women of Lidice . . .

At first we both felt hesitant towards each other. Then I think that we both gave deep thought to the question, ridding ourselves of many prejudices and so we both came to understand one thing—that what has happened at Lidice must never be forgotten. But this must not make the Czech people and the women of Lidice feel unreasonable anger against the peace-loving, democratic Germans who are doing all in their power in order that another Lidice can never again happen.

To our children—those who came back from Nazi Germany—you have sent gifts. Our children received them with pleasure and thank you themselves. We do not simply thank you for your gifts; we ask you to tell all the fighters for Peace and all honest and Peace-loving people of Germany in the East and in the West that the women of Lidice hold out the hand of friendship to them in the common struggle and for the building of a new life. We will go forward side by side with mutual faith and confidence, not forgetting the memory of Lidice, but facing each other frankly and putting aside all reservations. To this Germany, the Germany which has the cultural tradition of Goethe, Heine, Beethoven, Mann and Zweig, to the New Germany of Wilhelm Pieck, we pay tribute for the contribution it is making to World Peace.

Culture for Peace

PREPARATIONS FOR THE INDIAN CULTURAL CONFERENCE FOR PEACE

Below are extracts from an article by Niranjan Sen, one of the leading workers in the Bengal Preparatory Committee for the above Conference which was held in Calcutta from April 2nd—6th.

The following papers should be printed and circulated to all the Provinces where arrangements should be made for widespread discussions, the submission of questions and amendments, so that each Provincial delegation may come well prepared to the Conference and will be able to contribute to the discussion there.

The five papers proposed are:

(1) Culture In The Service Of Peace—A review of the contribution to Peace made in literature, art, film, dance and music in each Province in India.

(2) War Propaganda—A memorandum on the war propaganda carried on through films, literature, etc., and its effect on the people.

Steps to counteract this war propaganda and concrete proposals for forms of action to counteract war propaganda will be discussed.

Special attention should be paid to the creation of hostility between India and Pakistan through these media, and the effects of this propaganda on education should also be discussed.

(3) Peace and the Working Conditions of Cultural Workers. The effect of the rising cost of living as the result of war and war tension on cultural workers and cultural work in the Province; effects of high cost of paper and newsprint on printing and literature; effects of non-availability of raw film and equipment on the film industry.

(4) Imperialist Stranglehold Over People's Culture—How imperialism and its need for war has affected Indian culture.

(5) Cultural Exchanges of cultural delegations between countries always helps towards mutual understanding and contributes to the cause of Peace. Facts should be recorded of how British imperialists always sought to cut off our country from contact with the cultural achievements of other countries.

Great attention should be paid while preparing the papers to the necessary exhaustive research work, to gather reactions of writers, artists and other intellectuals. The greatest possible number of writers and artists of all shades of opinion must be contacted and the issues before the Conference discussed with them. As many as possible should be drawn into active participation by getting them to help in the writing of a paper, creating new works of art for the Festival side of the Conference, taking part in symposiums, and so on.

Unless we can reach those sections who are still not in the Peace movement, obtain their support and reflect their views at the Conference, it will not have achieved its aim.

In addition to the preparation of the above papers, the various Provinces should try to prepare papers on the specific issues connected with the Peace Movement or on problems facing each section of intellectuals in the Province. For instance, in Bombay, the poet, Narendra Sharm is preparing a paper on the *"Mahabharata and Peace"*; music director Anil Biswas is preparing a paper on films and music and Dr. Salamat Ullah of Delhi is preparing one on "Peace and Education".

For the Festival side, each Province should decide on the items they want to produce, and writers and artists, both from the cities and countryside, should join in selecting, writing and producing these items, which should be representative of the folk culture of each area.

An anthology of poems and stories should be prepared before the Conference. Paintings, posters and decorative art displays should be planned. An outline of the art exhibition at the Festival should be prepared by the Preparatory Committee. Provinces should also start preparing for the handicrafts section, and the films which the Bombay Committee is preparing should be ready before the Conference.

To carry out all these tasks, each Province should set up an organisation representing workers, artists and cultural organisations of various shades of opinion and of differenct schools.

The items presented at the Festival should be the best possible creations, both as regards form and content, for through these items our writers and artists will be forging links with the people and giving a direct challenge to those who wish to destroy our art and culture.

"CO-OPERATE FOR PEACE"—

Japanese Intellectuals

The following plea for international co-operation between professional people the world over was made at a Congress of Japanese Intellectuals.

We, Japanese professional men and women—scientists, artists, teachers, writers and religious people—in spite of our different ways of thinking and our various opinions, have something in common.

In the first place, in all our activities, we aim at human welfare, not at destruction and annihilation.

In the second place, our activities can only be maintained and developed in peaceful conditions—if a new world war breaks out, the whole of civilisation will collapse.

In the third place, we believe that we can find many intellectuals like us, throughout the world, who have the same ideas.

We, at this Congress of Intellectuals, have decided to run a campaign for co-operating with each other for the maintenance of Peace and the prevention of war and to exchange the reports of our activities and opinions in order to strengthen our mutual understanding between Japan and countries overseas.

Until now, such movements have been attempted only in each specific field of science, of the arts, in religion and in politics. It seems to us, however, that now it is most important that intellectuals who above all love Peace, should co-operate and keep close contact with each other throughout the world, irrespective of their political opinions.

We, Japanese have been fortunate in being able to receive information from overseas, but, unfortunately, our intentions and information on our activities have had little opportunity of being introduced into foreign countries, mainly on account of language difficulties. This has been one of the factors which has militated against mutual understanding and the development of international accord.

We, at this Congress of Japanese Intellectuals, representing the Peace-loving intelligentsia of Japan, will contribute our efforts to the promotion of the Peace and civilisation of humanity through close co-operation between intellectual men and women and bodies throughout the world.

"WAR PARALYSING CULTURE"—DUTCH WRITERS

The following Appeal was signed by 86 Dutch writers:

We, the undersigned, Dutch writers and most of us members of the Dutch Association of Writers;

Believing that the permanent threat of war is having a paralysing effect on all cultural endeavours and demonstrations;

Convinced that all people in the world desire to reach mutual understanding in Peace and that they reject so-called solutions of international problems by force of arms;

Alarmed by the re-birth of the deadly forces of fascism which the world believed to have been defeated;

Make a strong appeal to all Dutch artists to use their influence in order that negotiations concerning all the present international problems, be taken up at the earliest possible moment between the highest representatives of the Great Powers;

We make a general appeal to all Dutch intellectuals to do all in their power to help the victory of the forces of Peace.

"WE WILL NEVER KEEP SILENT . . ."

say German intellectuals

A number of men and women have sworn never to keep silent when conscience bids them speak. We do not want to be at fault again through waiting in silence. We cannot console ourselves with the thought that political decisions do not concern us.

This is the opinion of some 200 scientists, educationalists and artists which they expressed in an Appeal issued at the "West German Cultural Congress 1952", in Bad Vilbel near Frankfurt, called by representatives of the Evangelical Church.

The Appeal says further:

We, survivors of two world wars, dedicate our lives to work for negotiations between people in the West and in the East of our mother country and to work in the cultural field for a solution of the problems facing us. There is no inexorable fate—in all fate, responsibility plays its part. If we do not react with promptitude in these decisive moments, they will be turned to our disadvantage . . . The political voices of hate; the doctrine of irreconciliability, the madness of setting one's last hopes on that which is only the expression of utter despair, on arms and on a new war—all these are sinister signs.

There is no reconstruction, however energetically it may be pursued; no specialised knowledge, no discoveries that will help and be of use to us,

if the spirit pervading the epoch of reconstructing a broken world is not inspired by a new attitude and by a real love of mankind.

We must put this on record publicly. We believe that it is still possible, in spite of the impending catastrophe, that the paving of the road to World Peace will be helped by Germany's contribution.

Among the delegates to the Conference were: Dr. Iwand, Professor at the Göttingen Faculty of Theology; Professor Rudolf Jäckel, physics professor at the University of Bonn; Dr. Klara-Maria Fassbinder, Professor at the Pedagogical Academy at Bonn; the Catholic writers, Rüdiger Syberberg from Munich and Ludwig Zimmerer from Essen; Professor Franz Heckendorf, artist from Munich; the general music director Kurt Overoff, Bayreuth; Countess von der Schulenburg, a sculptor from Garmisch; Countess von Kanitz and the writer Paul Distelbarth.

THEY BELIEVE IN PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

During a visit of **King Gustav Adolf VI of Sweden** to Oslo, on March 10th, he made a statement in the course of which he said:

. . . I dare to contend that no other people more than the Nordic people has such a deeply-rooted belief that differences of opinion will be solved agreeably and with mutual consideration and with respect for the point of view of both parties.

And this is really the important point, the central issue, not only when it is a question of our people here in the North, but when it affects all international relations.

So it is not too optimistic to hope that better conditions can be achieved for the solution of the great international political conflicts.

*

In a recent interview granted to the journalist Benjamino Joppolo, the **ex-King of Italy, Humberto di Savoia,** was asked:

Do you think that the world must really be divided into two blocs? Or is it only political provocation that gives the false impression of the impossibility of understanding between the people who, quite to the contrary, want only Peace and constructive co-existence?

King Umberto replied emphatically:

Understanding is definitely possible. It is certainly only a question of political provocation.

The following questions and answers were then made:

—Do you believe in the possibility of capitalism and socialism meeting on common ground and finding a solution to their differences?

—That seems to me quite possible.

—The worst of all evils would be war?

—There is no doubt of that.

—I would like to know if the action undertaken by Signor Paulo Sella di Monteluce, Member of the World Council of Peace, on behalf of the Movement of the Defenders of Peace, is an action of which you approve and which you think worthy?

—I follow and approve of the action undertaken by Paolo Sella on behalf of the World Council of Peace.

—Do you believe in the "iron curtain"?

—It would be a great advantage if the fear of Russia lessened in people's minds. I am convinced that, today, full understanding between peoples is possible.

*

Admiral Yarnell, former Commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, has called for "an understanding with Russia" instead of *"adding fuel to the flames of a new world war".*

"It is a strange situation," he says, *"when anyman must realise that another total war means the destruction of civilisation, that so many of our civil and military leaders, from the President down, issue statements as to our re-armament plans, new weapons etc., which add fuel to the flames."*

Admiral Yarnell urged further that efforts be made to arrive at an understanding with Russia on outstanding questions, avoiding mudslinging matches and discrimination. *"It is far more important to get European countries on their feet financially and economically, than to force them to build up armaments which take most of their substance and leave little to improve their living standards."*

(Letter to Providence, Rhode Island, "Journal".)

*

"Everyone in Washington seems to have a different idea," says **Henry Ford II,** head of the Ford Corporation, when asked if he knew *"Where the country is going".*

"There are two obvious places we could go. One is war. The other is broke. There must be another alternative," he added. "There must be some way to live with Russia—and still maintain our freedom—without having to fight World War Three and without having to go broke.

(U.S. News and World Report)

Carl Stellato, President of the Ford local, Six Hundred, of the United Auto Workers (CIO) has called for a return to peacetime economy and the policy of living in Peace with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. An active advocate of converting his union to a wartime basis at the beginning of the Korean conflict, he now says:

Nothing good will come to us by a continuation of the Korean war. It can only lead to a world-wide conflict that will destroy everything we have ever hoped to build in our Western civilisation . . . We face the problem of a growing depression. We cannot maintain our standard of living in this twilight period between Peace and war. A Peace economy is our only hope for the return to a stable income and an abundant way of life. Nations of different political thinking should be able to live side by side.

("Ford Facts" 9. 2. 1952)

[1952]

Bact. warfare

M. JOLIOT-CURIE'S LETTER TO Mr. WARREN AUSTIN

32-33-81

Mr. Warren R. Austin
2, Park Avenue
New York (N.Y.), USA

Paris, May 3rd, 1952

Dear Sir,

I received your letter of April 3rd, 1952, after having been made acquainted with its contents through the Press and in the daily bulletin of the American Information Services. I waited until I had the original complete text before replying to you.

I did not launch the Appeal, to which you replied, without having given the matter the most careful thought. Those who are not aware of the intensive efforts which have been made in your country for more than ten years to develop bacteriological weapons; those who do not know of the close co-operation between your specialists and Japanese experts in bacteriological warfare; those who may have forgotten Hiroshima and Nagasaki; those who do not know of the means of extermina-

tion such as the napalm bomb used by the American Armed Forces in Korea; such people may consider it unthinkable that men could have recourse to this new perversion of science—bacteriological warfare.

But you yourself, Mr. Austin, are perfectly well aware of all these facts and you are not unacquainted with statements made by responsible politicians and by your Press in which repeated threats have been made to use the most terrible and fantastic weapons which are even capable of obliterating all life on our planet. The use of the bacteriological weapon in Korea and in China is a first step to the implementation of these threats.

The President of the Academy of Sciences of Peking, my colleague Mr. Kuo Mo-Jo, and Chinese scientists (many of whom have completed their higher studies in the United States, Great Britain and France), who communicated to me the reports of statements and analyses effected in Korea and in China, are scientists for whom I hold the greatest esteem and whose professional capacity and moral integrity cannot be doubted.

The facts which they were in a position to ascertain and which they reported to me, show that bacteriological warfare is now being carried out.

After categorically denying the employment of the bacteriological weapon, your Government proposed that the Inter-

papers, these critics could themselves, be the object of criticism by experts no less competent.

Furthermore, before drawing conclusions from their criticisms, the experts should not forget that for ten years under a *"mantle of secrecy surpassing that surrounding the atomic bomb"* (2), many eminent scientists, provided with considerable funds, have certainly achieved new scientific results.

You are, yourself, perfectly well aware of the considerable efforts being undertaken in your country on behalf of bacteriological warfare—to which the reports by G. W. Merck, the article by Theodor Rosebury and A. Kabat, the book *"Peace or Pestilence"* by Theodor Rosebury and many statements by responsible persons in the United States all bear witness.

Besides, you must surely remember the report of the American Alsos mission, in which the physicist, S. Goudsmit, mentioned that the famous German expert on nuclear physics, Heisenberg, refused to believe in the atomic bomb the very day after Hiroshima.

In the same article of the "New York Times" which you sent me, a "Pentagon spokesman" purports to expose the falsity of the Chinese accusations by asserting that the bacteriological bombs were only containers for spreading leaflets and that *"the*

(2) New York Herald Tribune, 1/12/47.

leaflet bombs even theoretically were not adaptable to germ warfare" ([3]).

But, according to the "New York Herald Tribune" of April 6th ([4]):

> *"After hearing secret testimony in this military field, Rep. Robert L. F. Sykes, D. Fla., chairman of the House Appropriations Sub-committee . . . said: retaliatory bacteria warfare 'does not involve some complicated super-weapon'. The means of delivering germs to enemy territory, he said, are simple and involve equipment of the type with which the services are now 'already well stocked . . . such as the containers used currently for dropping propaganda leaflets'."*

It would be easy for me to speak ironically about the declaration of this same spokesman to the effect that a glass tube containing germs and transported by aircraft would break as a result of the pressure!

All this, Mr. Austin, is not enough to assuage the horror of those who are wondering if they have not been made the accomplices in some enormous crime, nor the anxiety of the American citizens and the citizens of the countries allied to the United States, who are beginning to question this "crusading" war into which your country would like to drag them: this crusade

([3]) New York Times 3/4/52.

([4]) New York Herald Tribune, New York, April 6, Washington, April 5 (A.P.).

national Red Cross Committee be entrusted with the task of making an investigation.(1)

You are well aware, and your Government is certainly not ignorant of the fact, that this Committee is not especially empowered by its statutes to undertake such investigations. It was presumably for this reason that the Committee did not consider it to be its duty during the last war to denounce the Nazi concentration camps and the systematic extermination which obtained therein, of which the International Red Cross was fully cognizant.

(1) *Resolution 5 adopted at the 12th International Conference of the Red Cross at Geneva,* the text of which is reproduced below, does not entitle this organisation to carry out investigations into acts of a criminal character:

"In the event of the Geneva Protocol of the 17th June, 1925, being violated, it must become the duty of the Red Cross, even in peace-time, to seek together with the civil and military authorities, the means of protecting and taking care of its personnel, the belligerent armies and, above all, the civil population, from the effects of chemical warfare.

"It is the duty of the International Committee to keep itself informed as to the fulfilment of this programme and to keep in communication with the National Societies on this matter.

"As a general rule, the moral and propaganda fight against the use of poisons as a form of weapon, and against bacteriological warfare as well as the scientific and technical preparation of the best preventatives and therapeutics against such methods of warfare, should be one of the first obligations of the International Red Cross and of the National Societies of the Red Cross."

Even before there was any question of bacteriological warfare, the Koreans and the Chinese for their own reasons—of which they are the sole judges—refused to allow the International Red Cross Committee to enter their territory.

It would, therefore, appear that the Government of the United States proposed the International Red Cross Committee knowing that this offer would not be accepted by the Koreans and the Chinese.

On the other hand, the Government of the People's Republic of China has proposed the setting up of an international commission, whose competence and impartiality should be beyond question and who would be able to gather facts and evidence. This commission, composed of eminent scientific, legal and religious personalities will soon be constituted. It will go to the spot and proceed with its investigations. Without knowing who these persons are, you have thought fit to disparage them. Such arguments are no doubt meant to discourage the fainthearted. They can never prevent honest and courageous people from making the truth prevail.

I had already read the article in the "New York Times", a copy of which you sent me.

The experts consulted by the "New York Times", criticised certain photographs published in a Peking newspaper. For basing their arguments on documents reproduced in news-

against which your British colleague, Sir Gladwyn Jebb, protested some days ago.

Before I conclude, I would like to say that I was struck by the deliberately insulting tone of your letter. You accuse me of prostituting science because I protest against the criminal use of the discoveries of the great Pasteur and because I make an appeal to the public to prevent the waging of bacteriological warfare.

To my mind, those who prostitute science are those who inaugurated the atomic era by annihilating 200,000 civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

You are well aware that American scientists, on completion of their scientific and technical work, pleaded in vain that those responsible for American policy should not use the only two atomic bombs available. Yet these bombs were dropped before Japan had replied to the Potsdam ultimatum, and the objectives were chosen (as the United States Strategical Bombing Survey indicates), by reason of their being centres of activity with concentrated populations.

Hiroshima wrecked, 100,000 civilians killed—this was not enough: a few days later the same thing was inflicted on Nagasaki!

Re-read, Mr. Austin, the report of the James Franck Committee addressed to the Secretary of State for War, on June 11, 1945, that is, before Hiroshima ([5]):

([5]) "Minutes to Midnight", page 15 (published by the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists—Chicago).

"If the United States is the first to use this new means of blind destruction against mankind, we will lose the support of world public opinion, precipitate the arms' race and compromise the possibility of reaching international agreement on the future control of such weapons."

And since then, you have refused to agree to the outlawing of atomic weapons.

Concerning bacteriological weapons, there exists an international agreement—the Geneva Protocol of June 17, 1925. But of all the Great Powers, only two have not ratified it—Japan and the United States.

As far as your country is concerned, on April 8, 1946, President Truman, with the results of secret research in the United States in his possession, withdrew the ratification of this treaty from the Congress Agenda.

When the question of bacteriological warfare was raised at the United Nations, were you not embarrassed, Mr. Austin, to be the representative of the only country which has reserved the legal right to utilise such weapons?

Just because the Koreans and the Chinese have chosen a different system from that which prevails in your country and because their skin is not white, this does not make it lawful to attempt to exterminate them en masse by napalm or bacteria.

In 1903, at Stockholm, Pierre Curie spoke of "the terrible

means of destruction in the hands of great criminals who would drag the peoples into war".

I have often thought of this warning given by one who, along with Becquerel and Marie Curie, gave radioactivity to the world. It is because I know all that science can bring to the world, that I shall continue in my efforts to make it serve the well-being of men, be they white, black or yellow, and not their annihilation in the name of I-know-not-what divine mission.

Yours faithfully,

Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE

Nobel Prize Winner

PUBLISHED BY THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
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ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE:
PAIXMONDE PRAGUE

Prague, May 8th, 1952.

Dr. W.E. DU BOIS
NEW YORK

25-32-42

Dear Friend,

The Preparatory Committee for participation of the Chinese People's Republic in the Peace Conference of the Asiatic and Pacific countries has informed us that it has sent to you and to 27 other countries, an invitation for your country to participate in this important conference.

As you know, the World Council of Peace supported the idea of such a conference at its session of Berlin, and as it was pointed out in the Appeal to the United Nations by the World Council in November, 1951 : "The restoration of Peace in Asia concerns all mankind".

We are sure that this conference will have a wide response in your country. In order to ensure the full success of this conference, it would be desirable for national preparatory committees, entrusted mainly with the task of arousing interest and widely popularising this meeting, to be set up as soon as possible in each country concerned, composed of representative persons belonging to the widest cultural, scientific and religious spheres.

A preliminary meeting of the Preparatory Committee will be held on May 28, 1952 at Peking and we have asked your national committee to let us know, at the earliest, the name of the delegate to this conference.

We would ask you to give your support and to participate in this initiative with a view to ensuring the best representation of your country.

Very sincerely yours,

For the Secretariat of the World
Council of Peace,

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

[World Council for Peace]

May 8, 1952

M. Jean Laffitte
World Peace Council
Palais S.I.A.
Jankka 100
Prague, Czechoslovakia

Dear M. Laffitte:

In March you wired me concerning a statement on bacteriological warfare by the United States an China, and also sent me some interesting material.

I was not in a position to make any categorical answer because I had no way of knowing personally exactly what conditions were in China, and although I had little doubt about the correctness of the Chinese allegations, I also had no proof.

Since then I have made some investigations, although these have not gone as far as I would like. One thing is certain, and that is the United States has refused to join the international pledge against germ warfare. Together with Japan she forms the only nations refusing acquiescence, while thirty-three nations have given their consent. This in itself is strong evidence that she feels free to plant germs, and also it is pretty well proven that she has been experimenting in laboratories on this form of attack.

Recently I have heard, as of course you have, the report of Dr. Endicott of Canada, expressing his belief that the charges against the United States are true.

I am ready, therefore, now to make this statement, which you are at liberty to use in any way you wish:

> "Since the United States has refused to join thirty-three nations in a pledge to refrain from bacteriological warfare, and since the United States by its own admission has made laboratory experiments in this warfare, I believe that the charges of this action in China, made by the Chinese Government and others, is certainly based on strong probability, although I am not in a position to offer any proof.

(cont'd.)

M. Laffitte May 8, 1952

"If it is true, the action of this nation is diabolical and indefensible. If the United States wishes to establish before the civilized world her attitude toward germ warfare, the best action for her to take now is to pledge not to use it, and to join in outlawing those who do."

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh W.E.B. Du Bois

25-27-17

[World Peace Council]

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PAIXMONDE PRAGUE

GF/BC

Prague, 12th May 1952

Professor W.E.B. Du Bois
U.S.A.

35-32-39

Dear Friend,

You are doubtless aware of the fact that a Commission of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers recently went to Korea for the purpose of making an investigation into accusations made by the Government of the Korean People's Republic concerning war crimes.

The President of this commission -which was composed of lawyers from different countries- was Professor Heinrich Brandweiner, member of the World Council of Peace and Professor of International Law in the University of Graz (Austria).

When it returned from Korea, the Commission published its report which was signed by its President. This report confirmed that crimes were actually committed by troops operating in Korea under the command of the United States of America.

Before its return, as soon as the first news concerning the work of the Commission was published, Professor Brandweiner was the object of a parliamentary question to the Austrian Government.

On this occasion, as can be read in the official report of the debate, after stating that Prof. Brandweiner had asked leave from the University in order to fulfil his task, the Minister of Education added: "According to Prof. Brandweiner, one would think that he was going on a journey simply for reasons of study. Since Prof. Brandweiner is now carrying out an investigation in North Korea, as a member and even as leader of a delegation of an International Association of Democratic Lawyers, into alleged violations of the principles of international law in Korea, he has exceeded the province of a journey for study of the science of law. For this reason, the suspicion that he has violated the duties of his profession and his functions, would appear to be justified. Considering the danger incurred to the interests of the State and the gravity of the offence this appears to be infringement of his duties..."

On the other hand, some days after his return, Prof. Brandweiner in his replies to questions posed to him by press representatives, informed the public of the results of the investigation carried out by the Commission of which he was President.

That same evening, he learned from a publication of a political party to which the Minister of Education belongs , that the latter has suspended him from his post as Professor at the University.

Since Professor Brandweiner is a member of the World Council we believe it useful to inform you of the difficulties which he is encountering.

In order to have a clear picture of the situation, it is necessary to note that the measure for suspending Prof. Brandweiner was based on paragraphs 144 and 145 of the "Austrian Service Code" (university professors in Austria are civil servants). These paragraphs stipulate the conditions under which people may be suspended: the sole condition which could apply to the case of Professor Brandweiner is the following: "If the prestige of the administration or the possible interests of the service be threatened by nature of the offence."

35-32-40

It follows therefore that the official authorities have considered it an offence that a professor of international law has investigated alleged violations of international law and that this offence is detrimental to public interests. Furthermore, the supposed offence has been punished not only without the direct participation of the accused (who learned the fact from a party publication), but also without questioning him.

In fact, in the course of the Parliamentary sitting (according to the official report), the Minister of Education, making obvious allusion to the public activity of Professor Brandweiner, declared among other things: "I shall not speak personally with Professor Brandweiner as I do not wish to put him on the same level as other respected academic teachers."

We leave you to judge for yourself the procedure to which Professor Brandweiner has been submitted.

It appears from this that the "offence" with which he is charged is based on misinterpretation of the facts he enumerated, by the authorities; which places a stigma on academic liberties and the rights of scientists. That, at least, is the meaning of a statement by Professor Liszt, President of the Austrian section of the Democratic Lawyers, who said: " It is inadmissible that a university professor be reproached only by the sole fact that he undertook a journey to study and that he reported the results of these studies". Mr Von Liszt, whose political opinions differ from those held by Professor Brandweiner, added: " It is absolutely immaterial whether Professor Brandweiner be right or not. It is not a question of the exactitude or inexactitude of his report nor is it a matter of his opinion. The fact is that he has been reproached for expressing his personal opinion. That is inadmissible and incompatible with

freedom of teaching and freedom of opinion and with all democratic freedom."

That is why we would ask you to participate in the action of support which is being organised in order to save Professor Brandweiner from an obvious injustice, and to reaffirm the right of the scientist to freedom of investigation and freedom of opinion.

Your support, whether it be by participation in demonstrations which may be organised, or by expressing your solidarity in messages addressed to Professor Eder, rector of the University of Graz (Austra) who is president of the Commission investigating the conduct of Professor Brandweiner, will be a great encouragement to him and will bring vital support in the defence of science and truth.

Very sincerely yours,

For the World Council of Peace

G. Fenoaltea
Secretary

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

35-32-41

[World Peace Council]

May 14, 1952

M. Jean Laffitte
World Council of Peace
Palais S.I.A.
Janska 100
Prague, Chechoslovakia

My dear M. Laffitte:

I have received your invitation to the proposed Peace Conference in China, and have also received similar invitations directly from China.

As you know, it is impossible for any American of standing or convictions to attend the preliminary meeting or the conferences outside the United States. I am afraid that despite our letters and other information, that your office does not quite realise the situation here.

For instance, on January 15th I was invited by the National Executive Committee to attend the Canadian Peace Conference to be held in Ottowa, Canada, May 10th and 11th. At this conference Dr. Endicott, who has just returned from China, was going to make a report, and Madame Blume, member of the Belgian parliament, was also to speak. I and my wife, Shirley Graham, went to Canada May 9th, answered all questions asked, and furnished all information demanded by the immigration officials, and then were both denied entrance into Canada and could not even speak to the representatives of the congress who were at the airport to meet us. We were returned to the United States an hour after landing. I believe that Madame Blume was also excluded.

This exclusion was undoubtedly done at the suggestion of our State Department, just as some time ago the State Department refused us a visa to go to the Peace Congress called for meeting at Rio de Janeiro and latter transferred to Montivideo.

Other prominent Americans are being continually refused the opportunity to travel abroad, especially if they are going to congresses advocating Peace.

I think you will understand how our activities here are limited by force and law. In some cases we have not been able to send representatives to your bureau meetings, as was the case in the meeting at Oslo held recently.

25-32-25

M. Jean Laffitte May 14, 1952

The persons sent were not persons of prominence, and for that reason and because they happened to have passports already, they were able to go. I do not doubt that some of these representatives have been criticised by you because they were not persons widely intelligent concerning the great movements of the day. One of them recently reported to us that she felt almost insulted by the attitude manifested toward her. I can understand how a meeting of that sort reacts toward any American, but on the other hand I do not see why your understanding of our situation would not lead you to a more charitable attitude.

25-32-26

Recently I wrote you a letter, a copy of which is enclosed. I have had no answer, and regret this because we are still fighting and propose to fight on, but we want your cooperation and want it now. A very important political campaign is impending, and we shall make every effort that is possible to keep the issue of Peace especially to the fore. May I ask therefore that I have an answer to the enclosed letter and to this at your earliest convenience?

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh
encs.

W.E.B. Du Bois

[World Peace Council]

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Prague, May 15th, 1952

35-46.44

Dear Friend,

In the Oslo Appeal against Bacteriological Warfare the Bureau of the World Council of Peace has outlined a twofold task:

-"Firstly, to inform public opinion and make the truth appear clearly in the sight of everyone".

-Secondly "to safeguard all the peoples against bacteriological warfare.

Specifying our first task, the Bureau of the Council states that "in order that every human being may judge the terrible facts of which we have been made aware, we have decided to publish the documents submitted to us".

The Secretariat of the World Council has published these documents in its Bulletin of Documentation on Bacteriological Warfare, which has been sent regularly to national committees and to a certain number of personalities in the scientific world. This bulletin has now reached the fifteenth issue. We are sending you herewith Nr. 2 - 3 - 13 - 14 and 15 of the bulletin in which is assembled the most important material concerning the use of bacteriological warfare by the United States Government in China and Korea, as well as a catalogue of all the numbers which have appeared and the different photographic documents relating to it which have also been published under our auspices.

We are placing these documents at your disposal.

Hoping that you will bring your influence to bear in our struggle against this criminal bacteriological war, we send you our very best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

For the World Council of Peace

Jean Lafitte
General Secretary

[1952]

Documentation on Bacteriological Warfare

BULLETIN No. 2

published by the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace
Palais SIA - Prague

32-33-65

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF MICROBIOLOGISTS, ENTOMOLOGISTS, PARASITOLOGISTS AND EPIDEMIOLOGISTS WORKING WITH THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

-:-

We have examined in detail the following documents:

1.- The report of the Health Commission of the Korean People's Army on the use of bacteriological weapons. (The members of this Commission were: Kin Sen Dan, chief epidemiologist of the Korean People's Army, Li E Gu, bacteriologist of the Health Division Jin n Van, entonologist).

2.- The Korean report: on the dropping of bacteriological bombs in Korea.

3.- The report on North East China of the Chinese Commission of enquiry.

4.- The official report of the Commission of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers on Korea.

5.- A series of documents on the spreading of infected insects.

These documents were accompanied by detailed protocols on the identification of different types of insects.

Furthermore, documents have been presented on the extraordinary circumstances in which these insects have been found; exact facts have been quoted in these documents on the microbiological examination and identification of pathogenic germs, describing accurately the method which was used.

The course of experiments on animals has been described and detailed clinical protocols are also given as well as the results of autopsies on some of the victims.

The course of further examinations are also described.

The examination of all this material was made by a group of well-known Chinese scientists whose names are given below:

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Mr. CHEN SICIEN H., Graduate of Futan University, Shanghai (1928), Doctor of Paris University (1934), Director of the Entomology Laboratory at Sinica Academy, Peking and Joint Director of the University Museum "The Dawn", Shanghai.

Mr. CHIN YAO-TING, Graduate of Cheeloo University (1914), Professor at the Medical College of China, Mukden, and Head of the Biology Department of the Medical Faculty.

Mr. HSIN CHUN, Doctor of Medicine of the Imperial University of Nogaya (Japan), member of the Institute for the Prevention of Epidemics in the North East.

Mr. CHING KWAN-HUA, Graduate of the South Manchuria Medical College, Mukden (1924), Professor and Director of the Department of Bacteriology at the Medical College of China, Mukden.

Mr. LUH PAOLING, Professor of Entomology at the Agricultural University, Peking.

32-33-66

Mr. CHU CHI-MING, Graduate of Shanghai Medical College (1939) Doctor of Philoso phy of Cambridge University (Great Britain), Chief Consultant of the National Institute of Serums and Vaccines, Peking.

Mr. LI PEI-LIN, Professor of Pathology at the Medical College of China, Mukden, Doctor of Philosophy of London University, member of the Pathological Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Mr. WU CHIH-CHUNG, Professor of Medicine at the Medical College of China, Mukden, Fellow of the Royal Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, Glasgow (Great Britain).

Mr. CHANG HSUEH-TEH, Doctor of Medicine of Peking Union Medical College, M.S. of Illinois University (U.S.A.), Professor of Medicine at Peking Union Medical College.

Mr. HSU YING-KUEI, Doctor of Medicine, former Research Assistant at the Institute of Psychiatry, Munich (1938), Professor of Neurology and Psychiatry at Peking Union Medical College.

After studying all the written documents and photographs, we have come to the following conclusions :

1.- The photographs of the different types of bombs which have been found show clearly that these bombs, which are neither explosive nor incendiary, can be used for the spreading of insects.

The vitality of the insects is not harmed by this operation and neither is their ability to spread active or passive infection in those cases where these insects have been artificially infected. These deductions are further strengthened by the fact that witnesses have described how the bombs are dropped from a low altitude.

2.- From the protocols it can be deduced that in direct coincidence with the time when U.S. aircraft flew at a low altitude over the places it was observed that not only this type of bomb was dropped, but also at the point where the bomb fell or in the region flown over, thousands of various types of insects were found in groups with remarkable frequency.

It follows from the detailed reports of eminent specialists - experts on the question of insects in these areas - and entomologists, considering the season and the climatic conditions (low temperature of 0 to minus 20 C., and snow) not only at the time when the insects were discovered, but also during the preceding weeks, that it is impossible that the insects could have been there by natural means.

32-33-67

This can be proved especially by the discovery of locusts and crickets, Aedes Koreicus, and different types of flies. It is impossible to find at this season of the year these types of insects in such number and at an adult stage (imago).

With the help of photographic material, we have confirmed the differentiation of the following types of insects :

TIPULIDAE, div. sp., CHIRONOMUS sp., AEDES KOREICUS, HYLEMYIA sp., f. ANTHOMYIDAE, MUSCA VICINA, MUSCINA STABULANS, HELOMYZA sp., f. HELOMYZIDAE, ACRYDIUM sp., LOCUSTA MIGRATORIA, SPIDER, FLEA, COLLEMBOLA.

It is known that, among these insects, the flies HYLEMYIA sp., MUSCA VICINA, MUSCINA STABULANS and HELOMYZA sp. are possible carriers of germs causing intestinal diseases. The AEDES KOREICUS is known to be a specific carrier of a virus-borne encephalitis.

The other above-mentioned insects have up to now not been known to be disease carriers. The discovery of the various germs, virus and rickettsia, on the bodies of these insects leads one to believe that these insects have been used as carriers (vectors) intended to spread infection in natural foci. The reason for the use of precisely these types of insects is not clear. It can be assumed that the intention was to take the people by surprise. It is not unlikely that many insects might have been used to cover up the dropping of real germ-carriers.

3.- Furthermore, coinciding with the time and place over which the U.S. aircraft flew, feathers, boxes of paper and other objects were found.

4.- The insects, feathers and other objects found have been carefully collected and submitted to a professional, entomological microbiological and epidemiological examination. The examination has been carried out on one hand by specialists of the Korean People's Army and Korean scientific institutes and on the other hand by Chinese specialists from Chinese research institutes.

We are in possession of a detailed description of the course of the laboratory examinations of the Chinese group. This document contains details of the different stages in the diagnostic process.

From the different types of flies found in Korea, Vibrio Cholera, S. typhi abdominalis, S. paratyphi and Shigella dysenteriæ, were isolated. In six cases, it has been proved by cultures, experiments and serological examination that Pasteurella pestis, agent of plague, was present on fleas.

It is very important that even the reports of the South Korean Army state that in recent years up till now there has been no plague in Korea.

On different types of insects collected and submitted to examination on Chinese territory, various germs have unquestionably been found. From various types of flies S. typhi abdominalis from Chironomus, S. Paratyphi B. were identified. From spiders a very virulent type of Pasteurella was found, a type which at the time of publication of the document had not yet been identified.

From Collembola, a type of Rickettsia lethal to guinea-pigs was isolated which also at the time of publication of the document had not been identified.

Finally, they isolated from insects of the Tipulidae family a very virulent type of encephalitis virus, which at the time of publication of the document has been passed three times through mice.

On several occasions anthrax bacillus has been isolated from feathers which had been dropped from aircraft and has been verified by animal tests.

5.- The following fact, quoted in the document issued by the Commission of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, is of great importance : during the night of 18th February, 1952 an aircraft several times flew at a low altitude in circles over Bal Nam Ri, Anju Gun, in the region of Dai Ri Nyen, province of South Pyengan without dropping explosive or incendiary bombs and without firing.

Some days later, a sudden plague epidemic broke out in this village, causing a mortality rate of 72 %. Before this outbreak of epidemic plague, there had never been a single case of plague in this district. After studying the details of the origin of this epidemic, the idea arose that the aircraft had spread directly a virulent plague culture and that insects had been used at the same time as a covering up manoeuvre. For dissemination of plague by this means, atmospheric conditions were also favourable.

32-33-68

6.- It is apparent from maps of the localities where these bombs and insects have been found that these are places in the rear of the Korean front and in the North East part of China bordering on Korea.

It is apparent in a very convincing manner from all the documents presented, along with the photographic material and the protocols of the epidemiologists and entomologists that bacteriological weapons have been used in Korea and in North East China.

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32-33-69

Documentation on Bacteriological Warfare

BULLETIN No. 3

published by the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace
Palais SIA - Prague

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ENQUIRING INTO THE BACTERIOLOGICAL ATTACKS IN NORTH EAST CHINA (EXTRACTS)

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32-33-70

The Commission for investigating the germ warfare was formed in response to the demand of all the people of China and in accordance with the resolution adopted by an extended meeting on March 12 of the Standing Committee of the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and Against American Aggression. One part of the Commission is now conducting on-the-spot investigations in areas of Korea. The Northeast group is the other part of the Commission. The report is signed by all members of the Northeast group of the Commission, which includes various specialists in the natural sciences, experts in international law and representatives of people's organisations, as well as workers in the fields of literature and art and journalists. Our on-the-spot investigations lasted two weeks and were completed on March 31. On the basis of the authenticated facts that we gathered in our on-the-spot investigations, we submit the following report.

Within the past two weeks, we made on-the-spot surveys and enquiries at 21 places in the areas of Mukden, Antung, Kwantien and Fushun over which bacteria and virus carrying insects and other infected objects dropped by American aircraft were discovered. We collected various material evidence, listened to accounts of the dropping by American aircraft of bacteria-infected insects, as related by officials of the local governments and local people, and examined the results of tests made by the local public health and anti-epidemic organisations.

The large number of eyewitnesses depositions and vast quantity of evidence we collected during our enquiries and surveys were carried out on the spot.

In the first place, we turned to the fact that from the latter part of February up to the present, American aircraft intruded continuously and on a wide scale over the territorial air of the People's Republic of China. Statistics compiled by the Northeast air defence organisation shows that 175 groups of American aircraft intruded over areas of Northeast China in the period of February 29 to March 21 in 955 sorties. These intrusions occurred mostly in cloudy weather or at night. The areas ever which they were active include 70 cities and counties in Liaotung, Liaohsi, Kirin, Sungkiang

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and Heilungkiang Provinces. The nature of the activities of these American aircraft after intrusion was ascertained by investigation. Apart from 17 American planes which carried out bombing and strafing over the Changtienhokow area of Kwantien county, in the Linkiang county area in Liaotung Province, and in the area of Chi An railway station on March 1, 5 and 16, respectively, causing casualties among local inhabitants and destroying civilian houses, the other American aircraft were mostly engaged in the task of spreading bacteria and virus carrying insects and other objects.

Next, we concentrated on investigating direct evidence of the dropping of bacteria-infected insects and other infected objects by American aircraft. The inhabitants in many places testified before us that they themselves saw objects resembling bags dropped by American aircraft, that these burst on reaching a low altitude, and that immediately afterwards, large numbers of insects such as flies, mosquitoes, spiders, springtails, and various objects such as tree leaves, birds feathers and balls of cottonwool were found on the ground. We also examined a bacteriological bomb which was dropped by American military aircraft.

32-33-71

On March 22, one team of our investigating group made an on-the-spot survey of the remains of an American bacteriological bomb at a farm near the beach in Louetao (one kilometre from the county seat) outside the East Gate of Kwantien. The following eyewitnesses testified that this bacteriological bomb was dropped by American aircraft on March 12, Han Yung-pin, merchant; Li Chi-wen(woman), anti-epidemic worker; Li Szu-chien, student; Kao Chun-shan, chief of the Kwantien townlet's office and Hu An, magistrate of Kwantien county.

At 12:52 p.m. on that day, eight American planes flew over from the west to the east. Han Yung-pin, owner of Tung Chu Ho grocery inside the South Gate of Kwantien county seat, deposed that he saw one of these planes drop a light coloured object which fell very slowly. As it came down low, it was possible to recognise it as something grey in colour and shaped like a cylinder. It came down at a slant in a northeastly direction.

At 01:30 p.m. on March 21, that this "light coloured object" was discovered by Li Szu-chien, student of the Kwantien middle school. On receiving this news, Magistrate Hu An of Kwantien county went to the place and made a survey that same afternoon. A team of our investigating group (composed of entomologists Liu Chung-lo, Ma Shih-chun and Kuo Shu-tien, press photographer Wang Chun-teh and guard Wang Shan-lin) arrived there at noon on March 22 to investigate. There was no doubt, in their judgment, that this silvery grey object is a kind of bacteriological bomb specially made in the U.S. When the bomb landed, it made a crater approximately 12 centimetres deep. Three metres away from the crater, was found the twisted axis of the bacteriological bomb, made of iron, together with a twisted iron base disc which was attached to one end of the axis. The axis is 25 centimetres long and 0.7 centimetre across. The top end of the axis has a hexagonal screw head measuring 1.1 centimetre across at its upper side and 3 centimetres across at its lower side. The iron

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base disc attached to the lower end of the axis is 19 centimetres in diameter. Some eight metres north east of the bomb crater, heaps of feathers were scattered around, including yellow and white short down and black feathers. The quills of the feathers were clean of any flesh or mud. There were no remains of any birds in the vicinity.

Fifteen metres southwest of the bomb crater, there were scattered several hundred bomb fragments of different sizes, silvery grey in colour, made of a substance like plaster. These fragments were extremely thin and fragile. When Magistrate Hu An inspected the bomb crater, there were still large numbers of infected insects, such as flies, mosquitoes, spiders and springtails nearby and in the vicinity. These facts established that the object dropped by American aircraft was a type of bacteriological bomb specially made in the United States. The use of a fragile bomb case results in the infected insects and feathers scattering over a wide area when the bomb burst.

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We next gave attention to the fact that in the areas over which the enemy planes intruded there were repeatedly found large numbers of flies (including such species as anthomyiid flies, blow-flies, non-biting stable flies, sunflies, houseflies, horse-flies,) mosquitoes (including such species as Aëdes and Culex) midges crane flies, spiders, springtails, ants, fleas, migratory locusts, pigmy locusts and crickets, etc..

Considering the areas in which these insects were discovered in relation to the intrusions by American aircraft, the state of dispersion of these insects, the places in which and the season in which these insects appeared, there is not the least doubt that these insects were disseminated by American aircraft.

1.- The localities in which these insects were discovered are in all cases areas over which American aircraft intruded or adjacent to such areas. No such insects have been discovered in other places at the same latitude and with the same temperature and geographical conditions. We have checked the records of intrusions by American aircraft against reports from places where insects were discovered, and completely confirmed this point.

2.- The dispersion of these insects showed that they were densely massed in clusters and were concentrated in particular places. For instance, according to the report of Chang Shu, Mayor of the Municipal People's Government of Fushun, after the infected insects were first discovered in the city on March 3, wide-spread and thorough searches were repeatedly carried out. Such insects were found, up to March 20, in areas amounting in all to 3,687,380 square metres, or 3.69 square kilometres. In all cases, they were massed together in particular places in clusters. But in the same period, no such insects were discovered anywhere else in the city which covers an area of 546 square kilometres.

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According to the report of Chang Tieh, director of the Public Health Department of the People's Government of Liaotung Province, springtails were discovered in Ta Pien Kou village of the seventh district of Hsin Pin county on March 4 spreading over an area about 250 metres in length and 200 metres in width north and south of the telephone line. On March 13, mosquitoes and flies were found over an area of one kilometre by one fourth of a kilometre, with a density averaging roughly 60 per square metre in the vicinity of San Cha Kou and Pei Yin Ssu in Ku Shan townlet, Antung county. On the same day, mosquitoes were found in an area of about 1,500 square metres in a ditch fronting Sun Chia Yin of Tien Ching village of Ta Yin district, Chuang Ho county, averaging roughly 100 per square metre. In some places, the density of certain infected insects was as much as roughly 70 per square metre. From the on-the-spot investigations in Chiu Chan village, Fushun, about 20 kilometres from Chiu Chan district, Mukden, we discovered large numbers of spingtails, flies and mosquitoes. According to the testimony of an eyewitness, an old peasant by the name of Chao Wen-hsiu, when springtails and other insects were first found on March 3, they were densely concentrated in an area of one kilometre by half a kilometre. The dispersion of these insects in such concentrated clusters in particular places is fundamentally different from the general even dispersion of local varieties of insects.

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3. The places in which these insects appeared and the conditions under which they lived and moved about were unusual. The facts are as follows: (1) Blow-flies were discovered on March 15 on the concrete basketball ground in the vicinity of the dormitories of the Department of Trade of the Northeast People's Government at Yang Wu Street in Mukden. This was abnormal both as regards time and place. (2) Large numbers of flies and mosquitoes were discovered on sandbanks, on high terrain, open fields, and even on the surface of snow, in Antung city and Kwantien county. This is impossible in normal circumstances, as flies and mosquitoes exist near water, in weeds and garbage and places where people and animals live. (3)Springtails were discovered on the six-metre-high grandstand of the race course at Fushun which is a concrete structure. (4) Locusts are normally found only in weeds beside lakes or rivers or on farms, but, instead, they were discovered on an open air concrete veranda on the first floor of the Ministry of Trade of the Northeast People's Government in Mukden in the cold of mid-March.

There is no doubt that unless they were dropped by American planes, it would have been impossible for these insects to appear in these places at this time of the year.

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4.- The insects were found at a much earlier date than it is natural for local insects to appear. For instance, in the Northeast, the adult male of Culex only appears in mid-May at the earliest, the blow-fly in June, locusts in May and June. Yet, all three were discovered in the vicinity of the dormitories of the Department of Trade of the Northeast People's Government in Mukden on March 15. The housefly normally appears only in late April; yet large numbers of adult male and female were discovered in mid-March in Szeping city, Liaohsi Province. The sunfly emerges late in April at the earliest; yet in mid-March large numbers were discovered in the fifth and sixth districts of Chinchow. Ants appear on dry earth only after mid-April; yet many were discovered at a place covered in wet snow in Kwantien in early March. Spiders only begin to move about after mid-April; yet on March 3, many were discovered around Chenkiang hill, Antung. Aedes should appear in late May at the earliest; yet on March 4 adult males and females of this species were discovered at Tiehling in Liaohsi Province.

The foregoing facts show that the flies, mosquitoes, spiders, springtails and other insects discovered in large numbers in Northeast China could not have emerged under the natural conditions in that area, but must have been cultivated artificially in the American bacteriological war factories and disseminated by American aircraft.

During our investigations in Northeast China, we examined the results of laboratory research on bacteria and virus by the anti-epidemic organisations in Mukden, Antung, Kwantien and Fushun. The experts in these four places all proved that various types of insects and other objects dropped by American aircraft carried various types of disease-producing bacteria and viruses. Some of the laboratory findings are as follows:

1.- Bacilli anthracis were found on feathers dropped by American aircraft. This is fatal to draught animals such as oxen,

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donkeys and mules and infectious to human beings. The specimens tested were taken from among feathers dropped on March 11 by American aircraft over Peichingtzu village, Peichingtzu district, Antung county. Bacteriologists Hsin Chun, Ching Kuan-hua and Chao Cheng-lin in tests conducted at Mukden, injected a quantity of 0.5 cubic centimetre of the rinsings of the infected feathers into each of two white mice. The mice were taken with convulsions and died within 36 hours. Both in the dead mice and on the unwashed feathers, bacilli anthracis were found. Bacilli anthracis were also discovered on houseflies dropped on March 17 by American aircraft over the municipality of Szeping.

2.- On spiders dropped by American aircraft, pathogenic bacilli with bipolar stain belonging to the pasteurella group were found. In this category come the bacteria of bubonic plague and of the hemorrhagic septicaemia of chickens and ducks. Further examination confirmed that the bacteria discovered on the American released spiders are the bacilli of such diseases as the hemorrhagic septicaemia of chickens and ducks. This type of bacteria was discovered in tests made in Mukden by bacteriologist Ching Kuan-hua.

3.- Salmonella typhosa was found on non-biting stableflies dropped by American aircraft. This is the bacilli of the dangerous disease, typhoid. Specimens for the tests were taken from the flies dropped on the night of March 15 by American aircraft in the vicinity of the dormitories of the Department of Trade of the Northeast People's Government, Yang Wu Street, Mukden. Bacteriologists Ching Kuan-hua carried out the tests.

4.- Salmonella typhosa and Salmonella paratyphosa were found on sunflies and midges dropped by American aircraft. Specimens for the tests were taken from infected insects dropped by American aircraft in the fifth and sixth districts of the municipality of Chinchow. Bacteriologist Ching Kuan-hua found Salmonella paratyphosa on the sunflies and Salmonella typhosa on the midges.

5.- Rickettsias were discovered on springtails dropped by American aircraft. This is the microbe which causes such dangerous diseases as typhus and Rocky Mountain spotted fever (typhus-like fever). Specimens for the tests were taken from the infected insects dropped by American aircraft over Chiuchan village, Chiuchan district, Mukden. Bacteriologists Chu Chi-ming and Wei Wen-pin carried out the tests.

6.- From the craneflies dropped by American aircraft a virus of acute encephalitis was isolated. Since March 9, a number of cases of death arising from acute encephalitis occurred in Anshan and other cities. Cases of this type of encephalitis have never before been found in our country according to expert evidence. Examination by experts further established that in Anshan and other cities, where cases of this type of encephalitis occurred, the pathological changes in white mice subjected to tests with the virus carried by these crane-flies were identical with those that occurred in patients affected with this type of encephalitis. The virus of this type of encephalitis was identified by six specialists, namely Li Pei-lin, Hsu Ying-kwei, Chu Chi-ming, Chang Hsueh-teh, Wu Chih-chung and Ching Kuan-hua.

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Specialists in various branches of the natural sciences are continuing their tests and researches.

In concluding their report the members of the Commission declared:

" We launch an urgent appeal to the people of all China and to the people of the entire world. We call on them to unite immediately and take unanimous action to stop the atrocious action of the U.S. aggressors and bring an end to the bacteriological warfare against the Chinese and Korean people."

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AMONGST THOSE WHO SIGNED THE DOCUMENTS WERE :

Group head

- Chen Chi-yuan , Director of the Supervisory Committee of the People's Relief Administration of China

Deputy General Secretaries

- Shen Chi-yi - plant pathologist and member of the Standing Committee of the All-China Association for Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge

- Wu Mao-sun - Secretary General of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs.

Members

- Peng Tse-min - Vice President of the Red Cross of China
- Fang Shih-shan- Secretary General of the Chinese Medical Association
- Liao Kai-lung - representative of the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and Against American Aggression
- Tien Teh-min - Chairman of the All-China students Federation
- Wang Jun-feng - representative of the All-China Federation of Labour
- Mei Ju-ao - expert in international laws
- Chou Chien-jen- biologist
- Hsieh Shao-wen- bacteriologist
- Liu Tsung-lo - entomologist
- Cheng Shao-chiung- veterinary specialist
- Chao Chen-sheng - entomologist
- Hu Hsiang-pi - veterinary specialist
- Su Hsi-pu - epidemiologist
- Ma Shih-chun - entomologist
- Chao Ming - writer

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TWO CAPTURED AMERICAN PILOTS ADMIT HAVING DROPPED BACTERIOLOGICAL BOMBS ON KOREA

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II.- Deposition made by John QUINN, captured American Airman, on U.S. germ war.

Peking, May 7: From "New China" news agency - The following is the full text of a deposition made by the American prisoner of war John Quinn:

"How I was forced to take part in the inhuman bacteriological warfare launched by U.S. Wall Street".

" I am John Quinn, First Lieutenant in the United States Air Force, serial number 17993 A. I am 29 years old. I joined the Air Force when I was 26 on February 16 of 1948. My home is in Pasadena, California. After I graduated from aviation cadets on February 25,1949, I was assigned to the Air University. They sent me through a six weeks course on how to teach, called the academic instructors course. After I finished, they assigned me to the Academic Instructors Division as a staff member. My job was training-aid officer, to teach people how to make good use of pictures, charts, movies and slides in their instruction. I was teaching there when I got my orders to the Far East Air Force for a further assignment to fly B-26s in Korea. I was told to report, on August 25, to Langley Air Force base to learn to fly B-26s. I was there for eight weeks. We were sent from there to camp Stoneman for processing. At camp Stoneman I was inoculated for typhoid fever, typhus, cholera, and small pox. We left the United States by airplane and arrived in Japan on 27th November, 1951. We arrived at Haeneda air terminal and taken to Foochu, area B, to await being sent to Korea. We

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were there until the 29th of November and then sent by train to Ashia air base in Southern Japan. It was an overnight trip by train and we arrived on the 30th. The same day we were sent by C-47 to Kunsan air base in Korea. I was assigned to the 8th squadron, 3rd group, of the 3rd bomb wing. The 3rd group is composed of three squadrons, the 8th, 19th, and 13th and is the only group at Kunsan.

On December 17, 1951 I reported to the 8th squadron orderly room and saw my name on the bulletin board to attend a lecture the next day at 9 o'clock. The next day Larson, a navigator who was also on the list, and I went to the lecture. The lecture was given in the ground school building in a large room. Filled, the room would seat 30 people. There were 20 people in the room, all pilots and navigators. In addition to Larson and myself were Robert, Second Lieutenant; Schwartz, First Lieutenant; Rogers, First Lieutenant; Watson, First Lieutenant; Long, Captain; Duffy, Captain; all navigators; Howarth, Captain; Land, Captain; Schmidt, First Lieutenant; Beeson, Captain; Robertson, Captain; McAllister, First Lieutenant; all pilots. Larson and I had been drinking coffee and arrived a few minutes late, the others were already there. The Captain that was talking seemed very displeased that we were late and repeated for us that the lecture that we were to receive was considered very important and highly secret; that we were to pay close attention to everything that was told us but not to discuss the lecture later - even among ourselves. He said the lecturer had come from Japan and was an expert in his field. Then he introduced the lecturer, a civilian, as Mr. Ashfork. Mr Ashfork was a middleaged man, 40 years old, slender, five feet ten inches, and losing most of his hair.

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He started his lecture by telling us that his lecture was on biological warfare. He said that it was a terrible thing to contemplate but in this day of the atom bomb when science was making such rapid strides, that we must be prepared for any turn of events. He said that we never know what turn events might take in the future and that we must be ready to defend ourselves, we must also know how to carry out bacteriological warfare ourselves in case it proved necessary. He said that he had spent many years studying germ warfare and that he would give us as much information as he thought we needed.

He first told us that there were many, many ways of spreading germ warfare. Germs could be spread anywhere at any time that the means were ready. He told us that germs by themselves could not be dropped because they would die in 60 seconds in direct sunlight. That germs could, however, be carried by many different types of insects and rodents.

These insects and rodents have been bred for many of their generations under laboratory conditions and selected for their ability to survive anywhere and at anytime, even under the most adverse conditions. To name a few of the ways that they can be spread, he said, was by dust, just like a smoke screen is laid down. That they could be spread in this way by ships moving in close to shore when the wind was blowing onto shore. That they could also be spread in this way by low flying jet aircraft. He meant any type of jet aircraft. He said that they could be spread by bugs in clothes, fleas, flies, lice, and mosquitoes. These same bugs could also be dropped in many other ways, in boxes that would become very fragile in the sun and allow the bugs to crawl out, and also in bombs. He said since we were flying B-26s he would discuss mostly this last way, by bombs. He then showed us pictures of a jet, a drawing of an F-84, spraying dust with germs, out of its tip tanks. He showed us a picture of some old clothes with bugs that looked like flies and lice crawling in them. These bugs can keep very warm in the clothes, altho he said that they can be selectively bred so that the cold would not harm them. Also they can go a very long time without food.

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He then showed us pictures of bombs which could be used for dropping germs. These bombs looked very much like the 500-pound GPS that we had been carrying except that they had no fuses. He said that the size and shape of the bomb was not important, only what it contained. He said it was a very safe way to carry these germs since the bombs were sealed and would not open except when dropped from the airplane. The picture he showed us was a picture of a 500-pound bomb with a very much thinner shell, less than a quarter inch thick. These bombs, he said, were still in the experimental stage and there were various types. One picture he showed us was of a bomb that split in half when it struck the ground. Another had doors in the back (near the tail where the bomb curves) that open when the bomb hits. These doors are opened by a very small electric motor hooked to a battery which does not work until the bomb strikes the ground. The fluid is kept away from the plates of the battery until the bomb strikes the ground by a thin plastic shield. The force of the bomb hitting the ground is sufficient for the fluid to break the plastic shield and then the fluid covers the battery plates and the motor opens the doors.

Also he showed us a picture of a bomb the tail of which breaks off when it hits the ground. All of these bombs that he showed us were made to look like ordinary 500-pound bombs but none of them were pictured with fuses. He told us they also had bombs which came apart in the air and the insects were scattered in boxes to get them over a large territory

before they struck the ground. He told us that these boxes would become very weak in the sunlight and the insects,(flies, fleas and mosquitoes) could crawl out. The structure of all three of the bombs he showed us was the same and they all looked like 500-pound bombs with thin casings. The first was shown - split open, the second with the doors in the back near the tail, and the third with the tail broken off.

The bombs that open in the air are hooked up by a regular arming wire to the wing bomb racks. They have a little propeller in the nose which cannot turn before the bomb is dropped because of the arming wire. When the bomb is dropped the arming wire stays with the airplane and the propeller is free to turn. The propeller turns a generator which supplies electricity to a small electric motor, just as in the other bomb, and then opens one door in the front. The wind thru the bomb is sufficient to blow the boxes out and they scatter as they fall. He showed us no pictures of this type of bomb and described it very little.

32-33-87

Next he described how germs could be spread. He said that almost any insect could be used for spreading germs, but he would just tell us about a few of them and that would be sufficient for our own protection in case any of these germs got back into South Korea. He said that bubonic plague could be carried by rats, but it was not necessary for the rats themselves to be dropped, altho they could be. The germs could be dropped in anything that rats could and would get into and they would pick up the germs and carry them. The insects can most easily be dropped and these carry many germs. Flies can carry typhus and cholera and fleas can carry plague. Mosquitoes can carry fever of different types, yellow fever, typhoid fever, malaria, and encyphilitis for which no positive cure is known (a technical footnote on the medical points involved is appended at the end- Editor). Encyphylitis is also known as Japanese B and was brought to Korea first by the Japanese as a disease in their own ranks. Very little is known about combating it and prevention is the same as that for malaria. He said he would describe how malaria was carried and that the rest of the fevers were carried by mosquitoes in a similar way. He showed us a large picture of a mosquito.

These mosquitoes are harmless, he said, until they have been infected with malaria either by biting someone who has malaria or by being infected with it in the laboratory. The inner and outer tubes are both stuck into a person when bitten by the mosquito. The mosquito sucks blood up thru the inner tube and injects a form of saliva into the person thru the outer tube at the same time. If the mosquito is infected the germ is carried by this saliva into the person bitten and he will get the fever. He said that the posters

on the walls of the mess hall (on protecting yourself against encyphylitis) were not up there just to cover the walls.

He said that we must all follow rules of cleanliness, especially in the months to come. When we were given atabrin to take, not to throw it way but to take it. He said we should all keep our inoculations up to date. If we did these things, we had nothing to fear. The lecture started at nine o'clock and was over just before eleven. We all noted that germ bombs would not explode, that they would be duds.

In our regular briefing on the 31st of December the operations officer, told us to be sure and report all duds to the intelligence section at debriefing when we returned.

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32-33-88

On the third of January I reported to group operations at two o'clock in the afternoon along with 26 other pilots, 27 navigators, 27 radio bombardiers, 27 engineers (in some cases these engineers were gunners. In our squadron we had three ships which could carry gunners). My crew was Rogers, First Lieutenant, navigator; and Sayer, Sergeant, as engineer. We did not carry a radio bombardier because the weather was good. I copied off the board our route assignment which was Sariwon to Pyongyang and our time of take-off which was 02:30 in the morning. The regular briefing started. The regular briefing consists of the operations officer telling us that everything we are to hear is secret and to be treated as such - not to be discussed except among ourselves. Then the intelligence officer gave a picture of what traffic was sighted the night before and how many were damaged and destroyed. The army liaison officer explained the front line situation and the weather officer described the weather to us. Other information, winds, and temperatures the navigator copied off the board. In every respect this seemed like it was to be a regular mission.

Rogers, Sayer and myself met in group operations at five minutes after one and I went into the little room where the alert operations officer stayed at night. Captain Reynolds was on duty. I gave him our names and he told me that I had a special mission. He said that before I did anything else I was to drop my wing bombs as close to Pyongyang as I dared get. He indicated a place on the wall map that he stuck a red pin into which was five miles south of Pyongyang and three miles east of the main highway. He said that we should then continue with our regular mission and finish it as soon as possible and report back to the intelligence section. He said that I should drop the bombs from 200 feet, or lower if possible and for me not to worry about them exploding as they would be duds.

I asked him what it was all about, remembering the lecture we had been given on germ bombs, but he said he did not know and it would be best just to do as instructed and not worry about why or what. I thought it was germ bombs.

When we went out to the airplane we were met by a guard and then I was sure they were germ bombs. He said not to worry about the wing bombs, they had already been taken care of. But I looked up at them when I was inspecting the airplane and noted that what the navigator said: " The wing bombs don't have any fuses", was correct. We both looked at each other and I said orders are orders and we left it at that. I told him where we were to drop them and he marked it on his map.

We took off at 02:25 and arrived just south of Pyongyang at 03:30. I turned East from the road, just South of the bridge, and when we reached 200 feet Rogers said this ought to be it and I dropped the four wing bombs, one at a time in rapid succession. They were duds. We both knew then for sure they were germ bombs.

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We finished the rest of the mission by 04:15 and landed back at kunsan at 05:10. We left the airplane and after turning in our equipment and reporting that the plane was OK we went directly to the intelligence section in group operations for debriefing. We reported that we had dropped four bombs where we had been told, at 200 feet, and that they were all duds. The sergeant took this down to give to the intelligence that morning.

On January 10 I was briefed on a regular mission as usual to fly between Kunuri and Kangye at two o'clock in the afternoon. My crew was Schwartz, First Lieutenant, navigator and Sayer, Sergeant, engineer. Our take-off time was two o'clock the next morning. This briefing was routine when we reported at 12:30 to operations I went in as usual to check off our names and was told again that I had a special mission. Captain Reynolds was again on duty. He remembered that I had already had one special mission with duds so he referred to that and told me this would be the same type of mission. That this time I only had two duds and that I should drop them Northeast of Kunuri and he showed me the place on the wall map which was three miles North of Kunuri and five miles East of the railroad track. Again we were met by a guard at the airplane and told that the wing bombs had been taken care of. I noticed that again the two out-board bombs had no fuses. I told Schwartz where we were to make the special drop and we knew we had germ bombs. We took off at two o'clock and arrived over Kunuri at 03:25. I turned when Schwartz told me to and let down to 200 feet and dropped the bombs. They were duds. We finished up the rest of the mission as quickly as possible

and started back to Kunsan at 04:10, we landed back at Kunsan at 05:25 and after turning in our equipment and telling them the airplane was OK we went to the intelligence section in operations and reported having dropped two duds and where we dropped them. The sergeant made a note of this to give to the intelligence.

On the 14th of December I noticed my name on the bulletin board to attend a lecture the next morning at nine o'clock in the ground school building. I was there at nine o'clock in the large room with 25 other officers, pilots and navigators. Beeson, Captain: Schmidt, First Lieutenant; Long, Captain; Land, Captain; Howarth, Captain; Larson, First Lieutenant; Schwartz, First Lieutenant; Roberts, Second Lieutenant; Watson, First Lieutenant were there. Major Allen, base operations officer was the senior officer present and introduced the lecturer. He said that this lecture was important and secret. He said that the lecturer, Mr. Clark, was an eminent physicist in the field of nuclear research and that he was there to explain something about atomic warfare to us. He said Mr. Clark had come from Japan.

32-33-90

The lecturer started by saying that the science of atomic warfare had advanced a long way since the bombs that were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The days when these bombs could only be carried by B-29s was over. Bombs of that size were now many times (he did not say how many) as powerful as they were then. That bombs could now be made almost any size they wished to make them. He said that they had conducted experiments in the United States of what he called the "baby" atom bomb and that they were doing further work so that they could be used as artillery as well as bombs. He said that work on a morter shell with an atomic warhead was nearly perfected for use. He said that much progress was being made on the hydrogen bomb which would be a thousand times more powerful than the types of atom bombs we now had. He said that these bombs, a single one, could completely level a city like New York. Then he told us that there were various ways of using atom bombs. They could be dropped to explode underground and spread radio-active dust over a large area. This dust is deadly to any living thing it comes in contact with and the radio-activity lingers many weeks. He said that the bombs could be dropped by parachute to explode in the air as they were at Hiroshima and Nagasaki and in this way the heat and blast effect is more deadly; that the radioactivity is not so persistent and most of it blows away and disperses in the air. He said that the bombs could be exploded deep under water and this could be used on cities near the coast. That it would lift most of the water out of any known port, the deeper the better, and the water would be radioactive and rain down on the city. Besides that there would still be the blast effect and a tidal wave would rush in to fill up the harbour

and do much damage. He said that experimentation had been done on radioactive clouds which would hold radioactivity for a long time and would be deadly wherever it rained.

He said that experiments on the smaller atom weapons (bombs) had been carried out in Nevada, United States, with troops in the fields near the blast - about two milesaway, and that no one had been hurt. This was because the explosions had been small and proper precautions had been taken. He said that they had all been clothed well and were in deep foxholes so that theirheads were two to three feet below the top of the foxhole. This was a very necessary precaution, he said, and we should understand why.

The atom bomb gives off three rays, he said. When a bomb goes off there is first very much heat created; the center of the blast is many millions of degrees, as hot as the sun, and this heat wave extends outward from a half-a-mile to many miles depending on the size of the blast. Next there is the shock wave which is much longer in duration than a high explosive blast. And next there is the radioactivity. If you are f r enough away from the blast not to be killed outright the foxhole will protect you against both the heat wave and the blast effect, and also against radioactivity unless it comes in as dust or rain. The three rays given off by the atom bomb are alpha, beta and gamma. The alpha and beta only last during the explosion and if you are safe from the searing heat of the blast, then even a shirt, especially a light colored shirt, is sufficient to keep the alpha and beta rays from burning you. Wherever you don't have clothes like hands, neck, face, that part will be burned that is facing the blast when the bomb goes off. The gamma rays last for a longer time depending on the type of blast, but a foxhole is good protection against this altho clothes are not of any use. Only lead or a thick layer of dirt will stop these gamma rays which go thru everything just like X-rays and destroy the life of bones and cause blood to break down. Then he showed us pictures of how the foxholes must be dug.

He said that a half inch of lead would stop the gamma rays, but it took at least two feet of dirt to stop them. They could penetrate almost two feet of dirt. The area around the blast continues to give off gamma rays because those objects which are strongly effected by the gamma rays also become radioactive and give off these rays. It would be very dangerous to touch especially metal objects which were in the near vicinity of the blast. He said that most of the radioactive gamma rays are carried off in a large cloud in an air burst and dispersed by the winds. He showed us a picture of this.

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He said that although after being dispersed they would not be harmful to people, that a report had come from a photographic laboratory in New York, several days after the experiments in Nevada, that much of their photographic paper showed signs of having been exposed to gamma rays. These rays had travelled in clouds all the way across the United States and exposed this paper. He said that because most of these rays being carried off in the radioactive cloud, it was quite possible to safely enter an area after an air burst provided you didn't stay too long. However, except when absolutely necessary to enter for some reason it was best to wait until trained people could go in first with Geiger counters. If you must go in, he said, don't touch metal objects. He said that they had a pocket radiation detector that could be carried by every one that would indicate when you had been in the area as long as was safe. He showed us this object which was the same size as a packet of cigarettes but only one eight inch thick. It had an opening in the middle one fourth inch high and two inches long covered with a thin piece of lead. This lead could be slid out of the way and expose the opening. Behind the lead was a piece of photographic paper which would turn dark when exposed to radioactivity. It also had on the outside a color with which to match the color of the paper so that when they matched you could leave the area, otherwise you would get too much radioactivity and it would be dangerous. After you go in once you can't go back again.

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When you enter the area you raise the lead shield and then watch the color of the opening and compare it to the dark color and leave when they are the same. Next he told us that these packet indicators were only necessary substitutes for geiger counters which were much more accurate. The Geiger counter works like a radio and when it is near radioactivity you can hear it in earphones connected to the Geiger counter. Also it has a little meter which looks like an ampmeter in a car to tell how much radioactivity is present. He said it was measured in radiotrons, or some term like that. Then he let each of us file up and put the earphones on and listen as he brought a piece of radioactive material near the Geiger counter. At first, the ticking was very slow but as the piece came close the ticking got very fast until it sounded like a purr, one tick mixed with the next. The lecturer lasted from nine o'clock to 10:30.

It is very clear from these facts that the capitalistic Wall Street warmongers in their greed, their ruthless greed, have caused this horrible crime of bacteriological warfare to be launched in order to get more money for themselves and in the hope of spreading this war. Even their desire to start a third world war by adding atomic warfare to their list of inhuman crimes is indicated. These imperialists will stop at nothing to get more money in their pockets

and the more war the more they make. They do not care about the innocent people of the world. Surely the people of America, the workers, if they know about these crimes must condemn them. The American workers seldom get the truth from their newspapers, magazines and radios which are controlled by the money-mad Wall Street imperialists. These warmongers do not want the people to learn the truth or they would not permit them to carry out their warmong--ering, inhuman crimes against the people of the world. It is very clear that they are doing these inhuman crimes to expand the war and make more profits.

I was forced to be the tool of these warmongers and made to drop germ bombs and do this awful crime against the people of Korea and the Chinese volunteers. Because I am a soldier I must follow orders and these orders came from those imperialists of Wall Street. I could not refuse to do this crime. But on the other hand I was the person who did this inhuman crime against the people, by carrying germ bombs and dropping them where innocent women and children would be the most likely victims. This is a horrible crime against the people, even the German Nazis would not use it. Those people like Ilsa Koch who would make lamps shades out of human skin would not use it, but I used it for the U.S. imperialists warmongers of Wall Street. Since I have been captured by the Chinese volunteers and I laid down my arms I have been treated far better than a person who had committed even much lesser crimes deserves to expect. But they always said after I laid down my arms that I was no longer an enemy. They explained the lenient policy toward POWs which I, brought up as I was on the propaganda lies of the Wall Street imperialists, found very difficult to understand. But the Chinese volunteers were very patient. They issued me warm clothing against the cold, gave me excellent food, bedding and a warm place to sleep. I am eternally grateful for their kind treatment. At last, after much patience on the part of the volunteers, I realised my crime. My own conscience bothered me a great deal, and it is very good to be rid of this burden, to confess and repent.

I have realised my terrible crime against the people, I have done an inhuman thing against innocent peace-loving people. I know now, how wrong this crime is, and I ask that the people can see it in their hearts to forgive me for this crime. It was a crime against all the peace-loving people of the world and one which should surely be condemned by all peace-loving people. I ask forgiveness from all people who want peace because my crime has been against them.

(Signed) John Quinn,13, April, 1952.

The following comment was made by a leading authority in China on tropical and infectious diseases, Dr. Huei-Lan-Chung, M.D. (University of the State of New York),D.T.M.

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(certificate), University of London; formerly Fellow of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, London; formerly, Research Fellow in the Tropical Institute, Hamburg, Germany; ex-Member of the Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine, U.S.A.; Clinical Professor of Internal Medicine at the Chinese Union Medical College (formerly PUMC), and Peking University Medical College - the interrogator.

The accepted vectors of rickettsial diseases are lice, fleas, ticks and mites. So far as known, flies do not transmit typhus fever as they do not normally carry pathogenic rickettsiae. The transmission of typhoid fever requires no insect vector except flies which may serve as mechanical carriers of various virulent micro-organisms on account of their habitual contact with fecal matter. Certainly mosquitoes are not vectors of typhoid fever. Some of the statements given by this prisoner concerning the transmission of infectious diseases are not consistent with current medical knowledge. However the prisoner in question, not being a medical man, cannot be expected to know or remember everything about disease transmissions. Thus it is also natural that he spelled and wrote "encyphylitis" for encephalitis".

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Documentation on Bacteriological Warfare

BULLETIN No. 13
2nd May 1952

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Palais SIA - Prague

32-33-95

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE CHINESE COMMISSION INVESTIGATING THE USE OF BACTERIOLOGICAL WEAPONS IN KOREA

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A Chinese commission was designated on March 15, in order to go to Northeast China and Korea for the purpose of carrying out investigations on the use of bacteriological weapons.

In our documentation Bulletin No.3, we reproduced extracts of the report made by this commission which was published following its investigation in Northeast China. We are now publishing large extracts from the report which was drawn up following investigations carried out in Korea.

In the preamble dealing with the designation of the commission, the report states that, according to incomplete statistics, the Americans had, by 31st March, dropped on 804 occasions infected insects and various objects in all parts of Korea. The report also states that the dissemination of bacteria - carrying insects was carried out not only in the regions bordering on the front, but also on towns, factories, villages and wide areas inhabitated by civilians in Korea and Northeast China.

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... The Commission includes representatives of the National Red Cross Society of China, people's organisations, democratic parties and Christian circles, and specialists in entomology, bacteriology, parasitology, rickettsial diseases, virology, pathology, clinical medicine, epidemiology, public health, chemistry, biology, agronomy and veterinary science. Among these specialists, Wei Hsi and Liu Wei-tung, who were decorated with the "Medal for Meritorious Service, U.S. Typhus Commission" for their services on the Yunnan-Burma theatre of war during the Anti-Japanese War, have come after personally confirming the crimes of the American aggressors in waging bacteriological warfare to consider it a disgrace to wear the "medal" presented by the American Government, which is itself the arch bacteriological warfare criminal, and they have deposited the "medals" with the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and Against American Aggression.

The specialists in the commission include :

Clinical Medicine:

- Li Tsung-en, President of the China Union Medical College, specialist in tropical diseases
- Fang Shih-shan, General Secretary of the Chinese Medical Association, specialist in internal diseases(§)
- Kung Nai-chuan, President of Shanghai Medical College, Surgeon.
- Yen Jen-ying, Assistant Professor of the Department of Maternology and Obstetrics of the Medical College of Peking University, mother and child welfare expert

Bacteriology :

- Wei Hsi, Professor and head of the Department of Bacteriology of Dairen Medical College
- Hsieh Shao-wen, Professor and head of the Department of Bacteriology of China Union Medical College (§)
- Yang Shu-ya, research member of the Medical Research Institute, bacteriologist
- Hsieh Chih-mu, research member of the Medical Research Institute, bacteriologist
- Liu Wei-tung, research member of the Medical Research Institute, specialist in rickettsial diseases

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- Kuo Cheng-chou, research member of the Medical Research Institute, bacteriologist

- Shen Ting-hung, research member of the Medical Research Institute, bacteriologist

- Fang Liang, Assistant Professor of bacteriology, the Medical College, Peking University

- Cheng Chih-yi, assistant research member of the Medical Research Institute, bacteriologist

Entomology:

- Liu Chung-lo, Professor and head of the Department of Entomology of Peking Agricultural College (§)

- Ho-Chi, Professor and head of the Department of Biology of Dairen Medical College, entomologist

- Liu Chih-ying, Professor at the Agricultural College, Chekiang University, entomologist

Epidemiology:

- Yen Ching-ching, head of the Department of Public Health, Medical College, Peking University, epidemiologist

- Yu Huan-wen, head of the Department of Epidemiology of the Medical Research Institute

- Ho Kuan-ching, Assistant Professor of the Department of Public Health, China Union Medical College, epidemiologist

- Chu Tan, lecturer in the Department of Public Health, Medical College, Peking University, epidemiologist (§)

Pathology:

- Yen Chia-kuei, Assistant Professor of the Department of Pathology, Shanghai Medical College

Parasitology:

- Wu Kuang, head of the Department of Parasitology of the Medical Research Institute

- Chao Chen-sheng, Assistant Professor of the Department of Parasitology, Medical College, Peking University (§)

- Pao Ting-cheng, Assistant Professor of the Department of Parasitology of Shanghai Medical College

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Veterinary Science:

- Cheng Shao-chiung, veterinarian (§)

- Fang Hsiao-wen, expert in veterinary bacteriology

Toxicology:

- Yang En-fu, research member of the Central Research Institute of Public Health, biochemist

- Yu Yung-hsiang, assistant research member of the Department of Pharmacology of the Medical Research Institute, toxicologist

Other Sciences:

- Tseng Chao-lun, Professor of the Department of Chemistry, Peking University and Vice-Chairman of the China Federation of Scientific Societies

- Chang Ching-yueh, head of the Department of Botany, Peking University

- Chou Chien-jen, biologist (§)

- Yang Hsien-tung, agronomist

- Shen Chi-yi, Professor of Plant Pathology of Peking Agricultural College (§)

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The Commission left Peking on March 15. After arrival at Mukden, some of the members formed themselves into a sub-commission to carry out investigations in Northeast China. The Northeast group completed its work on April 1 and on April 3 issued a "Report of the Northeast China Group of the Commission for Investigating the American Crime of Bacteriological Warfare."

On arrival at a Korean base on March 20, the commission established contact with the Ministry of Health of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Health Department of the Chinese people's volunteers and the volunteer epidemic prevention and inspection teams; studied the insects and other creatures and objects dropped by the U.S. Government in Korea and conducted detailed inquires and made verifications of the results obtained by the Chinese people's volunteer epidemic prevention and inspection teams in various experiments. The teams have set up a series of inspection stations at the front and at rear bases. The stations are adequately equipped, have collected documents and made many bacteriological, pathological, entomological, chemical and other tests. After careful research and discussion, we consider that

(§) See Annexe

the findings of the skilled and conscientious specialists in the epidemic prevention and inspection teams, are fully reliable. Leaving some of our number to join in the verification work which was being done by the epidemic prevention and inspection teams, the commission divided up into two separate groups, one going to the Wonsan region and the other to the vicinity of the central part of the 38th parallel, to make investigations at key points. Many witnesses were examined and material evidence collected. On April 3, representatives of the Ministry of Health of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Korean People's Army, Chinese people's volunteer units, and eyewitnesses who saw U.S. aircraft dropping insects or U.S. artillery forces firing insect shells and poison gas shells, all gathered at a base for discussion with members of the commission. Witnesses were interrogated by the commission. Around this time the Korean People's Army and the Chinese people's volunteers captured U.S. prisoners of war and agents who were airdropped by the American aggressors to spy out the result of the bacteriological warfare. They disclosed undeniable facts concerning the U.S. Government's employment of bacteriological warfare. On April 5, members of the commission visited Pyongyang. With the full cooperation and assistance of the Ministry of Health of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the commission carefully studied the data in the hands of the Korean Government. The commission also exchanged information with representatives of the Korean Ministry of Health, medical experts and epidemic prevention personnel and heard reports by eyewitnesses in Pyongyang who witnessed the dropping by U.S. aircraft of insects. During its stay in Korea, the commission examined over 150 witnesses and inspected 1,165 pieces of material evidence. Recordings were made of the testimony of the more important witnesses, of the statements volunteered by U.S. prisoners of war, and of the confessions made by the captured agents. Photographs were taken of the witnesses, the various types of insect containers and shells and the insect bombs used by the U.S. Government and also of the various insects and other infected objects dropped. Films were made of the inspection and testing done by the Chinese people's volunteer epidemic prevention and inspection teams.

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On the basis of all this data and the results of the tests, the commission considers it conclusive that the U.S. Government used aircraft, shells and other methods to spread bacteria-laden insects and other infected objects in large quantities and that the evidence is irrefutable. The results of the examination of the insects and other infected objects spread by the U.S. have established that to date disease germs of plague, cholera, typhoid, paratyphoid and dysentery have been used. We also have data proving that the American aggressors are using bacillus anthracis and other pathogenic organisms. The facts prove that the U.S. Government is, by these means, attempting to cause man-made epidemics in order to wipe out the Korean people and the Chinese and Korean forces in large numbers and to destroy livestock and damage crops in Korea.

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However brazenly the U.S. Government may make its denials, the facts enumerated below are irrefutable.

The data examined by the commission and the results of the researches made by the specialists are set forth below:

Chapter 1.- Evidence concerning the insects and other living and inanimate objects disseminated by the American aggressors

1.- METHODS OF DISSEMINATION

In disseminating insects, animals and other objects, the American aggressors chiefly used aircraft though, at the front, they also fired shells. Direct spraying of insects is the main method of dissemination by aircraft. When carrying out this spraying, the U.S. aircraft in most cases flew at low altitudes or made power dives. The comparatively larger creatures and birds and other objects were often dropped directly from aircraft. In this connection, we cite the following instances by way of illustration:

a) At 12:40 hours on February 11, Li Ching-hsiang, a Chinese people's volunteer, and others saw three U.S. P-51 fighters flying at the low altitude of approximately 300 metres in the vicinity of Naemunni in Majang District of Chorwon. The aircraft sprayed such insects as anthomyiid flies, springtails and stone flies (Trichoptera) which were found scattered over the snow on an area extending 10 kilometres from east to west, and five kilometres from south to north. They were even found in large numbers in places shaded from the sun. The temperature then was four degrees below zero Centigrade. Many of the anthomyiid flies soon froze to death. Some of those that fell in shaded places and survived slowly flew into the sunlight.

b) At a little past 2 p.m. on March 9, Chang An-chang and other volunteer fighters discerned at Chonnae District of Munchon County two U.S. planes flying in from the northwest and circling round. The second plane power dived and dropped two black deposits, one of which landed on the west slope and another on the east slope of a hill. After the U.S. aircraft flew off, health officer Kang Ko-ming led Chang An-chang and 11 others in a search for the deposits. They did not find any black deposits but discovered large numbers of anthomyiid flies and other insects at the places where they saw the black deposits land.

c) At 11:40 a.m. on April 2, six members of this commission and Alan Winnington, correspondent of the London Daily Worker, witnessed at a certain place a U.S. plane flying overhead unloading large quantities of tree leaves and stone flies (Trichoptera) many of which actually fell on them.

In addition to spraying, the American aggressors also dropped several types of insect-laden bombs or containers from aircraft. One usual type is the insect bomb with four compartments.

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This bomb is 137 centimetres long (including the tail) and 36.4 centimetres in diameter. It is made up of two parts and is divided into four compartments inside. The bomb casing is made of steel 0.15 centimetres thick. After exploding, it splits into two separate halves. The U.S. forces have used such bomb containers for spreading leaflets, but the bombs recently picked up have had no leaflets near where they landed, but instead insects were found round them. On the outer surface of these bomb casings there is the marking "empty". The following instance may be cited in connection with these insect bombs:

At 8 a.m. on March 26, a U.S. plane was seen circling over Masangni, Yongwon District, Yongwon County and Han Lu-tao, assistant army physician of a certain unit of the volunteers personally observed it dropping two bombs in a power dive. One bomb landed at Masangni and made a bomb crater five inches deep. The other landed at Mungokni, Yongwon District about 2,200 metres from the first bomb. Both bombs split into two on explosion. Each created an insect-congested zone of about 200 metres in length and 100 metres in breadth, and the insects were primarily stone flies (Trichoptera). The density averaged over 100 insects per square metre. The insects were densest inside the bomb crater. At the time of finding, the insects were still crawling out of the burst bomb casings.

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Regarding the use of the four compartment insect bomb, the American aggressors have quibbled that this is merely a kind of propaganda bomb. But according to an A.P. dispatch of April 5, Robert Sikes, Chairman of the House Appropriations Sub-Committee, told the American press, after taking secret testimony from General Bullene, Chief of the U.S. Army Chemical Corps, "The means of delivering germs to enemy territory, are simple and involve equipment of a type with which we are now already well stocked... such as containers used currently for dropping propaganda leaflets."

The second type of insect bomb which U.S. aircraft have dropped on numerous occasions is a paper cylinder type. It has a parachute attached to its head and is fitted with a time fuse below. Three kinds of this type of insect bomb have been discovered each differing slightly from the other. One has a kind of cylinder that is particularly thick. (The cylinder is 36 centimetres long, 13 centimetres in diameter and one centimetre thick). As part of their tactics of deception, the American aggressors have marked these "flares with parachute". Actually, the cylinder of such bombs is comparatively heavy and the parachute is very small (when open about a thirtieth of the size of an ordinary U.S. flare parachute), which certainly cannot remain suspended for long in the air. At the same time, when the botton of this bomb is blown away, there is not the least trace of the paper inside being burned. This therefore definitely cannot possibly be a flare. On March 26, volunteer fighter Wen Chia-chen picked up such cylinders dropped by U.S. aircraft in Myongmunni, Kangdong County, and found large numbers of midges in the vicinity.

The third type of airdropped container in which insects were found has a kind of small wire cylindrical netting. This kind

is 10 centimetres long and six centimetres in diameter. It has six rows of small holes on its surface. On the outside and at the two ends, it is covered with fine copperwire netting. It has a hole at one end. This kind of container is evidently for carrying rats, fleas and other insects. On March 27, U.S. aircraft dropped this type of container after circling over the hill area in Songni of Yongso District, Pakchon County. Fighter Li Cheng-tsai discovered one that still had large numbers of insects, including fleas, inside.

The fourth type is a bomb of special material. U.S. aircraft have more than once dropped bombs of light metal casings (such as those dropped on March 14 over Wadeidong of Hiangjongni, Tosan District, Kumchon County and bombs with light green plastic coated casings (such as these dropped on February 28 and March 26 over Kwangtaedei of Chorwon County). Flies and other insects have been discovered around the scattered splinters of these bombs. A kind of green plastic bomb is also used. The top section of this is of light metal and it is about the size of a hand grenade. When it bursts open it takes the shape of a ponegranate.

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The fifth type of insect container is a kind of insect bomb shaped somewhat like a hand grenade with a handle. At 8 p.m. on March 5 ,Chi Teng-shen, an instructor attached to a certain unit of the volunteers saw in Mienchon Ni of Innan District, Kumhwa County, a U.S. plane fly southwest to northeast and drop a bomb which did not immediately explode. At 10 o'clock the following morning, he and several cooks of his unit suddenly saw a greenish black smoke rising from the place where the bomb landed and heard a hissing noise. When the smoke cleared they found many spiders of the size of a finger nail crawling out of the bomb casing. This bomb is made of a light metal. Its head is approximately the size of two fists. The outer bomb casing is thin and has another thin iron casing inside, of the size of an apple. Between the two casings in an iron ring. The other end of the bomb is three centimetres in diameter, nine centimetres long. When the bomb explodes, the head of the bomb splits open like the petals of a flower.

The American aggressors also employ various other methods for dropping insects and other creatures and objects.

At 7:30 a.m. on March 10, Liang Ju-hai, a member of a volunteer unit, saw an American plane drop a brown paper package, more than a foot square, on a hill southeast of Ziksong Ni to the east of Changdo Ri. The package burst on reaching the ground and many blackish spiders crawled out which spread over an area some 40 metres by 50 metres. At the densest spot, there were several thousand spiders within five square metres. The parcel was marked "71400".

To spread bubonic plague, American aircraft have been used to drop rats. At 4 a.m. on February 20, Huang Sheng-chang, a sentry of a volunteer unit, at Nanjon railway station, near Kujang, Yongbyon County, saw one American plane circle and drop an object over the station. The object did not explode when it fell. On making a search, Huang found a green oblong wooden box about

a metre in length, with many small holes in its four sides. The box was broken, and there was a dead rat nearby. At 10 a.m. on March 16 in the vicinity of Gyehwa Dong, Pyongwon Ni, Suan County, Yen Teh-chih, an instructor of a volunteers unit, saw American aircraft unload many white objects, and he found on the ground 21 cotton packages, each weighing about 10 ounces, full of rats droppings.

Finally, the American aggressors have also repeatedly dropped lyophilized proteinous material containing bacteria. For instance, at 2:30 p.m. on March 9, two American Mustang fighter planes dived over Lidong, Kunnae District, Munchon County, Kangwon Province, but did no strafing and there was no sound of any bombs. Li Fa-tang, deputy chief groom of a volunteers unit, thought it rather strange at the time and ran off to see. He found many insects on the snow. Later, Li Ching-Hua, deputy head of the clinic in the area, inspected the place and found white sticky objects of different sizes and shapes on the snow, concave in the middle, somewhat resembling half egg shells without yolks. The bigger ones were three centimetres in diameter, weighed some 10 grammes and had over a hundred springtails inside. In falling these white sticky objects made small indentations in the snow some three centimetres deep. One of them lodged on a branch of a tree. These sticky objects soon liquified after contact with water or snow.

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Apart from spreading infected insects and infected objects by aircraft, the American aggressors have also fired insect shells from guns. For instance, on February 27, American troops fired volleys at our positions at the front near Kumhwa. Several of the shells exploded with a light sound. After the firing stopped, swarms of flies and spiders were found at five spots where the shells fell. At 9:45 p.m. on March 6, American troops fired several shells at a neigh in Kumhwa. Insects were found attached to steel shell splinters. Among the splinters of shells fired by American artillery units and picked up by the Chinese people's volunteers at the front, apart from ordinary high explosive shells and poison gas shells (whose casings are made of steel), there have also been found shell casings of light metal, of dark green plastic material, and casings of light metal at one end attached to dark green plastic material. The finding of such shell casings of uncommon substances together with insects near the shell splinters, and the light explosion, all prove that these shells are used to project insects and other creatures.

2.- INSECTS AND OTHER CREATURES AND OBJECTS DISSEMINATED

Numerically speaking, the biggest proportion of objects disseminated by the American aggressors have been insects. Among the insects the most common are anthomyiid flies. This is very natural, because flies are easily used for carrying disease bacteria,

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and moreover they can be easily cultivated in large quantities by artificial means in a short period of time. Apart from these flies, the insects most commonly used have been springtails (snow fleas), stone flies (commonly known as flying ants) and midges. In addition to these insects the american aggressors have also dropped spiders and ticks. The bigger creatures dropped have mainly been rats, with the obvious purpose of having rat fleas spread bubonic plague. Fish, birds, rabbits, snakes and dead pigs have also been used. Among the plants dropped, there have been tree leaves, tree branches, bean stalks and bean pods. The American aggressors have also dropped infected cotton, chicken feathers, drugs, food and other objects.

3.- LOCALITIES IN WHICH INSECTS AND OTHER OBJECTS HAVE BEEN DISSEMINATED.

The american aggressors were discovered to be spreading insects and other infected objects in Korea since January 28 this year. On that day, the outdoor temperature in the area where the insects were dropped was 19 degrees below zero centigrade ; it was impossible for insects suddenly to appear naturally and in great quantities. From that time and up to March 31, according to incomplete statistics, there had been 804 occasions on which the American aggressors have dropped insects or other creatures and objects. The density of the insects on the ground has sometimes been as much as over 1.000 to the square metre. The areas of dissemination cover 70 counties and cities in Korea, mainly concentrated in zones near the frontlines, and chief cities and lines of communication in the rear. It is thus clear that the bacteriological warfare by the American aggressors has had detailed planning.

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Chapter II.- The Evidence of dissemination by American aggressors of Pasteurella Pestis.

There has been no bubonic plague in Korea for many years. This fact is confirmed by the U.S. Navy in its printed report on epidemics in Korea.

Thus in Korea, where no bubonic plague had appeared, the Americans began using this deadly disease as an instrument of war, dropping carriers of pasteurella pestis - rats and fleas - in an attempt to achieve their aggressive aims by mass slaughter through bubonic plague.

In areas where rats were dropped from the air by the American aggressors a number were found infected with pasteurella pestis. Bacteriological and immunological tests, using such methods as staining smears, germ culturing, serological reaction, animal inoculation and pathological section have proved that these rats carried pasteurellae pestis.

In these same areas, we have also discovered victims of the plague. Specimens of phlegm and blood taken from the victims and necropsy performed on the victims have proved, on careful and detailed bacteriological, immunological and pathological tests, using such methods as staining smears, germ culturing, serological reaction, animal inoculation and pathological sections, that these victims were stricken by pasteurellae pestis.

The victims of bubonic plague showed sudden acute symptoms. Most of them died within 24 hours. Though somewhat swollen, the superficial lymph nodes of the victims were not conspicuous but pasteurella pestis was found in their blood, internal organs and phlegm. Examination of these cases proved that they were septicemic plague cases.

Normally bubonic plague begins and becomes prevalent during the warm summer season. Thus bubonic plague showed itself in Korea during the cold winter season, with the wheather below zero centigrade. This is additional confirmation that these cases of bubonic plague were brought about artificially and that they were directly caused by the American aggressors.

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These victims and rats infected with bubonic plague were found in areas far removed from the borders of China. No bubonic plague exists anywhere, from the above areas going northwards to the borders of China and no bubonic plague has been discovered for many years in the provinces of Northeast China bordering on Korea. Plague can only spread along through communication lines. It cannot jump long distances and hop from one area to another.

This again proves that the present outbreak of bubonic plague in Korea was caused by the bacteriological warfare waged by the American aggressors.

Chapter III.- Evidence of the Dissemination of Cholera Vibrions by the American Aggressors.

The first victim of genuine cholera was discovered in Pyongyang on March 6,1952. He was a man named Han Sang Kwak, 68 years of age, who lived at Nammuni, Central Pyongyang. As a result of emergency anti-epidemic measures taken in time, cholera was prevented from spreading further.

American aircraft flew over the area where Han Sang Kwak lived in a raid on Pyongyang on the night of March 4. On the morning of March 5 when he got up, he found many species of insects resembling flies and also many white paper wrappings in his courtyard, in the street and on the frosty ground. He opened the paper wrappings, found the same kind of creatures in them and immediately swept them out. On the night of March 6, he suddenly fell ill, with severe vomiting and diarrhoea. The diarrhoea soon grew quite serious and his stools resembled rice water. Medical treatment proved ineffective and he died on March 8.

The stools of this patient were subjected to thorough, detailed bacteriological and immunological tests and an autopsy was also performed. Large numbers of active vibrios were discovered in his stools, and Gram negative was shown. The culture of the stools in pepton water resulted in a thin membrane formation on the surface of the medium as well as growth of cholera vibrios in the latter.

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The vibrios thus isolated gave a positive agglutination reaction with a titre of 1 to 3,200. The Pfeiffer reaction was positive. The organisms liquified the gelatin, produced acid but without gas formation in maltose, glucose, sucrose and mannitol. The autopsy revealed severe dehydration and acute toximia without other important pathological findings. Cholera vibrios were also isolated from the intestinal contents which, however did not show any organisms of the salmonella group. Therefore, it was identified that the cause of death of this patient was genuine cholera.

Korea is not a home of cholera, and there has been no focus of cholera infection. While in the past there was cholera in Korea, in all cases it was brought in from outside. The last outbreak occurred when it was transferred from U.S. vessels to Pusan in July, 1946, and then from Pusan to various other parts of Korea. Since 1947, and during the past few years, no cholera has ever broken out in the areas under the jurisdiction of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

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As far as the time of the year in which cholera outbreaks are found, such cholera cases as occurred in Korea in the past were mostly prevalent during August, September and October. In the present instance, however, cholera broke out in Pyongyang early in March, when the weather was still quite cold.

On the basis of these facts, it can be completely affirmed that the outbreak of genuine cholera in Pyongyang was artificial and was induced by vibrio cholerae-carrying flies disseminated by U.S. aircraft and resulting from the American aggressors' use of bacteriological weapons.

Chapter IV.- Evidence of the American Aggressors' dissemination of other germs causing Gastro intestinal infections.

The methods used by the Americans in their bacteriological warfare have been many and varied. Apart from plague and cholera germs, they have also utilised insects, small fish, cottonwool and many other things to disseminate various kinds of bacteria in attempts to spread gastro intestinal infections. The Chinese people's volunteer epidemic prevention and inspection teams have carried out comprehensive and exhaustive laboratory tests on these.

1.- observation of the motility of the organisms, 2.- gram stain, 3.- biochemical tests- including fermentation of glucose, lactose, maltose and mannitol and indole production, 4.- quantitative serum agglutination test, and 5.- Pfeiffer reaction -

All these tests confirmed the attempts on the part of the American aggressors. The following instances, in themselves demonstrate that

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the American aggressors disseminate germs causing gastro intestinal infections.

On March 5, 1952, U.S. aircraft dropped a group of anthomyiid flies over Ryungjoni, Munchon County. The results of tests established that these anthomyiid flies carried salmonella typhosa.

On February 28, 1952, U.S. aircraft dropped a group of anthomyiid flies over Ochonni. The results of tests established that these anthomyiid flies carried salmonella B group of organisms.

On March 7, 1952, U.S. aircraft dropped cottonwool on a certain hill southwest of Sangnyong. The results of tests established that this cottonwool carried salmonella B group of organisms.

On March 10, 1952 U.S. aircraft dropped many fresh small fish about 4 cm. long on a hillside and dry rice fields in Nipyongdong, Taedong County. The fish were dissected and their internal organs taken out for examination. The results of the tests established that these small fish carried shigella dysentery bacilli.

On February 25, 1952, U.S. aircraft dropped a group of springtails (snow fleas) over Ryongchon, Sanghsiepri, Sangpalri. The results of tests established that these springtails carried parashigella dysenteriae.

Taking into account the conditions in which they made their appearance, the large number of various kinds of insects, fish and other objects that were found, bore out that the dropping was carefully planned by the American aggressors. The discovery among these insects, fish and cottonwool of various types of germs causing gastro intestinal infections proved further that the American aggressors were attempting to use water sources and food as media for spreading such infections.

Chapter V.- Evidence of the American aggressors dissemination of bacilli anthracis.

On the basis of data furnished by Korean and Chinese veterinary specialists in infectious diseases of domestic animals, U.S. aircraft on February 28 dropped flies, rats, and bacteria-carrying insects and objects over the Kujang area. In March , acute infectious diseases suddenly broke out among horses, cows, and pigs. According to the report made by the organisation which conducted an examination, these infected domestic animals showed the main symptoms of shortness of breath, intestinal colic, and swelling of the chest and posterior part of the throat. The

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post-morte charges were bleeding from nose, poor coagulation of blood and enlarged spleen. Examination of blood revealed bacilli anthracis.

Chapter VI.- Evidence of the dissemination by the American aggressors of bacteria-carrying treeleaves and bean pods for destroying crops.

At 1 p.m. on March 20, Sun Chih-chien, assistant political instructor of a certain unit of the Chinese people's volunteers, saw four U.S. Sabre jet planes circle over Yonpungni, Ko An district, Chongju County, North Pyongan Province, and drop a black deposit. When it was about 300 metres from the ground, it dispersed into masses of tree leaves which fell slowly spreading over the local rice fields and around the houses. In addition to tree leaves, there were also bean stalks and bean pods. The area covered was 200 metres by 400 to 500 metres. There were approximately 15 to 16 tree leaves and 2 or 3 bean stalks and bean pods on the average to each square metre.

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Results of tests established that the bean pods carried Cercospora sojina or Cercosporina kikuchii. This kind of fungi is highly infectious and can remain alive on the bean pods for several years. During the growth of the soya bean, the fungi give rise to numerous spores which spread widely. Severe infection destroys the soya beans, whereas light infection brings out purple brown spots, greatly decreasing the yield.

Chapter VII.- Depositions of American P O Ws and Airborne special agents.

Testimony voluntarily provided by American prisoners of war captured at the Korean front also confirmed the fact that the U.S. Government has been waging bacteriological warfare in Korea.

The prosecution of bacteriological warfare by the U.S. Government has been kept secret. However, the rank and file of the U.S. troops got wind of the matter and spread the news of it widely. At the same time, the U.S. Government innoculated the men and officers of its forces in Korea with certain types of vaccines which it kept from public knowledge as a "military secret", for protection against disease causing bacteria and viruses which it itself was disseminating.

Private First Class Darling P. Shipes, RA 14384491, Company G, the 179th Regiment, 45th Division, U.S. Army, testified that:

" On November 17, 1951, Saturday evening, on Market Street inSapporo, Japan, I overheard some G.I.s of the 179th Infantry

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Regiment talking while waiting for a bus. One of the G.I.s said, " I hear that we are having to go to Korea." Another one said: "Yes, but maybe we won't have to go if the Government gets the experiment worked out." The first said, "What kind of experiment and where did you hear this?" The second then said :"I heard from another guy, that the Government are experimenting on some kind of bacteria to be used in the Korean war."

" On December 2, 1951, Sunday, about 2:30 p.m. in camp Crawford we were marched to the medics and received some shots. We received six shots and only four were marked on our immunization sheet. Corporal Clee L. Duncan and I asked why only four shots were marked. Then the medical officer of our battalion replied. "Those two shots are unmarked for a special reason, which is a military secret." That then reminded me of what I had heard at the Sapporo bus stop. I think these two facts must evidently have something to do with the bacteria war which they are carrying out now."

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The U.S. Government has long been systematically providing education on bacteriological warfare for its forces in Korea and those ready to leave for Korea, with special emphasis on training its artillerymen in bacteriological warfare.

Private First Class Marvin Lester Brown, R.A.18397178, 8th Company, 3rd Battalion, 7th Regiment, 3rd Division, U.S. Army, deposed:

" I, the undersigned, hereby certify that the American troops use epidemic germ shells against the Communist forces in Korea, for I was told at my own line, hill 155, sometime in February, 1952, by Corporal Edward Barron of 8th Company, 3rd Battalion, 7th Infantry Regiment, 3rd Infantry Division, that the American 65th Infantry Regiment, 3rd Infantry Division, had used epidemic germ shells against the Communist troops in Korea. He then showed me a copy of a newspaper with headlines something like "America Artillery has 500 Epidemic Germ Rounds for Reds in Korea- 65th Regiment has used Epidemic Germ Shells against the Communist Forces in Korea with Effect."

" I also saw a U.S. army newreel twice about the U.S. use of epidemic germ shells. The first time I saw it was at Schofield Barracks, Hawaii, sometime in April, 1951. The second time I saw it was at Camp Drake, Yokohama, Japan, sometime in July, 1951. The movie about teh said epidemic shells was printed with the words"restricted and secret". The movie showed that the epidemic germ shells had flies inside, carrying epidemic germs. The movie also stated that the epidemic germ shells were effective and dangerous and should be used wisely."

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With a view to finding out the effectiveness of the bacteriological warfare which it is waging, the U.S. Government organised a large number of intelligence agents and air-dropped them in various parts of Korea to carry out reconnaissance.

Tan Tse-min, one such special agent airdropped by the American aggressors, deposed:

" My name is Tan Tse-min. I am a native of Chaling County, Hunan Province. I am 26 years old. I work for the Americans as a special service man. On January, 27 this year, I began to receive training in special service in Tokyo, Japan. The director of this special service school is a Japanese of American nationality, named Ito. The acting vice-director and concurrently instructor is Mizuno, also a Japanese of American nationality. He was once a special agent of the psychological warfare department, a special service organ of the United States Far East Command. We, 16 trainees, received three weeks' training in general intelligence collection, weapon identification, aircraft identification, parachute jumping, map reading and Korean. On finishing our course, we were sent to Seoul and stayed in a Japanese style house, about 500 metres to the right of the former office of the Governor General. We were placed in the charge of a Korean special agent named Wang Ku Kuk.

" On March 9, I was assigned a task by the special service organ. I was detailed to bale out over Hiungje Bong, north of Ichon, in the rear of the Chinese volunteer forces, and on landing to investigate the effectiveness of germ warfare. The information required was: how many victims are there among the armed forces and civilian population, when and where did epidemics occur, what are the types and symptoms of the diseases, who are the more numerous among the victims, young people or old people; are there dead rats on the road; are there flies, fleas, spiders and other anthropods to be seen, what measures have the Korean Government and armed forces adopted to prevent epidemics; has the general public been innoculated, and so on.

" I wore a Chinese volunteer uniform which was faked in Tokyo and the special service organ also gave me a false document which was supposed to be issued by a volunteer organisation, and some North Korean currency and China's people's currency, in addition to a Japanese-made fountainpen. I was told to collect information from civilians and, passing for a volunteer, to collect information, too, among the armed forces. I was told that I should come back across the front lines by way of Naesokkyo. I was parachuted in on March 13 and taken prisoner on the evening of March 16."

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Conclusions

1.- All the facts concerning the dissemination of bacteria and viruses by the American aggressors were borne out by eyewitnesses and material evidence collected on the spot.

2.- According to incomplete statistics up to March 31, the American aggressors spread insects, animals and other objects on 804 occasions in an area including 70 counties and cities of Korea. It is thus evident that the American aggressors efforts to spread epidemics on a large scale are planned and deliberate.

3.- The insects disseminated from U.S. aircraft during February were all found in temperatures of 8, 9, 10 or more degrees below zero. The insects were dispersed on the snow within certain length and width and at a certain density. Sometimes they were found concentrated in places shaded from sunlight, many were found incapable of moving because of the cold. Some could only fly or move around very slightly. Moeover, among the insects completely different kinds were discovered all mixed up together in large quantities, such as anthomyiid flies, springtails, fleas, midges and spiders. This is effective proof that they did not appear naturally, but were spread by aircraft.

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4.- After examination, pasteurella pestis, salmonella typhosa, bacillary dysentery, vibrio cholerae, bacillus anthracis (and a certain virus) were found on the insects, animals and other infected objects dropped by U.S. aircraft.

5.- For many years, there has been no plague outbreak in Korea. No cholera has occurred since 1947. The plague and cholera that suddenly broke out in cold weather can be directly attributed to the U.S. Government's bacteriological warfare.

6.- After the American aggressors started bacteriological warfare, they dropped agents by air in various parts of Korea to obtain intelligence reports on such things as the number of fatalities that occurred, whether dead rats were to be seen on the roads. This proof that the American aggressors are trying to ascertain the results of bacteriological warfare is in fact iron-clad evidence that they are carrying out bacteriological warfare.

7.- Before the U.S. invading troops came to the Korean battlefront, in addition to receiving inoculations against plague, typhus fever, tetanus, cholera, typhoid and yellow fever, they were compulsorily inoculated with two other vaccines which "cannot be disclosed because it is a military secret." This may be taken as evidence that the American aggressors are also using other bacteria and viruses in their bacteriological warfare. Statements by prisoners of war testify that the American aggressors have used motion pictures and other means to educate their troops on bacteriological warfare. This is absolute proof that the American imperialists have long been preparing to use bacteriological warfare.

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The facts show very clearly that the American aggressors are carrying out bacteriological warfare in Korea. This is definite, beyond any doubt. The U.S. Government cannot therefore deny its crime of bacteriological warfare.

The use of bacteriological warfare, which was discovered by the Korean people and the Chinese and Korean forces from January 28, 1952 onwards, has followed the serious setbacks suffered by the American aggressors in Korea on land and in the air; they have been trying in this way to achieve the aggressive purposes which they failed to attain by the use of their ground and air weapons.

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The bacteriological warfare which the U.S. launched in 1952 is on a large scale. In employing bacteriological warfare, the U.S. Government shows the kind of outlook by which it is guided and shows, too, that it has been deliberately preparing for this kind of warfare for a long time.

Still more significant is the fact that in November, 1951, Shiro Ishii, the notorious Japanese bacteriological war criminal, arrived in Seoul and large scale bacteriological warfare broke out in January, 1952.

In its attempts at denial, the U.S. Government has been quibbling that it is impossible for plague, cholera and typhoid to break out in Korea in the severe cold. But it is precisely in the severe cold of early March that an outbreak of cholera took place in Pyongyang while snow was still falling and plague broke out in February while the ground was still covered with ice and snow. These stubborn facts definitely confirm that these grave diseases were artificially disseminated by the American aggressors on Korean territory and did not occur there naturally.

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In conclusion, the report praises the fight of the Korean and Chinese people against the bacteriological war and calls upon all other peoples of the world to defend themselves and support the efforts of the Chinese and Korean people.

English text based on the Chinese and translated by the service of the Secretariat of the World Council Of Peace.

A N N E X E

We give below biographical details that we possess of several of the Members of Investigating Commission.

FANG SHIH-SHAN — studied medicine at Chiba University (Japan), former director of the Shou Shan Hospital, Peking, former president of the Peking Union Medical College, former chief of the hygiene section of the Faculty of Medicine of the Peiping University, general secretary of the Chinese Medical Association and specialist in internal diseases.

HSIEH SHAO-WEN — doctor of medicine of the Hsiang Ya College of Medicine, research fellow of the microbiology department at Harvard University (U.S.A.), delegate to the 3rd session of the International Microbiology Conference, now professor of microbiology and head of the bacteriology department at the Peking Union Medical College, permanent member of the Council of the Chinese Association of Microbiological Studies.

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LIU CHUNG-LO — entomologist, doctor of entomology, Cornell University, 1926, (U.S.A.), former professor of entomology at Tsinghua University, former professor and director of the entomology group of the Agricultural Research Centre at Tsinghua University, member of the Council of the Association of Zoological Studies at the Peking Agricultural University.

CHU TUAN — bachelor of medicine at Peking University (1937), professor of microbiology at the School of Medicine at Kwangsi (1945-1947), professor of microbiology at the School of Medicine at Kwangsi (1947-1948), now master of Research in epidemiology at the Faculty of Medicine, Peking University.

CHAO CHEU-SHENG — bachelor of science in biology, Fu Jen University, Peking, master of research in the Biology Department of Peking Union Medical College; research scientist in parasitology, State University, California; member of the Chinese Association of Entomological Studies; now professor at the Faculty of Medicine at Peking University.

CHENG SHAO-CHIUNG, bachelor of science at the National Institute of Industrial Agronomy (1926); doctor of veterinary Science at Iowa State University (U.S.A.); doctor of hygiene at John Hopkins University (1930); member of three scientific societies: Phi.Kapp Phi.(1926), Sigma Xi (1930); Delta Omega (1930); now director of the production department of the Ministry of Agriculture; permanent member of the preparatory committee of the Association of Animal Breeding and veterinary studies.

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CHOU CHIEN-JEN biologist, former reader in biology at Shanghai University, former professor of biology at Tsinan University (Shanghai); Anhuei University and the College of Shenchow (Shanghai).

SHEN CHI-YI doctor of philosophy,(plant pathology) London University(1940); Research fellow Minnesota University (U.S.A.); professor at the Central University, Nanking; now Chancellor at the Agricultural University, Peking; permanent member of the Council of the All-China Association for the Dissemination of Scientific and Technical Knowledge and chief editor of the monthly "Review of Natural Sciences".

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Prague, May 2nd, 1952.

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Documentation on Bacteriological Warfare

BULLETIN No. No.14

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32-33-116

I. TWO CAPTURED AMERICAN PILOTS ADMIT HAVING DROPPED BACTERIOLOGICAL BOMBS ON KOREA

Statement by Lieutenant Kenneth L.Enoch

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Peking, May 5- From "New China" news agency.- American airforce personnel captured by the Korean People's Army and the Chinese people's volunteers in Korea have provided irrefutable evidence - their own part in dropping germ bombs - of the crime of the American government in large scale, premeditated use of germ weapons to massacre the peaceful Korean civilians and Korean and Chinese forces. This happens at a time when the American government is attempting brazenly to deny its heinous crime of conducting bacteriological warfare in Korea and China.

At 11 p.m. on January 13, our forces shot down an American B-26 plane, No.600 at Anju. The plane had a four-man crew. Two of them, mechanic Campbell and bomber Downes were killed when the plane was hit, the other two parachuted out and were captured by the people's volunteers near Sun An. The American airmen taken prisoner are Kenneth Lloyd Enoch, First Lieutenant, navigator, Serial Number A02069988 and John Quinn, First Lieutenant, pilot, Serial Number 17993A. They both belong to the 5th Air Force, Third Bomb Wing, Third Group, Eight Squadron.

According to Enoch's deposition, he, together with ten pilots and 15 navigators attended a secret lecture on bacteriological weapons on August 25, 1951. On January 7, he dropped two germ bombs at Hwangju, North Korea. Again on January 11, he dropped four germ bombs on the western part of the city of Chunghwa.

Quinn attended lectures on bacteriological warfare in the middle of last December. On January 4, he dropped four

germ bombs along the southern part of Pyongyang. Then, on January 11, he dropped two more germ bombs in the northeastern part of Kunuri. These airmen have openly admitted these crimes and have written their full depositions, which are now in the hands of the Korean and Chinese people's forces.

These written depositions have exposed the facts about the American government's scheming for some time to wage bacteriological warfare in Korea and its making adequate preparations for this move. At least as early as August last year, the American aggressors were giving their air-force personnel bacteriological warfare training. Thinking that bacteriological warfare in North Korea might affect South Korea; they gave their forces in Korea regular courses on the defence against bacteriological warfare. They inoculated men and officers of the forces with vaccines, for protection against disease-causing bacteria and viruses which they themselves were disseminating, keeping these inoculations from public knowledge as a"military secret". The two American prisoners of war have testified that the U.S. Army officially started bacteriological warfare in Korea on January first this year and that it made it a rule to refer to bacterial bombs as "duds", so as to prevent the real situation from being known as far as possible even among its own men, in reports. Nevertheless, the evidence of the use in China and Korea of weapons of mass extermination by the American aggressors is conclusive and indisputable. The American aggressors can never hoodwink the people of the world by throwing dust in their eyes. The American government's crime has aroused indignation among all people of good will the world over and this indignation is being converted to a resolute and powerful force. If the American aggressors do not halt their crime, they will undoubtedly face just punishment by all the people of the world.

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Identification of American prisoners Kenneth L. Enoch and John Quinn is listed below :

- 1.- <u>Kenneth L. Enoch</u>

Name	: Kenneth L. Enoch
Age	: 27
Nationality	: American
Serial Number	: A02069988
Rank	: First Lieutenant
Unit	: Third Bomb Wing, Third Group, Eight Squadron
Title	: B-26 Navigator

Time captured	:	On January 13, 1952 around 23:50 hours
Place Captured	:	10 miles northwest of Sunan
Home address	:	18 South Osborne Street, Youngstown 9, Ohio

- 2.- John Quinn

Name	:	John Quinn
Age	:	29
Nationality	:	American
Serial Number	:	17993A
Rank	:	First Lieutenant
Unit	:	Third Bomb Wing, Third Group, Eight Squadron
Title	:	Pilot
Time captured	:	On January 13, 1952 around 23:50 hours
Place captured	:	10 miles southwest of Sunan

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The depositions of the captured U.S. airmen are given in the following documents :

1.- The truth about how American imperialism launched germ warfare.(deposition of Kenneth L. Enoch, U.S. prisoner of war).

2.- Kenneth L. Enoch's open letter to the Chinese people's volunteers.

3.- How I was forced to take part in the inhuman bacteriological warfare waged by U.S. Wall Street.(deposition of John Quinn, U.S. prisoner of war).

4.- How I was forced to take part in the bacteriological warfare waged by U.S. Wall street.(John Quinn's broadcast script).

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We are today publishing the deposition and open letter written by Kenneth L. Enoch as well as a letter written to his family. We shall later publish the deposition and the statement made by John Quinn.(Note by World Council Services).

1.- "THE TRUTH ABOUT HOW AMERICAN IMPERIALISM LAUNCHED GERM WARFARE" by Kenneth L. ENOCH (Full ext)

The deposition was made by Enoch in the course of interrogation. Enoch is a first lieutenant of the U.S. air force. Between August 13 and September 1, 1951, the Third Bomb Wing to which he belonged was stationed at the Iwakuni base in Japan. It then moved to the base at Kunsan, Korea, on September 1,1951, and Enoch's task was night navigation of B-26 bomber planes. He carried out 32 flights and bombings in Korea, and dropped six germ bombs in North Korea on January 7 and 11, 1952, two over the city of Hwangju and four over the city of Chunghwa. He was brought down northwest of Pyongyang on January 13.
(New China News Agency - Editor's note)

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" I was at Iwakuni, Japan, during the last two weeks of August, 1951. During the month of August the Third Bomb Wing was in the process of moving to Kunsan, Korea, and the last thing to make the move was the ground school, which moved on to Kunsan in early September, 1951. During my stay at Iwakuni there were about 15 crews which had just come from the United States and were attending the ground school (according to the prisoner's verbal testimony, there are four to each crew, making a total of 60 - interrogator). This ground school gave the same kind of classroom subjects as the school at 4,400 CCTG. We navigators received lectures and problems in navigation and the B-26 and Korea, so we would understand our jobs better and thus be better equipped to fly in combat.

On August 25, 1951, at 13:00 hours, we attended a secret lecture in the ground school navigation classroom. There were as I recall, 10 pilots and 15 navigators present at the lecture. Of the pilots I recall Lieutenant Broughton, Lieutenant Schmidt, and Captain Lenak. Among the navigators I remember Lieutenant Brown, Lieutenant Hardy, Lieutenant Degaugh, Lieutenant Zielinski, Lieutenant Larson, Lieutenant Garvin and myself. I did not know all the pilots and navigators, only those I had been with at Langley Field. Our instructor's name was Mr. Wilson, a civilian. There were no other instructors in attendance at this lecture.

Mr Wilson told us that his lecture concerned bacteriological warfare. He told us that our side had no plans at that time of using bacteriological warfare, but nevertheless we might at some time, and thus the lecture was secret information and we were not to divulge its contents to anyone, or even talk about it among ourselves.

The main part of Mr. Wilson's lecture was devoted to the weapons of bacteriological warfare. He did not have any examples with him, but he discussed the various methods of scattering germs, either by scattering the germs by themselves or by dropping insects and animals to spread the germs. The contents of Mr.Wilson's lecture is as follows:

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The ways of dropping the germs by themselves are:

1°.- by dropping a bomb full of dust and germs mixed together, which will open in the air and spread the germ-laden dust with the wind;

2°.- by dropping dust directly from the airplane itself, by means of a spraying device, so that there will be germs in the air wherever the dust is sprayed; or

3°.- by dropping a container full of germ dust, either a bomb which will open in the water or a paperboard box which will be opened by the water, into reservoirs and lakes where the people and animals use the water, and where insects will pick up the germs and spread them.

The ways of dropping insects are:

1°.- by dropping a germ bomb which looks just like an ordinary bomb, but is filled with germ-laden insects, and which will open on contact with the ground to release those insects;

2°.- by dropping insects in paperboard containers which will break open on contact with the ground, releasing the insects with their germs; or

3°.- by spreading insects with animals.

The ways of releasing germs by animals are :

1°.- to release the rats or rabbits or small game by a parachute container which will release the animals upon contact with the ground, and these animals are covered with germ-bearing lice and fleas; or

2°.- by releasing such animals from a boat behind the enemy shore line.

There are other ways of spreading germs also:

1°.- by dropping leaflets, toilet paper, envelopes, and paper materials which have been covered with germs;

2°.- by dropping germ-filled soap or clothing;

3°.- bry dropping fountain pens filled with germ-laden ink;or

4°.- by dropping infected food to the enemy troops.

You can also apread germs by howitzer or nortar shells, but since it is so close to the front it is not safe to do so.

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There are many types of germs that can be spread. In addition to many weird and unusual germs, the germs of more well-known diseases, such as typhus, typhoid, cholera, dysentery, bubonic plague, smallpox, malaria, and yellow fever, may be employed (a technical footnote on the medical points involved is appended at the end - Editor). There are many types of insects to carry these germs, the most popular being the louse, flea, fly, and mosquito. The louse can carry typhus, cholera, smallpox, plague, and dysentery, as can the flea and the fly. The mosquito can carry malaria, and yellow fever.

The best way to defend against germ warfare is to be prepared. All possible people should be inoculated against all diseases possible. If insects are dropped, it is advisable to pour kerosene or oil on the containers they are dropped in and set fire to them. If they have already escaped from the containers, it is best to spray DDT over the area, preferably from an airplane. In case germ-laden dust is employed, DDT spray must be used. All exposed food must be disposed of. All exposed clothing and articles must be washed with hot water and strong soap. All water must be boiled. All food eaten must be thoroughly cooked. You must use some protection over your nose and mouth to breathe, and you must, when everything else is done, change clothes and take a good bath. All trash and waste exposed to germs must be burned. Screens should be placed on all windows in the summer for insect protection. In all cases, small animals such as rats should be destroyed so the danger of plague, which they spread with their fleas, will be lessened. If paper objects or other such items are dropped, they should be burned at once.

All weapons of bacteriological warfare are of such a nature that they should, when employed, be dropped from as low an altitude and at as low an airspeed as possible, to avoid harm to the insects. If parachute-type weapons are used any altitude will suffice, but it should be sufficiently low, say 1,000 feet, so that the parachute will not drift from the target area.

When Mr. Wilson had finished his lecture it was three O'clock (15:00 hours) and he reminded us not to discuss the weapons subject with anyone and took his leave. This was the only such lecture we ever received. On September 1,1951, I went to Kunsan.

In October, 1951, and again in December, 1951, a one-hour lecture was given at Kunsan by a Major Browning, on protection against germ warfare. This lecture he gave many times on each occasion, and every person was required to attend one hour's lecture. He gave the same lecture in December as in October. The idea, of course, is that due to the rotation plan there are always new troops, and it is also good to keep in mind the contents of his lecture. He told us that it was not unreasonable to expect bacteriological warfare to be used against the U.S. by the enemy. If they did, germ dust or germ-laden insects would be used, and he stressed that we should keep our shot records, or inoculations, current and up to date (according to verbal testimony of the prisoner, the shots were given every six weeks - interrogator) and also discoursed on the other pertinant data as I have discussed in the second paragraph on page three of this paper. (Reference to the original text - Note by the Services of the World Council).

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On the first of January, 1952, we were told by the operations section group briefing officer at our regular briefing to be sure and report all our duds and where they fell (according to the prisoner's verbal testimony, "duds" was the term used to describs germ bombs for the sake of secrecy - interrogator). This was a usual procedure and just seemed to be a casual reminder at that time. The reminder was given to all the crews at the briefing by Captain Carey, the group briefing officer. Due to a head cold I did not fly on this night, but was replaced by another navigator.

My next scheduled flight was on the night of January 6, 1952. We were scheduled to fly on Green Eight route (between Pyongyang and Sariwon), and our take off was scheduled for 03:00. The crew was Captain Amos, pilot, myself, navigator, and Sergeant Tracy, gunner. As usual Captain Amos and I reported to the group briefing room and group operations officer at 02:00, an hour before take off. There we always checked for the latest weather and information on the mission to be flown. On this night we were informed by the officer on duty, a captain I am not familiar with,

that we were to fly to the town of Hwangju and drop our outboard wing bombs (of which there are two) and then to drop the rest of our load as quickly as possible and come directly back to Kunsan. He told us to drop at Hwangju at 500 feet of altitude and 200 miles per hour maximum airspeed. We called his attention to the low altitude, as we were to carry 10 500-pound bombs according to briefing, but he told us that this was top secret and that these were germ bombs, and to tell no one whatsoever about our mission. He told us that the wing bombs were already loaded and checked for us, and not to bother them, and when we returned to report them as "duds". We went over to squadron operations and met our gunner, who did not report to group, and, as far as I know, did not know of our special mission. When we got out to the plane a guard was standing there from armament section. He told us the wing bombs were already checked, which we already knew. I checked the bombs in the bombs bay, six of them, and they were six regular 500-pound bombs. We took off at 03.00 and flew to Hwangju, dropping our two germ bombs just outside the west edge of the town. There were no explosions or any unusual things to be seen. Then we continued for two minutes to the north and dropped our eight live bombs on the highway five miles north of Hwangju, and went directly back to Kunsan. We took off at 03:00, our bombs were dropped at 04:00, and we landed at Kunsan at 05:00. This was the first time I ever heard of anyone dropping germ bombs, and we kept it a secret. These germ bombs looked exactly like a regular 500-pound bomb to me. In the day time they may have some distinguishing characteristics, but it was dark when I saw them. I did not load these bombs or see them loaded but there was no special equipment on the wings, so they are loaded in the same way as ordinary bombs.

32-33-123

When we reported to group intelligence for debriefing after this mission we reported two bombs (500 pounds) (as a matter of fact, 150 pounds) dropped at Hwangju and reported them as "duds", and reported where we dropped our eight good bombs. The bombs are evidently reported as "duds" to keep too many people from knowing the purpose of the mission, but higher headquarters can check the reports and know where the germs were dropped.

On the 10th of January, whether by accident or design I do not know, I was again scheduled for the same mission with Amos and Tracy. This time Amos and I reported to group operations, and we were told that all four of our wing bombs were to be germ bombs. This time our target was to be the town of Chunghwa, on Green Eight, and we were then to get rid of the rest of our bombs as quickly as possible and return to the base. We were still to keep our operation a secret and report our germ bombs as "duds". Our maximum airspeed was to be 200 miles per hour and our altitude 500 feet for the germ bombs. Once again armament was to have the

wing bombs checked for us. We picked up Tracy at squadron operations and went out to the plane. Once again the wing bombs looked like regular bombs. An armament man told me that we were not to bother about the wing bombs, as they were all set to go. I checked the regular bombs in the bomb bay. At 03:00 we took off and flew directly to Changhwa, dropping our four germ bombs at 04:10 hours, at an altitude of 500 feet, and an airspeed of 190 miles per hour, on the western edge of Changhwa. We proceeded south and dropped our regular bombs on the highway north of Hwangju and returned to Kunsan base, landing at 05:15.

When we reported for debriefing we reported where we had dropped our six good bombs, and reported four "duds" at Chunghwa, for the same reason as before, for secrecy.

32-33-124

As I see it the germ bombs come from a medical supply source, such as the same type which manufectures the vaccine used to combat diseases, and I believe this source is in Japan, either on Honshu or Kyushu Island.

If the type of germ bomb which we dropped is used, it will open on contact with the ground, exposing the germs and insects to the open air. It is cold outside, the insects will be dormant and sluggish, but the sun will cause them, by its heat, to become active.

The leaflets are dropped in North Korea by B-29s. These leaflets are dropped in boxes which open in the air scattering the leaflets over a wide area. These leaflets can be used in bacteriological warfare.

When the germ bombs are dropped, they are released by the pilot. The navigator takes notes on when and where they are dropped, and how many germ bombs. The bombs are released by pushing a button, which releases the bombs by electricity.

After the mission when the crew reports to group intelligence for debriefing, the whole crew attends the debriefing, and the report is given by the pilot and navigator. It is an informal report, and the whole crew sits around a table and give their report to an enlisted man from the intelligence section, who takes the report and puts it on paper, which he turns in to his superior. This is why the germ bombs are reported as "duds", to keep unauthorized personnel in the intelligence and on the crew from knowing the secret of the mission.

To the best of my knowledge, B-26 aircraft are the only ones dropping the regular germ bomb, which looks like a regular bomb. However, the B-26 is unsuitable for dropping the other types of weapons. The leaflets are dropped by B-29s and cargo type, C-47 and C-46 aircraft, but mainly by B-29s.

The cargo type aircraft are the best suited for dropping all other types of germ weapons, such as cardboard boxes, parachute containers, and articles of clothing, food, soap, and paper and fountain pens, but the B-29 can be used for these weapons also.

As to when we first started to use germ bombs, it was about the first of the year, about first January, 1952, I should say, since that is when we were all reminded to look for "dud" bombs. It is probable that other outfits, such as the 452nd Wing, started to use germ warfare at the same time.

The decision to use germ bombs, of course, is top secret, but due to the serious nature of this decision it undoubtedly rests with a very high command, probably the Far East Headquarters in Tokyo. "

(signed) Kenneth L. Enoch, 7 April, 1952

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32-33-125

The following footnote commenting on these points was made by a leading authority in China on tropical and infectious deseases, Dr. Huei Lan-chung, M.D. (University of New York), D.T.M. (certificate), University of London; ex-Fellow of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, London; ex-Research Fellow in the Tropical Institute, Hamburg, Germany; ex-Member of the Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine, U.S.A.; Clinical Professor of Internal Medicine at the Chinese Union Medical College (formerly PUMC), and Peking University Medical College - interrogator) :

" The causative agents of typhus fever and malaria are rickettsiae and plasmodiae respectively, whereas smallpox and yellow fever are due to two different kinds of filtrable virus. It is only natural that the prisoner in question, not being a medical man, mixed up these infectious agents with pathogenic bacteria. He also misinterpreted the proper use of DDT."

o°o

2.- KENNETH L. ENOCH'S OPEN LETTER TO CHINESE PEOPLE'S VOLUNTEERS

" My name is Kenneth L. Enoch. I am an American from Youngstown, Ohio. I was born on January 14, 1925, and am now 27 years of age. I have completed high school and have had two years of college. I was drafted into the Air Force on June 7, 1943. At present I am a first lieutenant, and a navigator for the Eighth Bomb Squadron, Third Bomb Group, the Third Bomb Wing of the Fifth Air Force, stationed at Kunsan, Korea.

On August 25, 1951, from one to three o'clock in the afternoon, I attended a secret lecture on biological warfare given at the ground school at Iwakuni, Japan. This lecture was given by a civilian, Mr. Wilson. There were 25 of us attending the lecture, 10 pilots and 15 navigators, and by rank there were four captains, 15 first lieutenants, and six second lieutenants. Among the pilots I knew Captain Lenak, First Lieutenant Broughton, and First Lieutenant Schmidt. Among the navigators I knew First Lieutenant Hardy, First Lieutenant Degaugh, First Lieutenant Brown, Second Lieutenant Zielinski, Second Lieutenant Larson and Captain Nelson. The lecture concerned various ways of waging bacteriological warfare.- by dropping bombs containing germ-laden insects, by spreading germ dust by bomb or by the spray method, by parachuting small animals such as rats to carry germs and insects, by bacteriological contamination of lakes and water sources, and by dropping leaflets, paper, pens, soap, food, clothing, and other germ-carrying articles. Such germs as those of typhus, typhoid, malaria, yellow fever, dysentery, bubonic plague, cholera, and smallpox, as well as many other diseases, may be used, and fleas, flies, lice, mosquitoes, and other insects may be used to spread germs. Also rats and other small animals may be used to carry insects and germs, such as fleas and plague germs. Mosquito carries malaria and yellow fever germs, and other diseases are carried by flies, and lice. Germ bombs are best dropped from a low altitude, and a low airspeed should be used, the maximum are 200 miles per hour and 500 feet of altitude; and low level, not glide - bombing. The lecture was classified as very secret.

At regular mission briefing on January 1, 1952, briefing officer of group operations, Captain Carey, gave us an order, in the form of a casual reminder, to pay close attention to dud bombs. Actually this is undoubtedly when germ bombs started to be used, but due to secrecy they told us duds. Due to a head cold, I was replaced on that mission by First Lieutenant Hardy, another navigator.

On the night of January 6, 1952, I flew with Captain Amos, pilot, and Sergeant Tracy, gunner. As usual, we flew a B-26 type aircraft. We dropped two germ bombs at Hwangju, North Korea, and returned to Kunsan at 05:00. We reported to the group intelligence section for debriefing, reporting to the sergeant that we had dropped two "duds" at Hwangju.

34-33-126

This is for secrecy, as high authorities knew these were germ bombs in actuality.

On the night of January 10, 1952, again in a B-26 with Captain Amos and Sergeant Tracy, we took off at 03:00 and at 04:00 we dropped four germ bombs at Chunghwa, North Korea, returning to Kunsan at 05:15, January 11, 1952. We reported to Sergeant that we had dropped four duds at Chunghwa, in order to maintain secrecy as well as possible.

Now that I have been captured by the Chinese people's volunteers, I have been treated as a friend. I have been well fed, well clothed, received medical treatment, cigarettes, candy, and many other kindnesses. I have seen truth as printed by the democratic Chinese press; and all these truths and kind treatment show all the more clearly the lies and untruthful war propaganda of the Wall Street radio and press, who picture the Chinese as barbarian criminals, and who lead the American troops to believe that, if captured, they will be shot, or worse. I am beginning to see very clearly just who is peace lover and who is a warmonger responsible for this inhuman war, and I am determined to struggle for peace against Wall Street capitalism, to clear my conscience of my past errors. I am filled with determination to join the peaceloving camp, and with determination to become a new man."

(signed) Kenneth L. Enoch, April 8,1952

32-33-127

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KENNETH L. ENOCH'S LETTER TO HIS FAMILY IN YOUNGTOWN,OHIO,USA

The following is a letter addressed by First Lieutenant Kenneth L. Enoch, to his mother, and others in his family :

" Dear Mom, Bob, Dot, Frank and Donnie,

I sure am lucky today to be able to broadcast a message to you through the courtesy of the Chinese people's volunteer army. I am in the main camp now, camp No.2. Everything is fine. The chow is excellent and there are

lots of tobacco and cigarettes and I have been given a pipe to smoke. I am in good health and looking forward to the day the peace talks are settled and I can return home to see you all. There is a lot of reading material to help pass the time, and sometimes I go for walks with Chinese comrades and enjoy the beautiful scenery of these mountains. Spring is here and everything is full of life and cheer, and I know that good old Youngstown is also very beautiful now. I hope you all are well, hope everything is okay at the hospital. Mom, and Bob is busy working on those trucks, and Dot and Frank are busy raising my favorite nephew. I've got his picture here and everyone agrees he is very cute.

Tell all my friends I am okay, and hope to see them soon. Keep the home fires burning, and drop me a line or two. Love to all.

Ken "

10th April 1952

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32-33-128

[World Peace Council]

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
CONSEJO MUNDIAL DE LA PAZ
世界和平理事會

SECRÉTARIAT GÉNÉRAL
PALAIS S. I. A.
JANSKA 100
PRAHA (TCHÉCOSLOVAQUIE)
TÉLÉPHONE: PRAHA 615-90
ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE:
PAIXMONDE PRAGUE

GF/BC

Prague, May 15th, 1952.

85-38-32

Dear Friend,

The resolutions which were adopted at the session of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace at Oslo were sent to you immediately after the closing of the session.

We hope you have received these resolutions. You will have noted that the next session of the World Council will take place on the 21st June, 1952. We are making arrangements to hold it in Finland, and we shall send you all necessary information to this effect in due time.

At the moment we are anxious to have useful suggestions for the drawing up of the agenda, it being understood, of course, that the Council will decide on the final agenda at its first session, but as is customary, it is the duty of the Bureau to make preliminary proposals on this subject.

We believe that the Oslo resolutions in general contain the subject matter which will hold the attention of the World Council at its forthcoming session.

It is therefore necessary to bear in mind the subjects discussed by the Bureau and consider them in the light of events which have since arisen and which may arise before the session of the Council. Apart from the Appeal against Bacteriological Warfare, the two main subjects contained in the general resolution are: the campaign for a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers and the convocation of the Congress which will be proposed to the Council.

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As far as the campaign is concerned it seems to us that the following ideas are expressed or implied in the text of the resolution :

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1.- The results of the campaign have exceeded in numerical importance the successes gained in the appeal against the atomic weapon. The overall success is even greater if one considers the political value of each signature which is more profound than during the preceding campaign.

2.- On the other hand, these results should not be taken as being the only achievement of the campaign; quite the contrary, the campaign has been a powerful factor in giving rise indirectly to a general feeling in the public mind for negotiation as a means of solving international differences and this feeling is becoming more and more clear and decisive.

3.- The feeling for negotiation which is continually growing in the centre of public opinion, is greatly strengthened by the fact that the policy of reamament is not only leading the States to catastrophic consequences but is already plunging the peoples into poverty.

4.- The question of disarmament is therefore becoming more and more vital. Its importance on a purely political level is increased by the fact that it is posed to the public as being connected with all the problems of the day. The World Council, at its Vienna session, dwelt on the principles which, in the Council's opinion, should form the basis of any useful plan for disarmament. Since that time, the General Assembly of the United Nations proceeded to set up a Commission which, in principle, is to present its conclusions just before the next session of the World Council. This Commission is at present meeting at New York and the obstacles which are being encountered there bring home to the Council the necessity of making the pressure of public opinion ever more effective in the sense of positive results being achieved.

5.- "The peoples, to whom the policy of war and poverty is bringing more and more suffering, are becoming aware of their strength. If they act firmly, they can reverse the course of events, by achieving the conclusion of a Pact of Peace enabling the differing political and social systems to exist peacefully side by side." That was the conclusion made by the Bureau of the World Council at its last session.

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The second subject which the Oslo resolution brings to our attention is the proposal to call a Congress this year.

The general objective of the Congress is, in the words of the Oslo resolution, "so that the peaceful forces

of the peoples may be rallied on the largest possible scale."

The World Council will therefore have to lay the bases on which this meeting will proceed. It is not within our province to specify these here, neither can we plan any formula for the organisation which the Council will decide as being most likely to realise the aim set at Oslo.

However, it is clear that the bases for the largest possible rally of the peaceful forces of the peoples must be laid now from the events themselves, in relation to the policy of our Movement whose work is founded on the resolutions of the Warsaw Congress and the World Council at Berlin and Vienna.

The aspirations of the peoples which were expressed at the Warsaw Congress have not changed: subsequent events have made them both more decisive and more specific. In the course of its various sessions, the Council has expressed these aspirations be giving them a precise form such as the Pact of Peace, the question of disarmament and the settlement of current conflicts.

For this reason, the material for the largest possible rally of the Peace forces is not lacking. On the contrary, the Council will only have to decide on subjects which can be translated into action, that is, to direct the preparation of the Congress towards all those things which preoccupy the public mind and at the same time correspond to our objectives.

From this aspect, there is no doubt that the Pact of Peace, which means an end to the cold war and the establishment of a firm peace, is in the forefront, both in the aspirations of the peoples and in our plan of activity.

The aspirations of the peoples and our aims strive towards the achievement of a Pact of Peace in the final analysis; they never cease to be closely linked with the course of events. If one were to consider the problems which preoccupy the public mind, and which have their solution in the activities of our movement, it seems to us that the most vital are as follows:

1.- Disarmament as a means of avoiding the road to disaster and of giving to the peoples the full benefit of their economic resources.

2.- National independence which is the main concern of the colonial peoples and is increasingly preoccupying the minds of the peoples who are suffering increasing restrictions in their sovereignty.

3.- Current wars in Korea, Malaya and Viet Nam which, with their inevitable consequences of ruin and sorrow, are causing increasing public alarm; by their permanent threat of being extended, constitute a danger to Peace in general and, by the increasing resistance of the peoples defending their right to independence are more and more giving rise to the desire and the realisation of the necessity for a peaceful and just solution.

4.- The German question and the solution proposed along the lines of unification, democratisation and demilitarisation which broadens from the point of view of peace the bases for unity between the German peoples and the neighbouring peoples.

5.- The Japanese question, in the same way as the German question in Europe, is manifested in the Far East by the growing opposition of the Japanese and Asiatic peoples to the consequences of a unilateral solution which is a constant threat to Peace.

6.- Economic exchanges for which the possibilities of being re-established and as a powerful means of putting an end to the division of the world were brought out by the success of the Moscow Economic Conference.

7.- The Bacteriological War which is a new danger for mankind. The campaign undertaken following the Appeal of the Bureau of the Council and its President, sets new responsibilities before all honest people, including those who are still insufficiently informed and hesitate to speak out in face of such a monstrous crime. The revealing of the facts, support for the delegation of scientists which will go to China and and Korea at the appeal of the Chinese Committee, the growing demand by the public that all States and particularly the United States should sign the Geneva Convention gives new significance to the stand already taken by the World Council on the prohibition of atomic weapons and all weapons of mass destruction.

Since Warsaw and Vienna, the feelings of all people on these questions have further developed. In various ways, these questions lead to the principal objective of our Movement which is a Pact of Peace, whether it be in relation to the vital matter of disarmament or to other questions. The public is showing increasing anxiety on each of these questions, a growing desire for a peaceful solution, and determined will towards action.

The forthcoming session of the World Council will have to take stock of our efforts and to examine the new possibilities which will open up as a result of the ever growing realisation of the public with regard to these different problems. This session will, therefore be of considerable

importance. That is why we would very much like to have your opinions and any suggestions which can, by good preparatory work and careful study, help in making it a full success.

Very sincerely yours,

For the World Council of Peace

G. Fenoaltea
Secretary

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

25-32-3

[World Peace Council]

May 20, 1952

Mr. Jean Laffitte
World Peace Council
Palais S.I.A.
Janska 100
Prague, Czechoslovakia

Dear M. Laffitte:

May I express my deep sympathy with Professor Brandweiner. I have since 1844 lost two positions: a University Professorship and a Directorship of Research, because of my belief in progressive methods and unbiased research.

One of the worst results of our present situation, particularly in the United States, is our unwillingness to reveal the truth or to admit the facts and act accordingly when the truth is revealed.

I should be glad to associate myself with any organisation to defend Professor Brandweiner.

I am addressing a letter to Professor Eder of the University of Graz, a copy of which I enclose.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
enc.

25-32-24

[World Peace Council]

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
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SECRÉTARIAT GÉNÉRAL
PALAIS S. I. A.
JANSKA 100
PRAHA (TCHÉCOSLOVAQUIE)
TÉLÉPHONE: PRAHA 615-90
ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE:
PAIXMONDE PRAGUE
JD/ac.

Prague, 21st May, 1952

Dr. W.E. B. Du Bois,
Color and Democracy
Colonies and Peace
23, West 26th Street,
New York, 10
NEW YORK
(U.S.A.)

35-46-36

Dear Friend,

We are pleased to acknowledge your letter of 8th May on the subject of the use of bacteriological warfare by United States forces in China and Korea.

We have noted your statement and thank you for your permission to quote it. Your voice joins that of millions of people throughout the world who are demanding that the United States shall ratify the Geneva Convention of June 17, 1925 and who have welcomed the invitation of the Chinese and Korean Governments for an impartial investigating commission.

You will be kept informed of future developments

With warm greetings,

Yours sincerely,

John W Darr Jr.
John DARR
Secretary

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

THE BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Nº 25 May 25th 1952

THE AMERICAN CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE FOR PEACE

38-18-77

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This special Bulletin gives an account of the American Continental Conference for Peace which was held from March 11th-16th 1952, in Montevideo, Uruguay.

THE AMERICAN CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE FOR PEACE

A significant victory of the forces for Peace and of the campaign for a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers was won when the American Continental Conference for Peace was held, as scheduled, from March 11th to 16th in Montevideo.

The holding of this Conference was a victory for Peace because it gave expression to the great will for Peace of the peoples of the American Continent in spite of major efforts by forces hostile to the cause of Peace to prevent any meeting which would unite the voices for Peace of the American peoples.

This victory was made possible by the new and growing strength of the will for Peace among the American peoples due to their increasing understanding of the menace of war and of the relationship between the fight for Peace and the struggle to end economic misery and political oppression.

The harsh experience of the Korean war and of the preparations for world war have destroyed for millions of people any illusions that they might not be touched by the suffering of war or that they might benefit from a war economy. It is now clearer to ever-larger sections of the population in the Americas that the peaceful co-existence of nations is the prerequisite for national progress.

Due to the strong opposition of the people to the Korean war, the vast majority of American Governments have not sent troops to Korea, in spite of great pressure upon them to do so. Popular resistance to the economic consequences of war preparations which increase the misery of the people has been expressed in numerous strikes and other actions in many countries to improve the lot of workers and farmers. Military and economic agreements which limit the national independence and hinder the economic development of American countries are causing growing discontent in many circles. Many military leaders do not want national armies to become armies of mercenaries at the service of a foreign Power. There is a growing resistance among business circles to policies which, in the name of military strategy, block profitable trade, delay the development of national industries and deprive nations of using their precious raw materials for the welfare and profit of their own peoples. Cultural and educational leaders are becoming increasingly concerned for the defence of national, cultural traditions and for the development of fruitful, cultural exchanges between all peoples.

For all of these circles, as for the people of the American Continent as a whole, the fight for the peaceful co-existence of nations and against the policies of preparation for world war, represents the fight for their most urgent needs and direct interests. The fight for Peace represents the fight to defend and develop the national interests of their homelands.

For these reasons, the calling of an American Continental Conference for Peace as a part of the campaign for a Pact of Peace, achieved a broader response than any previous Peace conference and won such strong support that it was impossible for the forces preparing for war to prevent the Conference from being held and thereby expressing the resistance of the American peoples to the preparations for another world war.

When the Call for the American Continental Conference for Peace was launched last October by some of the most distinguished men and women in American political and cultural life, the Peace Movement in the Americas set out to further the achievement of several long-range goals through the realisation of the Conference; to give full expression to the will for Peace of the American peoples and thereby help to check the preparations for war and to win those conditions of Peace which are essential for the welfare and progress of all peoples; to strengthen the unity of the Peace-loving peoples of all lands, which alone can assure the victory of Peace over war, by increasing the solidarity of the American forces for Peace with the World Peace Movement through a clear expression of the relationship between the

fight to meet the needs and demands of the American peoples and the fight to win the programme for Peace which answers the highest aspirations of the peoples of all lands; and to strengthen the organisation of the Peace Movement in the Americas by building this movement into an independent organisation with its own personnel and consistent programme of activities and capable of uniting on a broad basis all those who want Peace.

It can be said that the realisation of the American Continental Conference for Peace greatly advanced the achieving of these goals of the Peace Movement in the Americas and opens new perspectives in the work for Peace there.

INITIATION OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE FOR PEACE

In October 1951, a group of distinguished men and women from 14 countries issued a Call for the American Continental Conference for Peace, inviting representatives of the Peace-loving peoples of the Americas to come together to seek ways

> *befitting the peoples of the American Continent to help bring an end to wars now being waged and to obtain the guarantee of a peaceful settlement of international problems in order to preserve the national independence of our countries, to advance the welfare of our peoples and to save our cultural traditions.*

This Call (see Appendix A) drew attention to the menace of a third world war and its implications for the American peoples; to the loss to American women of their menfolk in Korea and to the demands for even more manpower to be sent there; to the military bases multiplying on the American Continent; to the burdens of re-armament; to the encroachment on "the rights of the peoples and liberties of the individual"; to the fact that attempts to settle international differences by force always lead to war, while a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers open to all states can lead to general disarmament and the ending of the "cold war".

> *For the American nations, the peaceful settlement of international problems represents the guarantee of the national sovereignty of our homelands and the possibility of broad and free economic and cultural exchanges with countries the world over.*

The initial signatories were:

Gabriela Mistral, Chilean poet and Nobel Prize winner;

Benjamin Cavallos Arizaga, President of the Supreme Court of Justice, Ecuador;

Salvador Allende, Vice-president of the Senate and Presidential candidate for the Republic of Chile;

Roberto Alvarado Fuentes, President of the Guatemalan National Congress until March 1952;

Joseph Fletcher, Professor of Theology at the Episcopal Theological Seminary, Cambridge (Mass.) U.S.;

Jose Galvez, author, former Chancellor and Vice-President of the Republic of Peru;

Candido Portinari, Brazilian painter;

Leonidas Barletta, Director of the People's Theatre, Argentine;

Paul Robeson, singer;

Manuel Benjamin Carrion, President of the House of Culture, Ecuador;

Joao Pereira Sampaio, Rio Grande do Sul Appeal Court judge, Brazil;

Baldomero Sanin Cano, Columbian, 90-years-old philosopher and "Father of American Youth", whose life has been devoted to teaching and research;

Alfonson Caso, Mexican archeologist;

Oscar Niemeyer, Brazilian architect;

Carlos Garcia Velez, veteran of Cuban independence;

Dr. James Endicott, Canadian Methodist minister and missionary;

Jose Asuncion Florez, Paraguayan composer;

Enrique Gonzales Martinez, the outstanding Mexican writer and patriot who died recently;

Cardozo Aragon, Guatemalan diplomat;

Joaquin Garcia Monge, writer and Director of the Costa Rican "Repertorio Americano";

Jesualdo, Uruguyan educationist;

Elias Entralgo, Cuban writer;

Maria Rosa Oliver, Argentinian writer.

In response to this Call, 300 people, many of them prominent in their various professions, either declared their support for the Conference in one way or another or directly associated themselves with the Call. They represented 19 countries:

Argentine, Brazil, Bolivia, Canada, Columbia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chile, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, the United States, Uruguay and Venezuela.

The Call of the Initiating Committee led to the setting up of National Sponsoring Committees in 14 countries to prepare for the Conference.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONFERENCE

After the Call launched by the Initiating Committee, an International Secretariat was formed under the direction of Mme. Maria Rosa Oliver, to co-ordinate preparations for the Conference. This Secretariat was composed of representatives from the Argentine, Chile, Brazil and Uruguay and had its headquarters first in Montevideo, then in Rio de Janeiro and, finally, in Montevideo again.

This Secretariat published a Bulletin, which was sent regularly to the National Committees; corresponded with all the National Committees and followed the work of the preparations for the Conference and was given the responsibility of making practical arrangements for holding it.

THE BREADTH OF SUPPORT

The work of the preparations for the Conference on the basis of the Call launched by the Initiating Committee, won the support of broad sections of the peoples in the American countries. Its scope can be gauged by the list of names given in Appendix E.

The mass character of this support is also reflected to some extent by the favourable declarations of such organisations or leaders of the American Labour Movement as Hugh Bryson of the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards (U.S.); Ernest De Maio, one of the international Vice-Presidents of the United Electrical Workers (U.S.); the General Union of the Workers and Peasants of Mexico; the General Workers Union of Uruguay; the Union of Journalists, the Association of Democratic Lawyers and the Railwaymen's Union, in Guatemala; in Columbia, the Confederation of Workers and the Union of Catholic Workers, and in Ecuador, the Federation of Indians and the Federation of Workers.

In Venezuela, for example, the representatives of 80,000 metal, clothing, rubber, flour, building, confectionary, laundry and print workers, united to form the Venezuelan Workers Committee For Peace and publicly announced their decision to send their own delegations to the Conference. A similar move towards unity was made by the young people who formed a Youth Peace Committee of representatives from the Union of Young Women, the League of Young Workers and the Students' Committee. This Committee aimed at winning support, in turn, and participation in the Conference, from among the Association of Young Christians, the Federation of Students, the Catholic Youth, the Boy Scouts and various sports and cultural organisations and young people from different political parties.

The breadth of the political support can also be seen, not only by the support given by individuals of varied political complexions, but also by the attitude of different political bodies to the Conference preparations. For instance, in Brazil, 28 of the 50 members of the Municipal Chamber of the Rio Federal District supported the Conference, and, though belonging to the most widely-differing political parties, signed the Call launched by the Initiating Committee, thus demonstrating their desire for a better understanding between the countries of America and for Peace. Other Municipal Councils also gave their support. In Cuba, several Municipal Councils declared in favour of a Five Power Peace Pact.

This wide support was aptly summed up by the Spanish scientist Myra y Lopez (who has done considerable research work and produced studies in psychology) who, when making a statement to the Press in Rio de Janeiro in favour of the Conference, said:

> *This is a most praiseworthy idea and I am glad to see in the Organising Committee, personalities who are celebrated not only by virtue of their high intellectual and cultural significance, but also on account of the diversity of their political ideologies. This leads me to believe that the issues at the Conference will be lifted above partisanship.*

In some respects the support was unprecedented and many public figures, for the first time, associated themselves with Peace work. This is true amongst certain Catholic circles and especially in Peru, Uruguay, Columbia and Venezuela. (For example, the Chairman of the Sponsoring Committee in the Brazilian State of Pernambuco, is Professor Armando Marques of the Faculty of Medicine and a well-known Catholic militant). This is also largely true amongst the legal profession; while in Brazil, several military personalities have come out openly in support for the Conference, General Felicissimo Cardoso and Squadron Leader Salvador Correia de Sa e Benevides for example. The Bahia State Committee (Brazil) also has a chairman who is taking part in the Peace Movement for the first time—Dr. Jose Nou, a Deputy. There are many such examples.

METHODS OF WINNING SUPPORT

All propaganda media were employed to acquaint the American peoples of the aims of the Conference. To take Guatemala as an example, the Sponsoring Committee, there, carried out an intensive campaign to popularise the aims of the Conference—by public meetings, numerous articles in the Press; by the use of loud-speaker vans which travelled from town to town; by the use of slides on cinema screens in the intervals between films; and by radio programmes, particularly on one of the more powerful stations which beams to several Central and South American countries and to the Caribbean islands. At the same time, the campaign aimed at raising money to send delegates by means of the sale of tickets, fêtes and cinema shows.

In the Argentine, the Appeal of the Sponsoring Committee was discussed in various engineering, cold-storage, railway, transport and textile enterprises.

In Brazil, in response to a call by the International Preparatory Committee for the Continental Conference, it was decided to hold an exhibition of paintings and handicrafts at the same time as the Conference. "Cultural caravans" were planned to travel through the country, both in order to attract people to Peace work who had hitherto taken no part in the Peace Movement, and, at the same time, to fulfil the concept of cultural exchanges and vacations for Peace as suggested in the Vienna resolutions of the World Council of Peace.

Another form of winning support for the Conference was the collective declarations of professional groups such as the plastic artists in Venezuela who called upon "all men and all artists to fight indefatigably for Peace to the limit of their strength and to work without cease for American ideals..."; and the Chilean doctors who launched a manifesto and set up a Doctors' Committee for Peace.

The interview published in the journal of the Brazilian Defenders of Peace in January with Señor Oswaldo Aranha, former President of the United Nations General Assembly, also carried considerable weight in support of the Conference. Señor Arahna was asked:

"What is Your Excellency's view on the holding of the American Conference in your country?"

He replied:

> *To your question I can only repeat the reply I gave you on another occasion, that was, I think, during the Stockholm campaign. Peace is the wish of everyone and not just a campaign by particular people; the roads which lead to Peace, even if they are used by men of different ideas and ideologies, must not be blocked to those who want Peace for their countries and their peoples. There are numerous roads which lead to Rome.*
>
> *... I make no discrimination between those who want World Peace and who sincerely work against war.*

Some days later, when questioned by another newspaper representative, Señor Aranha re-affirmed his previous statements and added:

> *I have given my support to the American Peace Congress because I find Peace is universal and cannot be what it has been in the past, a British or Roman Peace. I have given my support in the highest sense of the word.*

THE EFFECT ON THE PEACE PACT CAMPAIGN

One of the most important effects of the Conference preparations has been the new impetus which it has given to the campaign for a Five Power Pact of Peace. The total number of signatures throughout the American Continent, according to the latest information received, is nearly 11,000,000. In Brazil, where the Conference was to have been held, some 3,200,000 signatures have been collected and in the Argentine, over 3,900,000. That is one-third of the country's adult population. Of this total 450,000 were collected by Argentinian women.

	On January 1st, 1952	On March 25th, 1952 (where new figures have been received)
Argentine	3,000,000	3,900,000
Bolivia	8,500	
Brazil	3,000,000	3,200,000
Canada	270,000	300,000
Chile	500,000	625,000
Columbia	25,000	120,000
Costa Rica	34,000	51,000
Cuba	850,000	916,000
Ecuador	No figure	6,000
Guatemala	100,000	
Mexico	300,000	320,000
Panama	No figure	No figure
Paraguay	16,000	20,000
Peru	5,578	
Porto Rico	20,000	
Uruguay	216,000	310,000
United States	No figure	500,000
Venezuela	45,000	46,000
	Old Total 8,390,078	
	New Total 10,448,078	

An increase of 2,058,000 in three months.

In the Argentine, the campaign for a Pact of

Peace has been linked to the campaign against the sending of Argentinian troops to Korea.

On the initiative of the Buenos Aires Committee of the Defenders of Peace a note was sent to His Holiness the Pope suggesting that he should pray for disarmament during the New Year celebrations and for a peaceful agreement between the Five Great Powers for the sake of universal happiness.

In Peru (which has never been represented in any international Peace meeting), the question of the peaceful settlement of international conflicts was debated in the Faculty of Law of the University of San Marcos during a meeting presided over by the Rector. It was in the course of the Conference preparations that the Peruvian Peace council was formed.

In Ecuador, a resolution was presented to the National Congress signed by 46 Senators and Deputies out of a total of 106, demanding the Government to orientate its international policy in favour of Peace and recommending the Ecuadorian delegation at the United Nations to support a Pact of Peace between the Big Five. Among the signatories were the Liberal, Cordoba Toral, President of the Chamber of Deputies; Conservative supporters of the Government; Liberals and Socialists who worked with the Government; members of the Opposition (Liberals and other groups) and Communists.

FURTHER EFFECTS OF THE PREPARATIONS

The Call to the Conference, the preparations and the augmented campaign for the Berlin Appeal, all had the effect of increasing the resistance of the American peoples to the demands upon them to make further sacrifices for war.

In Mexico, for instance, a 1,500 strong meeting in the Lirico Theatre protested against the military negotiations then going on between representatives of the United States and Mexican Governments and demanded that they cease forthwith. At the same time, the meeting expressed support for the Continental Conference. Later, after the negotiations were in fact broken off, the National Council of Peace Defenders warned against "the latest menace in the Foreign Ministry's declaration concerning the possibility of renewing these military talks" and demanded of the Government "that they should under no circumstances be resumed". Apart from using the utmost vigilance against new assaults on the national sovereignty of Mexico, it was necessary to intensify the signature campaign for a Five Power Peace Pact, the Council emphasised.

In Puerto Rico, a campaign for still further signatures was launched by an Appeal which stated:

> *We feel disturbed by the increasing number of Puerto Rican soldiers killed and wounded in Korea. We are deeply worried by the fact that many more thousands of young people are being sent to serve abroad in military missions. We believe that all efforts should be made in order to save our people and the whole world from the tragedy of another world war. To such an end, we ask for the conclusion of a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers . . .*

Similarly, in Chile an extensive protest movement has developed against a military pact with the United States. A 5,000-strong meeting was held in Santiago at which there spoke men of such widely different political affiliations as Luis Bossay, Radical Deputy; Anibal Jara, journalist and former diplomat; Pedro Videlia, leader of the National Phalange; Armando Mallet, General Secretary of the Socialist Party; Lorenza Morla, Radical leader and Clotario Blest, a Catholic businessman. Meanwhile, the Peace Defenders and trade union organisations in the Northern port of Arica have issued statements demanding the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. military negotiators from Chile. In many other cities similar statements and slogans have been issued.

The National Council of the Young Peace Defenders appealed to young Chileans to strengthen their fight against the threat of a new war. Their Appeal said that the military negotiations mean that all the resources of the country (copper, iron, nitrate and oil) will be looted by the United States for war production. The U.S., would occupy Chilean ports, Chilean electrical energy resources, the production centres in all important cities and towns throughout the country—Arica, Isla da Pascua, Magellan and other strategic positions—to convert them into U.S. military bases. All the political, cultural and economic life of Chile will be placed at the service of those who prepare a third world war, the Appeal said.

Finally, the National Peace Committee of Cuba (where one in five of the population has signed the Berlin Appeal), issued a statement condemning the new attempt by the Cuban Government to send Cuban troops to Korea and to negotiate a military pact with the United States Government.

"The blood of Cuba's young men," it says, "should be spilled only when so required to defend national dignity, to repel foreign invasion or in defence of the essential interests of our country." A United States military pact would commit the Cuban people, not only to an immediate contribution of blood, but also by an alien decision, to participation in military adventures launched anywhere in the world, subordinating the Cuban armed forces to foreign Powers.

THE HOLDING OF THE CONFERENCE

One of the tasks of the Conference Secretariat was to select the place and to make all practical arrangements for holding the American Continental Conference for Peace. This task was made more difficult by those hostile to the cause of Peace who strove to prevent it being held.

EFFORTS TO PREVENT THE CONFERENCE

Chilean Peace-lovers hoped that their country would be honoured as the country chosen as the venue of the Conference and they made enquiries of the Government whether it would be possible to hold it in Santiago. They were deeply disappointed when Chilean Government officials refused to give assurances of hospitality.

In November, the Brazilian Peace leaders sought to make Rio the site for the Conference. A broad delegation visited President Vargas and a verbal promise was given that no obstacles would be put in the way of the Conference being held. As a result, the Brazilian Peace leaders invited the Conference Secretariat to consider Rio as the venue. The Secretariat accepted this invitation and moved its seat to Rio in order to continue its work from there. With considerable help from the Brazilian Peace Movement, practical arrangements for holding the Conference in Rio were completed.

The growing breadth of support throughout Brazil and Latin America generally, caused alarm among those hostile to the cause of Peace. Measures were accordingly taken to prevent the Conference being held.

On January 22nd., the police chief of Rio issued an order banning the holding of the Conference in Brazil and a newspaper campaign was launched in this and other Latin American countries to discredit this effort for Peace.

In the United States, passports were refused to persons applying for them to go to the Conference, including such distinguished figures as Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, the great Negro Peace leader and sociologist and Howard Fast the author. (See Appendix C.)

The Secretariat for the Continental Conference issued a Communique (see Appendix B) which spoke of "the flagrant violation of the promise made at the end of last year by the Government" and added that the Conference "has wide support in all Latin American countries where more than seven-and-a-half million signatures have been collected for the Five Power Peace Pact". It reaffirmed that the Conference would take place as planned on March 11th-16th.

The Uruguayan Sponsoring Committee for the Continental Conference then invited the Secretariat to select Montevideo as the venue. This was accepted and the Secretariat returned to Montevideo and continued its work there.

One final attempt was made to prevent the Conference being held. As delegates began arriving in Montevideo from various countries, the Uruguayan authorities issued an order, one day before the Conference was due to open, banning the holding of the Conference in Uruguay. The Government, however, was unable to enforce its ban owing to the great opposition of large sections of the population to this measure and to messages of protest from distinguished men and women from many American countries and from other parts of the world.

The National Sponsoring Committee organised several representative delegations which visited State Councillors, Ministers and the Chief of Police, demanding that the ban be lifted. The Committee also received statements from several people, some of whom are among the most outstanding lawyers in Uruguay, protesting against this violation of civil liberties and claiming that the fascist law applied by the Government in putting the ban into effect, was unconstitutional.

The Uruguayan National Peace Council supported the "Union General de Trabajadores" (workers) and other mass organisations, organised protest action among all affiliated organisations such as Peace Committees and Factory Committees. Dozens of telegrams were sent and dozens of delegations from local districts and factories visited the Government; the courtyard of the Government House was many times filled to overflowing with people protesting against the ban. Workers from the port of Montevideo ("independent" trade union) and workers from the jam factories (U.G.T.) who were on strike at the time, included the demand that the Conference be held legally with their demands for better conditions.

Several members of the delegations which came to Montevideo also visited the Minister of the Interior and State Councillors, which greatly helped the fight to have the ban lifted.

All the newspapers of Montevideo, except two and including those politically opposed to the Conference and to the Peace Movement, severely criticised the Government; some of these same newspapers had only a few weeks previously called on the Government to ban the Conference.

When a Deputy asked that a question be put to the Government on this question, he was supported by 48 Deputies out of a total of 62, belonging to all, save one, of the political parties in Uruguay. The support of public opinion had been won.

But in spite of all impediments the Conference was held as planned. As the Preamble to the General Resolution passed at the Conference stated:

> *"The Uruguayan Government, just as the Chilean and Brazilian Governments had done, tried to make impossible the realisation of the Conference" but "confronted by this manifestation of the forces of Peace, the forces of war had to recede."*

There were 287 delegates in all at the Conference, representing 11 countries. Brazil sent 123; there were 80 Uruguayan representatives, while the Argentine sent 34; Chile, 22; Paraguay, 15; the United States, five; Venezuela, three; Columbia, two; Guatemala, one; Bolivia, one and Porto Rico, one.

The countries which were prevented from sending delegates because of the refusal of visas, sent messages of support.

The Conference opened with a plenary session with the Brazilian judge, Joao Pereira Sampaio in the chair—the chairmen of the other delegations presided in turn. Dr. Angel Bruno Estable, Chairman of the Uruguayan Sponsoring Committee, welcomed the delegates from other countries.

The Agenda consisted of two items. The first, presented by Joao Pereira Sampaio was:

> The American Peoples and the Menace of a Third World War
>
> (a)—Peaceful co-existence and the peaceful settlement of international problems as a basis and guarantee of Peace and progress for the American peoples.
>
> (b)—"Peace Through Strength"—a source of world war and a menace to national independence, to civic rights and to the economic welfare and cultural progress of the American peoples.

The second item, presented by Maria Rosa Oliver, was:

> The American Peoples In Defence of Peace Measures to be taken to increase the contribution of the American peoples to the safeguarding of Peace.

A Resolutions Committee was nominated which consisted of two Brazilians, two Argentinians, two Chileans and a representative from each of the other delegations. This Commission carefully studied the Reports and proposals, formulated the drafts of the declarations, resolutions and recommendations—work which took two days and a night. The drafts were then discussed in each delegation and unanimously approved in full session.

One of the most valuable contributions made by the Conference was the opportunity it offered for exchanges of experiences between the Peace Movements of the various countries and for evaluating the successes and shortcomings in the preparations for the Conference itself. Delegates reported how in many countries the Conference preparations had helped to strengthen and broaden the Peace Movement. If greater advances in broadening and strengthening the Peace Movement were not accomplished in all countries during the realisation of the Conference, it was felt that this was a reflection of an underestimation of the people's will for Peace and of the importance of Peace work for achieving the peaceful co-existence of nations as the essential condition for the realisation of the aspirations of the people.

It was also noted that the failure in some countries to achieve a better consolidation of existing forces for Peace and to win support in the preparation for the Conference of the masses of the people who desire Peace, was due to a tendency to underestimate the menace of war and the people's power to prevent it. This gave rise to an attitude of regarding the fight for Peace as unnecessary or futile.

All delegates were confident that the success of the American Continental Conference for Peace would help to overcome these short-comings and would contribute to the re-enforcement of the Peace Movement in the Americas.

The Conference received greetings from Professor Joliot-Curie, President of the World Council of Peace; from the Chinese Committee for the Defence of World Peace under the signature of Kuo Mo-Jo; from the Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru; from Alvarado Fuentes, President of the Congress of Guatemala; from the Vice-President of the Chilean Senate and from many other personalities and organisations.

On Saturday March 15th, there was a mass meeting in one of Montevideo's main squares at which members from every delegation spoke to an enthusiastic audience of 10,000 people.

On Sunday March 16th, the delegations met separately and in full session. The Resolutions which had been previously discussed by all the delegations were put into their final form and adopted, and the Conference came to an end on a note of confidence in the final victory of the fight for Peace.

*

The holding of the American Continental Conference for Peace in Montevideo was a demonstration of what victories are possible in the fight for Peace when Peace-loving peoples are mobilised with a common objective in view. The example of this victory now opens up perspectives for new advances for the forces of Peace in the American countries. The Resolutions adopted by the Conference (see Appendix D) give a clear orientation to the Peace Movement and call for new progress in the campaign for a Pact of Peace as the most effective and decisive way to defend the interests of the American peoples.

Armed with the lessons and example of the great American Continental Conference for Peace, the American peoples will win further victories in the fight for Peace and will thereby increase their vital contribution to the world movement of Peace-loving peoples upon which depends the peaceful future of mankind.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE CALL TO THE CONFERENCE

The menace of a third world war imposes on our American peoples, as on all other peoples of the world, the duty to defend Peace. Even though negotiations have been undertaken to settle peacefully the Korean conflict, the hostilities have not been stopped and the danger of an extension of the conflict is ever present. Moreover, the establishment of military formations in Germany and Japan, the production of ever more murderous weapons, the multiplication of air and naval bases as well as the appearance in the Middle East of potentially-worsening conflicts, seriously heighten international tension. The consequences of such a situation are already being sharply felt by our peoples.

THE SITUATION IN AMERICA

American mothers weep for their dead sons in Korea, and in spite of the opposition of the people, the sending of new troops is still being demanded. Economic and military engagements compromise the independence of American nations. Military bases are multiplying on our national soils. The agreements signed by the various American Governments at the Conference of Foreign Ministers in Washington impose very heavy sacrifices on our countries. The burden of armaments weighs heavily on the shoulders of our peoples. Military barracks are taking the place of schools and hospitals. Bread and books are being taken from the hands of the youth in order to give them rifles and machineguns. The natural resources of our countries are being used for the production of weapons of mass destruction. The rights of the people and the liberties of the individual are being continually reduced. Finally, an intolerable atmosphere of fear and insecurity has been created.

The people can change this state of affairs, however, by uniting all their forces to save Peace.

It is the people's will for Peace, ever more strongly expressed, which forced the opening of negotiations for a cease-fire in Korea and obtained the first victory of the spirit of negotiation over the methods of force.

A great effort by the people is necessary to strengthen this victory and to achieve the peaceful settlement of all differences from which arise the present international tension.

History shows us that the policy of seeking to settle international differences by means of a system of force always leads to war. The peaceful settlement of the problems between two different social systems is possible. The present situation demands such a settlement in order to save Peace and to ensure the welfare and progress of mankind. It is for this reason that the people's will for Peace is being expressed in the idea of a pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers: the United States, the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, France and Great Britain. This Pact of Peace, open to all states, can be the road to general disarmament and to the ending of the cold war. For the American nations, the peaceful settlement of international problems represents the guarantee of the national sovereignty of our homelands and the possibility of a broad and free economic and cultural exchange with countries the world over.

So that the American peoples can make effective their will for Peace, we are calling an American Continental Peace Conference, which will be held in March 1952 in Rio de Janeiro.

FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT

This Conference shall seek ways befitting the peoples of the American continent to help bring an end to wars now being waged and to obtain the guarantee of a peaceful settlement of international independence of our countries, to advance the welfare of our peoples and to save our cultural traditions.

We call to participate in this Conference all those who sincerely want Peace, regardless of their political opinions, their religious beliefs or their ideas on the cause of the present crisis: workers and farmers, mothers and young people, intellectuals and churchmen, scientists and technicians, soldiers and students, industrialists and small businessmen, artists and writers—all men and women of good will in all countries of the American continent.

We issue this Call with the certainty that the American peoples will make this Conference an historical event for the Peace of the world.

APPENDIX B

EXTRACT FROM THE COMMUNIQUE OF THE CONTINENTAL SECRETARIAT

The Secretariat of the Initiating Committee for the American Continental Peace Conference has drawn up the following:

(1) That the Conference will take place from 11th to the 16th March 1952. At the moment it is not possible to state in which American country it will take place as it has unfortunately been banned in Brazil.

(2) That the American Continental Conference is an expression of the deep anxiety of the American peoples who are horrified at the imminence of a new world war and who are already suffering the consequences of war preparations.

(3) That this Conference is not attached to any of the many Peace movements which exist throughout the world.

(4) That the sole aim of this Conference is to promote the largest possible amount of activity in defence of Peace. It will give the American people the opportunity of finding means to make triumph that which is their historical heritage—the settlement of international conflicts by negotiation, by arbitration and not by violence.

(5) That this aim calls for a completely pacifist attitude, and in the same way, it does not imply any agitation directed against any nation, or any belief or any Government. It is obvious that these aims, which are so humane and in accordance with the unanimous desire of the peoples, transcend party politics, ideologies and religious beliefs, and that this Conference is not dependent on any country, Government or social group, as is clearly shown by the composition of the Initiating Committee and by the wording of the Call to the Conference. The work and public activity of everybody on the Initiating Committee is known throughout the Continent and the world.

(6) That all documentation concerning the American Continental Peace Conference is public and has been circulated throughout the Continent of America.

(7) That, finally, the Secretariat is confident that the voice of the peoples, through their men and women of good faith, will not be silenced and it is certain that the American Continental Peace Conference will take place on the appointed date in one of the American capitals.

APPENDIX C

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT AND Dr. DU BOIS AND HOWARD FAST

Here is the text of a letter received by Dr. Du Bois from the U.S. State Department:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.
Feb 12, 1952

In reply to
F130-DuBois, William Edward Burghardt
Mr. William E. B. DuBois
Brooklyn, New York

My dear Mr. DuBois,

The Department has received your recent application for a passport for travel to Brazil accompanied by your wife, Mrs. Lois Shirley Graham DuBois.

The Department has given careful consideration to your request. However, since it appears that your proposed travel would be contrary to the best interests of the United States, a passport is not being issued to you.

The sum of 9.00 dollars which accompanied your application will be returned to you at a later date. The passport which was issued to Mrs DuBois on April 5th, 1949, is being retained in the Department's files.

Sincerely yours,
(signed) R. B. Shipley,
Chief, Passport Division

Here is the exchange of letters between Mr. Howard Fast and the State Department:

Mrs. Ruth Shipley
Chief, Passport Division
Washington, D.C.

January 8, 1952

Dear Mrs. Shipley;

In the past you have refused my applications for a passport. It would seem to me that no good purpose has been served through such a refusal, and that such acts, which are essentially of a dictatorial nature, can only serve to weaken our country.

Now I have been invited to attend the Inter-Continental Peace Conference in the city of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in the latter part of January. I am now writing to ask whether the Passport Division is willing to give me a passport to attend this conference. I must know as soon as possible, since as you will understand, there are a number of arrangements which must be made.

I will expect to hear from you soon, and I sincerely hope that you will see the necessity of overcoming this incredible house-prisoner situation that has arisen.

Sincerely

Howard Fast.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON

Mr. Howard Fast,
New York 25, New York

January 21, 1952

My dear Mr. Fast:

In reply to your letter of January 8, 1952, you are informed that the Department is not prepared to provide you with passport facilities at this time since it is of the opinion that your proposed travel would not be in the best interests of the United States.

Sincerely yours,
S/ R.B. Shipley
Chief, Passport Division.

New York 25, N.Y.
43 West 94 Street

January 25, 1952

Mrs. R.B. Shipley
Chief, Passport Division
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Shipley:

I have received your letter which is dated January 21, 1952, and I find that neither time nor repetition of these strange actions on your part have dulled my sense of incredulity. I must state unequivocally that I deny the assertion in your letter. I state once again that I have never taken any action in my life which was not in the best interests of the United States of America. I find your letter cynical, and completely expressive of the totalitarian aspects of Mr. Acheson's State Department.

I renew my request for a passport. I shall continue to renew this request until I receive a passport, and I am not willing, Mrs. Shipley, to resign myself to virtual imprisonment within the borders of the United States at the dictates of yourself and your colleagues, in the State Department. Your action is not only cynical, but is most expressively contemptuous of all the good things which America has traditionally stood for. I state again that neither you nor any of your colleagues has the right to arbitrarily determine what is or is not to the best interests of the United States.

Only the people of the United States can truly determine this, and certainly neither the record of the Truman administration nor its State Department has indicated in any way that they have the slightest awareness of either the needs of the American people, the aspirations of the American people, or of the many things which are in the best interests of the American people.

In the light of the foregoing, I renew my request for a passport.

Respectfully yours,
Howard Fast.

APPENDIX D

THE CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLES OF ALL LATIN AMERICA FROM THE CONTINENTAL PEACE CONFERENCE

Everyone knows that the critical situation which faces the whole world at the present time arises from the warmongering which is a direct result of a policy of military adventure, the consequences of which are already making themselves felt in our Continent.

Mindful of our duty, we present to the peace-loving conscience which inspires our American peoples, this Appeal for the intensification of the campaign for the collecting of signatures for a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers open to all States.

Peoples of America, if you do not wish to be dragged into a new world war, if you do not wish to go on bearing the burden of the disastrous effects of the arms' race and the militarisation of our country, SIGN THE APPEAL FOR A PACT OF PEACE.

If you do not want to be victims of military treaties which mean the sacrifice of our young people on the battlefields of Korea or in other wars which do not concern the defence of our countries, SIGN THE APPEAL FOR A PACT OF PEACE.

If you do not want our economy to continue being subordinated to war ends; economic and cultural exchanges to continue being subjected to all kinds of restrictions, attacks on democratic rights and the living conditions of our people to continue to worsen, SIGN THE APPEAL FOR A PACT OF PEACE.

If you want gradual, simultaneous and controlled disarmament and the prohibition of atomic weapons; the peaceful solution of international differences; the respect of national sovereignty; the recognition of democratic rights and of free economic, scientific and cultural exchange, which contribute to the consolidation of Peace, cooperation between nations and the raising of the peoples' standard of living, SIGN THE APPEAL FOR A PACT OF PEACE.

SIGNING THE APPEAL FOR A PACT OF PEACE is the most effective and decisive means in the hands of the people by which they can successfully oppose the grave threat which menaces the world and which endangers their sovereignty and well-being.

War is not inevitable. Peace can and must be assured through the common action of the peoples. "We cannot wait for Peace. We must win it." Let us unite! Let us organise!

PEACEFUL AGREEMENT FOR THE SOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL DIFFERENCES

"We cannot wait for Peace. We must win it!"

Gathered together at the American Continental Peace Conference, we delegates from the American countries have discussed the reports of the Initiating Committee on the different points on the agenda drawn up for the convocation of the Conference.

The Conference believes that the conception of "Peace through strength" leads to world war, threatens the independence of nations, the integrity of civil rights, economic well-being and the progress of the peoples. Therefore it states that a policy of mutual understanding alone can guarantee lasting Peace between nations.

The Conference notes that there is a serious aggravation of the danger of a new world war. The events which we are witnessing today, while increasing international tension, could also give rise to a general world conflict. The continuation of hostilities

in Korea, where a new peak of frightfulness has been reached with bacteriological warfare; the repression by blood and fire of the movements for emancipation in South East Asia, the Middle East and North Africa; the rearmament of Japan and Germany; the creation of the European Army resulting from the Lisbon Conference and the excessive budgets for intensive militarisation—from all these things humanity can only expect its security to be menaced.

The fact cannot be hidden that in our countries, there is growing preparation for war and intense propaganda is being carried on with the aim of drawing all the peoples into a new conflagration. Military budgets are swollen to the detriment of budgets for public health and education, and particularly to the detriment of food expenditure for the populations; the activity of industry, agriculture and trade is more and more being subordinated to military interests; in every country, commercial, scientific and cultural relations are being subjected to a whole series of discriminations; democratic liberties are curtailed and demonstrations for Peace are repressed with the greatest violence; theories of racial and national superiority are developing; financial inflation is becoming more acute, the living conditions of the peoples are becoming extremely difficult, while attacks against the sovereignty of the countries of America are increasing. Furthermore, the Conference notes that, despite the opposition of our peoples, military treaties and agreements are still being signed by American leaders for participation in conflicts which are not concerned with our national defence and, in consequence, the young men of Porto Rico and Columbia have died and are still dying on the battlefields of Korea along with hundreds of thousands of young North Americans in a criminal and senseless sacrifice of the Korean nation and of the young people of other countries.

The Conference is aware that all these events, the consequences of which threaten the well-being and the security of the peoples, arise mainly from the war policy of certain dominant circles in the United States which refuse to accept the peaceful co-existence of the different social systems. This war policy imposes on our peoples a formidable burden of taxes, enormous military budgets and economic agreements and treaties which are harmful to their interests. This policy is also responsible for the forced extraction and appropriation of oil, copper, tin, agricultural products and live-stock and all the wealth so necessary for our well-being and progress. Finally, this policy also results in demands for soldiers and military bases in our countries.

For these reasons, the Conference condemns this war policy and declares that under no pretext whatsoever, neither in the name of American solidarity nor in the name of the brotherhood of American nations, will we take part in a war which goes against our most cherished feelings and the deepest interests of humanity.

To those who are trying to create confusion among us and to make us believe in the inevitability of war, in the impossibility of peaceful co-existence between different nations and different social systems, we must reply that the war which is being prepared is the worst of all crimes.

Our love of Peace and our desire for Peace are powerful. The conviction that war is not inevitable and that it can be averted, is growing in the minds of the peoples. "We cannot wait for Peace. We must win it." Such must be our watchword.

The Conference notes the strong support given by all the countries of America to the calling of this Conference and the great possibilities which exist for effectively organising activity in defence of Peace and for increasing the realisation among the peoples of the success achieved by the campaign for a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers: the U.S.A., USSR., Chinese People's Republic, Great Britain and France.

We affirm that our supreme desire is for Peace by agreement as a solution of international differences; disarmament and prohibition of atomic weapons; free economic cooperation; respect of national sovereignty; full recognition of democratic rights and the free, material and intellectual development of the peoples. This is in the historic tradition of the peoples. This is in the historic tradition of the struggles of the American peoples.

The Conference has drawn the conclusion that the most effective and decisive way to realise these noble ideals is the establishment of an agreement between the Five Great Powers through a Pact of Peace, open to all States. If the expression of this growing and vigorous will of the peoples (which throughout the world supports the demand for this Pact) increases until the Five Great Powers reach a decision to negotiate this agreement, we shall have made an essential step forward in achieving world Peace and world security. The arms' race will be halted, military expenditure will be turned over to production for civil needs, public health and education; international tension will disappear and all the possibilities for economic, scientific and cultural exchange between nations will open up; respect for the right of the peoples to self-determination will increase and a new period of co-operation and peaceful co-existence will unfold.

Taking all these things into consideration, the American Continental Peace Conference calls on the peoples of America to:

(1) Fight for gradual, simultaneous and controlled disarmament; prohibition of atomic weapons, setting up of strict control over this prohibition and the utilisation of atomic energy for peacefull ends alone.

(2) Fight against the sending of new troops to Korea; for the recall of those who are already there and for an immediate solution of the Korean conflict.

(3) Condemn, in every way possible, the war policy of certain dominant circles in the United States of America; fight against militarisation and war preparation; denounce the military agreements entered into by the American Governments which result in the sacrifice of young people, of economy, of material and cultural progress and of the national sovereignty of the peoples;

(4) Condemn all forms of war propaganda;

(5) Protest against attacks on activities in defence of Peace; against the suppression of

democratic rights; against racial discrimination while demonstrating their solidarity with all victims of such repression;

(6) Struggle to safeguard the natural wealth of each country so that it can be used for the economic development and well-being of our peoples;

(7) Struggle for free economic, scientific and cultural exchange between our countries, which can strengthen Peace, cooperation between nations and improve the people's standard of living.

(8) Intensify the campaign for a Pact of Peace between the Five great Powers: U.S.A., USSR., Chinese People's Republic, Great Britain and France, which would be open to all States.

RESOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE AGAINST THE USE OF BACTERIOLOGICAL WEAPONS IN KOREA—CALL FOR VIGOROUS PROTEST

The American Continental Peace Conference, held in Montevideo from 11th to 16th March, 1952, in view of the charges received by the Conference from the World Council of Peace concerning the use of bacteriological weapons in Korea, by the Armed Forces of the United States of America, declares:

—that the use of such weapons constitutes a monstrous war crime, which provokes the anger and shocks the conscience of all peoples of the world;

—that it demands an immediate end be put to the employment of this weapon against the Korean people;

—that it calls on the peoples of America to make a vigorous protest against such an act.

GREETINGS FROM THE AMERICAN CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE TO THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The American Continental Conference, Montevideo 11th to 16th, March 1952, which was attended by 300 delegates from the American Continent, sends greetings to the World Council of Peace.

Echoing the feelings of the American peoples, expressed through their delegates, the Conference declares that the basis and orientation set by the World Council are the indispensable prerequisites for attaining the goal of averting war and achieving the benefit of a lasting Peace.

The holding of this Conference was the result of the great efforts and sacrifices made by the Defenders of Peace on the Continent of America.

We believe this meeting, which we have succeeded in holding, is of exceptional importance at this critical period in world affairs. The Conference is an answer to the aspirations and the needs of our peoples. We are also confident that we have fulfilled these hopes, in laying down in the Resolutions adopted, the course of our future activity for Peace.

The Conference considers that the most effective and most decisive means in the hands of the American peoples at the present time for making their contribution to ensuring Peace and for achieving their aspirations for progress and prosperity, is to continue and intensify the campaign for a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers, which was launched by the World Council.

In sending its greetings to the body which guides and co-ordinates the struggle for Peace, the Conference states that no effort will be spared by the American people to contribute in the most effective way their support to the World Council of Peace so that it may fulfil its noble and historic mission.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENTAL PEACE CONFERENCE

The American Continental Peace Conference which was held from 11th to 16th March, 1952 in Montevideo, makes the followings recommendations to the Sponsoring Committees and to all organisations and persons who supported the Conference:

(1) To make efforts to disseminate the resolutions of this Conference by meetings, debates, leaflets, gatherings, radio, Press and by all other means at our disposal. Furthermore, the Conference considers that it is essential to intensify our efforts to draw the largest number of people and organisations into the struggle for the defence of Peace and to increase to the maximum the number of local councils, commitees, groups and other forms of organisation which can put the resolutions of this Conference into force and make the great will of the peoples for Peace invincible.

(2) That organisations for the defence of Peace in each country nominate a representative to form a delegation which will present the resolutions of this Conference to the United Nations.

(3) That committees of representatives of various countries be set up with the purpose of submitting the resolutions of this Conference to the Parliaments of the different countries of the Continent.

(4) That on the anniversary of the end of the Second World War in Europe, 8th May, 1952, a great Peace Day be organised in the spirit of the Resolutions of this Conference.

(5) That an American conference of writers, artists and scientists be held during 1952 to discuss the possible development of national culture and inter-American cultural co-operation relating it to world Peace.

(6) That permanent exchange and direct information between national bodies of the American continent with regard to the development of the Peace movement in each country be increased with particular reference to the experiences gained, the work undertaken, the methods of work, publications, and so on.

APPENDIX E

SUPPORTERS OF THE CONFERENCE

The following list, while being by no means complete, will convey some idea of the breadth of support which the American Continental Conference has received from men and women of many professions, political parties and religious beliefs. This list of nearly 200 includes members of the 18 national preparatory committees and others from 19 American countries who, in one way or another, have registered their approval of the Conference. Among them are some of the most prominent people on the American Continent.

Politicians:

Oswaldo Aranha, former President of the U.N. General Assembly and former Brazilian Chancellor; Andre Nuñes, Jr., President of the Chamber of Sao Paulo (Brazil); Campos Vergal, Federal Deputy and leading spiritualist (Brazil); Dr. Antonio Refinetti, President of the Municipal leadership of the Social Democratic Party of San Andres (Brazil); Dr. Jose Antonio Aranha, Prefect of the Capital in the State of Rio Grande do Sul and President of the Municipal Chamber of Porto Alegre (Brazil); Plinio Coelho, Federal Deputy (Brazil); Dr. Joao Acioli, President of the Municipal Leadership of the Social-Progressive Party, Sao Paulo (Brazil); Arthur Wray, member of the Alberta Provincial Legislature (Canada); Salvador Allende, Vice-President of the Senate and Presidential candidate for the Republic of Chile; Ciro Alvarez, former Minister (Chile); Justinano Sotomayor, Director of a Government Production department and former Deputy (Chile); Rudecindo Ortega, Radical, former Minister of Education, University Professor (Chile); Armando Mallet, General Secretary of the Socialist Party (Chile); Raoul Juillet, Radical, former Deputy and Chancellor (Chile); Dr. Carlos Antonio Lis, Conservative Party Senator (Columbia); Jaino Chaves Granja, senator and writer (Ecuador); Eloy Loor Vera, Senator (Ecuador); Neptal Sancho, Deputy (Ecuador); Pedro Saad, Senator (Ecuador); Jorge Maldonado Cornejo, Senator (Ecuador); Córdoba Toral, Liberal, President of the Chamber of Deputies (Ecuador); Roberto Alyarado Fuentes, President of the National Congress until March, 1952 (Guatemala); Professor Roberto Giron Lemus, First Secretary of the Congress of the Republic of Guatemala and Director of the "Diario da Habana"; Professor Fernando de León Porras, humanist and Deputy in the Republican Congress (Guatemala); Paulino Ovalle, Deputy and Director of "Nuestro Diario" (Guatemala); Dr. Enrique Arreguin, former Under-Secretary for Education (Mexico); Luis Sanchez Ponton, former Minister of Education (Mexico); Pal Castellanos, former Secretary at the Presidency of the Republic (Mexico); Alberto Navarro, Mayor of Panama; Jose Galvez, writer, former Minister for Foreign Affairs and Vice-President of the Republic of Peru; Dr. Leon Barandi, former Minister of State (Peru); Gonzalez Loli, Deputy (Peru).

The Legal profession:

Leonor Aguiar Vazquez, lawyer, member of the International Women's Commission to Korea (Argentine); Noberto A. Frontini, lawyer, writer and professor at the Institute of Economics (Argentine); Joao Pereira Sampaio, Rio Grande do Sul Appeal Court judge (Brazil); Arcadio Leal, judge (Brazil); Abel Chermont, lawyer (Brazil); Enrique Fialho, Judge of the Supreme Court (Brazil); Armando da Silva Prado, jurist and former member of the Federal Appeal Court in Sao Paolo (Brazil); Dr. Evandro Luis e Silva, criminologist (Brazil); Francisco Joliao, lawyer (Brazil); Luis Eduardo Nieto Gaballero, lawyer, writer, diplomat, ex-ambassador and former delegate to the League of Nations (Columbia); Luis Carloz Péres, Professor of Penal Law, author of "The Crime of War Propaganda" and other works (Columbia); Diego Montaña Guellar, Law Professor, former Mayor of Bogota (Columbia); Jorge Regueros Peralta, lawyer, author and journalist, former Vice-President of the Senate (Columbia); Dr. Benjamin Cevallos Arízaga, President of the Supreme Court of Justice Ecuador); Juan Genaro Jaramillo, Minister of the Supreme Court of Justice (Ecuador); Homero Novoa, solicitor (Ecuador); Professor Antonio Cruz Franco, former Judge of the Supreme Court of Justice (Guatemala); Franco Cureño, Judge of the Supreme Court (Mexico); Alberto Bremaunt, judge (Mexico); Boris de Rosen, lawyer (Mexico); Dr. Emilio Valverde, Dean of the Faculty of Law (Peru); Alfredo Mathews, lawyer (Peru); Laura Caller, lawyer (Peru); Eugenio Petit Muñoz, jurist (Uruguay).

Religious personalities:

Monsignor Constabile, Apostolic Protonotary to Santa Maria, Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil); Dr. James G. Endicott, Methodist minister and missionary (Canada); Domingo Villamil, Professor of Theology and philosophy, editor of the Catholic journal "Justice", president of the international Association of Democratic Jurists (Cuba); Dr. Einrique Pérez Arbelaéz, Catholic priest, naturalist, member of the Academy of Science (Columbia); Dr. Joseph Fletcher, professor at the Seminary of Episcopal Theology, Cambridge, Massachusetts (U.S.); Rev. Paul Gaton, pastor of the Halsted Institutional Church and President of the World Fellowship Committee of Illinois (U.S.); Dr. Willard Uphaus (U.S.); Father Kenneth Forbes (U.S.).

The Army:

General Leonidas Cardozo (Brazil); Squadron Leader Salvador Correia de Sa e Benevides (Brazil); Major H. T. Lafond, Montreal (Canada); General Carlos García Velez, veteran of Cuban independence, ex-ambassador (Cuba); General Adalberto Tejada, former State Governor (Mexico); General Heriberto Jara, ex-Minister of Marine, Member of the World Council of Peace (Mexico); General Julio A. Roletti, former Minister of Defence (Uruguay); General Rafael Gabaldon, former ambassador and Governor (Venezuela).

Medicine:

Dr. Myra y López, Spanish psychologist resident in Brazil; Professor Jose Maria Gomez, specialist in leprosy and Professor at the Ministry of Sao Paolo (Brazil); Arnaldo Marques doctor and professor at Pernambuco University (Brazil); Dr. Marie E. Dihigo, President of the Matanzas Society of Medicine and Surgery (Cuba); Jaime Barrios Pena, Doctor of Psychology (Guatemala); Ismael Cosio Villegas, consumption specialist (Mexico); Matilde R. Cabon, doctor (Mexico).

Writers:

Maria Rosa Oliver, well-known for her studies on modern American literature (Argentine); Leonidas Barletta, writer and Director of Buenos Aires People's Theatre (Argentine); Graciliano Ramos, novelist, President of the Brazilian Association of Writers; Rita Christiana, journalist (Brazil); Mary Jennison (Canada); Jean Jules Richard, French Canadian Catholic writer and a leader of "Catholic Peace Action"; Gabriela Mistral, Nobel Literature Prize (Chile); Gregorio Guerra, journalist (Chile); Miguel Angel de la Campa, writer and ex-Minister of State (Cuba); Juan Marinello (Cuba); Joaquin García Monge, director of the "Repertorio Americano" (Costa Rica); Jorge Icaza, novelist (Ecuador); Manuel Benjamin Carrión, writer and director of the Home of Culture (an official institution) and director of the journal "El Sol", Quito (Ecuador); Alfredo Pareja Diez Canseco, novelist, member of the House of Culture (Ecuador); Miguel Angel Asturias, novelist and diplomat (Guatemala); Jesus Alvarado, poet and General Secretary of the Alliance of Democratic Youth (Guatemala); Raoul Leiva, poet, editorial secretary of the "Revista de Guatemala"; Luis Cardoza y Aragon, writer and diplomat (Guatemala); Professor Otto Raoul Gonzalez, poet, former cultural attaché of the Guatemalan ambassy in Mexico; Enrique Gonzalez Martinez, poet (Mexico); Rafael F. Munez (Mexico); Andrea Henestrosa (Mexico); Renato Leduc, journalist (Mexico); Jose Mancisidor (Mexico); Efrain Huerta, poet (Mexico); Jose Revueltas (Mexico); Juan de la Cabada

(Mexico); Juan Rios, National Prize for Poetry and Dramatic Art (Peru); Howard Lawson, essayist (U.S.); Howard Fast, novelist (U.S.); Albert Kahn (U.S.).

Painters:

Juan Castaguino (Argentine); Candido Portinari (Brazil); Douglas Marques de Sa, President of the Fine Arts Academy, Sao Paolo (Brazil); Clovis Graciano (Brazil); Diógenes Parades (Ecuador); Oswaldo Guayasamin (Ecuador); Diego Rivera (Mexico); Maria Asúnsolo, patron of the arts (Mexico); Jesus Guerrero Galvan (Mexico); Frida Kahlo (Mexico); Maria Izquierdo (Mexico); Francisco Dosamentes (Mexico); Rockwell Kent, painter and writer (U.S.); William Gropper (U.S.); John J. Debeer, chairman of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (U.S.); Mateo Manaura (Venezuela); Mario Abreu (Venezuela); Armando Gonzalez, sculptor (Uruguay).

Musicians:

Eduardo de Guanieri, Conductor of the Sao Paulo Symphony Orchestra and of the Municipal Theatre (Brazil); Guera Peixte, composer and conductor, Pernambuco (Brazil); Antoinetta Monteira, pianist (Brazil); Ricardo Castillo, composer (Guatemala); Blas Galindo, director of the National Conservatoire of Music (Mexico); Santos Balmori, director of the Academy of Dancing at the National Institute of Fine Arts (Mexico); Andres Riverola Quirolo, conductor (Paraguay); Felix Pérez Cardozo, composer (Uruguay); Jose Asunción Flores, composer (Peru); Paul Robeson, singer (U.S.).

Education:

Gregorio Bergman, University Professor, and editor of the "Latin-American Psychiatry Review" (Argentine); Octavio da Sompeira, Professor at the University of Parana (Brazil); Cesar Avila, Professor at the University of Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil); Professor Pascoal Leme, educationist (Brazil); Rudecindo Ortega, University Professor, former Minister of Education (Chile); Olga Poblete, Professor at the University of Chile; Luis Eduardo Gacharna, University Professor, former Judge of the Supreme Court of Justice (Columbia); Baldomero Sanin Cano, philosopher (Columbia); Elias Entralgo, Professor at Habana University, and President of the Federation of Doctors of Philosophy (Cuba); Emilia Roig Leuchsenrig, President of the Society of Historical and International Studies (Cuba); Vicente Antuna, University Professor (Cuba); Manuel Agustin Aguire, author and Dean of the Faculty of Economics at the Central University (Ecuador); Porfirio García de León, engineer and former Rector of the University of Morelia (Mexico); Paula Gómez Alonzo, Guadelupe Cejudo da Nujeva and Salvador Lima, educationists (Mexico); Leopoldo Ancona, University Professor (Mexico); Bernardo Lombardo, Professor of Physics at the University of Panama; Professor Carlos Chang Marin, National Literary Prize (Panama); Uriel García, Senator and Professor at the University of Cuzco (Peru); Jusualdo, educationist (Uruguay); Celia Mieres, University Professor (Uruguay); Anatole Rappaport, Professor at the University of Chicago (U.S.); Manuel Montaner, Professor of Geography and History (Venezuela).

Historian:

Professor Luis Chavez Orozco (Mexico).

Economist:

Maria del Carmen Vargas (Guatemala).

Agronomy:

Salvador Nigro, School of Agronomy, Pernambuco (Brazil); Manuel Mateus Ventura, Professor at the Ceara School of agronomy (Brazil); Juan Carago, agriculturist (Costa Rica).

Anthropology, Ethnology and Sociology:

Edison Careneiro, ethnologist (Brazil); Alfonso Caso, anthropologist, Director of Mexican Indian Institute (Mexico); Eulalial Guzman, anthropologist (Mexico); Dr. Du Bois, Negro sociologist (U.S.).

Labour:

Marco Antonio Blanco, Union of Educational Workers (Guatemala); Vicente Lombardo Toledano, President of the Confederation of Latin American Workers and Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions; Jacinte López, General Secretary of the General Union of Workers and Peasants (Mexico); Domingo Barrio, General Secretary of the Federation of Workers' Trade Unions (Panama); Hugh Bryson, National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards (U.S.); de Mayo, one of the International Vice-Presidents of the United Electrical Workers (U.S.).

Women and Youth:

Branca Fialho, member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace, active worker for women's rights and child welfare (Brazil); Carmen Noran, General Secretary of the Alliance of Guatemalan Women; Luis Emilia Anzueto, President of the Youth Peace Committee (Guatemala); Hugo Barrios Klee, Student-leader (Guatemala); Mireya Huerta, President of the Union of Democratic Women (Mexico); Samuel R. Mora, General Secretary of the Confederation of Young Mexicans; Gleta Sonza, General Secretary of the Students Federation (Panama).

Radio, Cinema, Photography:

Carlos Alvarado Jerez, Director of the National Radio "Voice of Guatemala"; Mme Quitana, photographer (Chile); Manuel Alvarez Bravo, photographer (Mexico); Franklin Urteaga, President of the Association of Cinema Producers (Peru).

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
CONSEJO MUNDIAL DE LA PAZ
世界和平理事會

SECRÉTARIAT GÉNÉRAL
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JANSKA 100
PRAHA (TCHÉCOSLOVAQUIE)
TÉLÉPHONE: PRAHA 615-90
ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE:
PAIXMONDE PRAGUE

Or/CR

Prague, 31st May, 1952

Mr. W.E. DU BOIS
NEW YORK
(U.S.A.)

Dear Friend,

On the 15th May, we sent you a letter informing you that the forthcoming session of the World Council would take place on 21st June in Finland.

In view of the development of the international situation, it has been decided after consultation with the President, that this session should take place in Berlin. It has been postponed for 10 days, that is on July 1st.

We are enclosing the text of the Convocation signed by President Joliot-Curie.

Would you please confirm your participation at this important extraordinary session of the World Council at your earliest convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

For the World Council
of Peace

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

[ENC]

CONVOCATION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

An extraordinary session of the World Council of Peace is called to take place from 1st to 5th July, 1952 at Berlin.

The recent decisions concerning the remilitarisation of Germany and the obstacles being put in the way of reaching agreement in the armistice talks in Korea are very disquieting signs of a worsening of international tension.

These events, among many others, now make the danger of a new world war seem more apparent.

But already and from various sources, peaceful solutions to the problems which divide the world have been put forward. If we hope to save Peace we must find the means of putting these proposals into force and we must seek new solutions.

The work of this extraordinary session of the World Council will be inspired with the desire to change the course of events and lead to solutions for an international relaxation of tension.

Frederic Joliot-Curie
President of the World Council of
P e a c e

A G E N D A

1.- Peaceful solution of the German and Japanese problem
2.- An immediate halt to the war in Korea
3.- The arms race and the fight for a Pact of Peace.

[World Peace Council]

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Org/CR

25-22-23

Prague, June 5th, 1952

Mr W.E.B. DU BOIS
NEW YORK

Dear Friend,

Following the events which are taking place in France, the National Council of the French Peace Movement has sent an important letter to the President of the Republic and to the Presidents of the National Assembly and of the Council of the Republic.

You will find the text of this letter enclosed.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Roy Gore

Roy GORE
Secretary

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

[ENC]

Paris, 30th May, 1952.

To The President of the Republic

To The Presidents of the National Assembly
and of the Council of the Republic.

Sirs,

We made an appeal to the Peace Committees to organise the demonstration of Wednesday, 28th May against the rearmament of Germany and the coming to France of General Ridgway just as for previous demonstrations we have called upon the population to protest against the presence in Paris of Generals Speidel and Heusinger and Chancellor Adenauer.

Our right to demonstrate has been systematically denied by the Government whose police repression has become worse each time. The responsibility for the violence lies with the Government.

On May 28th, the demonstrators showed with great calm that they were not prepared to remain passive in face of these attacks.

This circumstance caused the rage of the police authorities who fired on the crowd causing one death and many injured. They then proceded to carry out widespread arrests and, two hours after the demonstration, arrested one of the leaders of the Opposition, M. Jacques Duclos in conditions of unprecedented hypocrisy and illegality.

In this way, the Government which has just signed agreements to rearm Germany seeks to hide the betrayal of France's interests and of Peace by distorting a patriotic demonstration and presenting it as being a plot.

We have carried out this action because we believe that the security of the State is only guaranteed by fully respecting civil liberties. We have carried out this action because we believe that the security of the nation is seriously menaced by the rearmament of Germany, the transformation of our territory into a foreign base and by a policy of inciting to war.

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The national representatives are not in a position to save France from these terrible dangers. But, in a democracy, the people have the right and the duty to publicly express and demonstrate their feelings.

That is why we shall continue our action with the same steadfastness and with the same energy to demand that France return to her independence for the cause of Peace before it is too late.

Very sincerely yours,

The Members of the Permanent National Committee of the National Council of the Peace Movement

José Aboulker, Claude Alphandéry, Emmanuel d'Astier, Eugène Aubel, Louis Baillot, Louis Bonnard, Pasteur Francis Bosc, abbé Jean Boulier, Georges Brousse, Michel Bruguier, Laurent Casanova, Gilbert de Chambrun, Mme Eugénie Cotton, Jules Duchat, Yvonne Dumont, Mme Odette Dupont-Delestraint, Louis Guéry, J-M. Hermann, Georges Jouneau, Mme Françoise Leclercq, Alain Le Léap, Jean-Pierre May, Armand Mitterand, colonel Frédéric Manhès, Jacques Mitterand, amiral Moullec, Pierre Parmantier, Maurice Poinsignon, Max Stern, Olga Tournade, René Tzanck, Marcel Varyze, Louis Vautier, Jean Verlhac, Fernand Vigne, Benjamin Weill-Hallé, Léon Wagner, Pierre Cot, Pierre Debray, Marcel Moiroud, Gustave Monod, général Petit, Marcel Prenant, Gilberte Séguy, Charles Serre.

[World Peace Council]

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
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PAIXMONDE PRAGUE

30.

25-32-28

Prague, June 7th, 1952.

Mr. W.E. DU BOIS
NEW YORK
(U.S.A.)

Dear Friend,

Enclosed you will find an important Declaration of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

This expresses the Bureau's attitude with regard to the repressive measures to which the French National Council of Peace has fallen victim.

We would be glad if you would help to give this Declaration the widest distribution.

It is signed by members of the Bureau of the World Council and by certain other personalities from various countries who have been approached.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Roy Gore
Secretary.

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

[ENC]

DECLARATION OF THE BUREAU OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE AND OF PERSONALITIES OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

-:-

We have been shocked to learn of the action taken against the National Council of the French Peace Movement and other repressive measures against the Peace Movement in France.

This attempt to silence the peaceful and legitimate aspirations of the French people is the concern of all peoples because it is a sign of the intensification of the danger of war. The struggle of the French people constitutes a major obstacle to those forces which oppose all measures to relieve international tensions and a peaceful solution of the differences between nations. This is the fundamental reason why all those in France who are acting openly and in common for the safeguarding of Peace, whatever their different social origins or whatever may be their different political affiliations, are being threatened today by these forces. No matter what may be the pretext put forward for the repression against the French Peace Movement, the consequences can be grave for all peoples.

We solemnly declare that all the peoples of the world are united with the French people in their struggle for Peace. No force can break the will of a great nation which is defending its independence and struggling for world peace.

Signatories of the Declaration:

JOLIOT-CURIE, Frederic, President of the World Council of Peace.

NENNI, Pietro, Deputy, Vice President of the World Council of Peace.

d'ARBOUSSIER, Gabriel,(Afrique Noire), Member of the Assembly of the French Union.

BERLINGUER, Enrico,(Italy), President of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

BERNAL, John D.,(Great Britain), Physicist

BLUME, Isabelle (Belgium), Deputy.

BORSARI, Palamede,(Brazil), Engineer.

BRANTING, Georg,(Sweden), Senator.

BRECHT, Bertold,(Germany),Writer.

BURNS, John,(Great Britain), President of the Fire Brigades Union.

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[ENC]

CASANOVA, Laurent (France), Deputy, Former Minister.

de CHAMBRUN, Gilbert (France), Deputy.

COT, Pierre (France), Deputy, Former Minister.

COTTON, Eugénie (France), President of the International Federation of Democratic Women.

DARR, John W.(United States), Minister of Religion.

DAVIES,S.(Mrs) (Great Britain), School Mistress, Justice of the Peace.

DAVIES, S.O. (Great Britain), Member of Parliament.

Van EERDE, G.R. (Australia), Minister of Religion.

EHRENBOURG, Ilya (U.S.S.R.), Writer.

SIAO, Emi (China), Writer.

FADEYEV, Alexander (U.S.S.R.), Writer.

FENOALTEA, Giorgio (Italy), Jurist.

FIALHO, Branca (Mrs) (Brazil), Biologist.

FRIEDRICH, Walter (Germany), Rector of Berlin University.

GIRAL, Jose (Spain), Former President of the Council of the Spanish Republic.

GORE,W.R.T. (Great Britain), Schoolmaster.

GULAYEV, Pantaleimon (U.S.S.R.), Journalist.

SARDAR GURBAKHSH,Singh (India), Writer.

HIKMET, Nazim (Turkey), Writer.

HROMADKA, Josef (Czechoslovakia), Professor of Theology, Member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches.

INFELD, Leopold (Poland), Physicist.

KINGSBURY, John Adams (United States), Doctor.

KORA, Tomi (Japan), Member of the Upper House.

KORNEICHUK, Alexander (U.S.S.R.), Writer.

KOSAMBI,D.D. (India), Member of the National Institute of India.

KUO-MO-JO (China), President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences

LAFFITTE, Jean (France), General Secretary of the World Council of Peace.

LE CHANG, Phuong (Viet Nam), Council Member of the Viet Nam Women's Union.

LOMBARDI, Riccardo (Italy), Deputy, Former Minister.

LUNDKVIST, Arthur Nils (Sweden), Writer.

MAO DUN (China), Writer.

MONTAGU, Ivor (Great Britain), Journalist.

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25-32-30

[ENC]

MUKAROWSKY, Jan (Czechoslovakia), Rector of Charles University Prague.

NERUDA, Pablo (Chile), Writer.

SAILLANT, Louis (France), General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

SEGHERS, Anna (Mrs) (Germany), Writer,

SERENI, Emilio (Italy), Senator, Former Minister.

STREET, Jessie (Mrs) (Australia), Australian delegate to the United Nations Conference on International Organisation, San Francisco 1945.

SUN YAT SEN (Mrs) (China), President of the Association of Aid to the Chinese People.

SUWARTI (Mrs) (Indonesia), Member of Parliament.

TABET, Antoine (Lebanon), Architect.

TIKHONOV Nikolaj (U.S.S.R.), Writer.

SHRI YAGNIK, Indudal (India), President of the Peasants'Association.

ZWEIG, Arnold (Germany), Writer.

-:-

[World Peace Council]

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
CONSEJO MUNDIAL DE LA PAZ
世界和平理事會

SECRÉTARIAT GÉNÉRAL
PALAIS S. I. A.
JANSKA 100
PRAHA (TCHÉCOSLOVAQUIE)
TÉLÉPHONE: PRAHA 615-90
ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE:
PAIXMONDE PRAGUE
GF/CR

Prague, June 11th, 1952

Mr. W.E.B. DU BOIS
(U.S.A.)

25-32-22

Dear Friend,

We have learned of your support for our friend, Professor Brandweiner and we warmly thank you for your prompt reaction.

Your personal action, along with the protests of many other personalities, perturbed at such scant respect being shown for the most elementary liberties of the scientist, will not fail, we earnestly hope, to influence the sanctions taken against Professor Brandweiner.

We have requested our friends of the Austrian Peace Committee to keep us precisely informed on the development of this question and we shall inform you of all interestings news on this subject.

Very sincerely yours,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

G. FENOALTEA
Secretary

J. LAFFITTE
General Secretary

World Peace Council

June 20, 1952

M. Jean Laffitte
World Peace Council
Palais S.I.A.
Janska 100
Praha, Czechoslavakia

Dear M. Laffitte:

I should be very glad to sign the Declaration of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace with regard to the action of the French government against it.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-32-3

THE BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

No 28 June 25th 1952

PREPARATORY MEETING OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE OF THE COUNTRIES OF ASIA AND OF THE PACIFIC

PEKING, JUNE 3rd — 6th, 1952

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CALL FOR THE CONVOCATION OF A PEACE CONFERENCE FOR ASIA AND THE PACIFIC REGIONS

In the present international situation, the safeguarding of the Peace of Asia and of the Pacific regions has become an important factor in safeguarding the Peace of the world.

The resurgence of Japanese militarism has been accelerated by the signing of both the San Francisco unilateral peace treaty with Japan and the recent U.S.-Japanese "Administrative Agreement." The armistice negotiations in Korea have been protracted and stalled and recently, even inhuman bacteriological warfare has been resorted to. The expansionists who attempt to dominate the world have established military bases at many places in Asia in preparation for unleashing another aggressive war on a larger scale. On account of all this, the security and Peace of the nations in Asia and in the Pacific regions have been seriously threatened and the peoples of Asia and of the Pacific regions are confronted with the danger of another armed aggression.

But, on the other hand, the broad masses of Asia and of the Pacific regions are eagerly demanding and longing for Peace. Just like the peoples of other nations of the world, they feel the greatest anxiety about the worsened international situation and the menace of war. The peoples of Asia and of the Pacific regions have not quite recovered from the wounds inflicted by the distress which Japanese imperialism brought them during World War II and the painful experiences are still fresh in their memory. Except for a handful of aggressors, there are no Peace-loving people who wish for war, and there are no good, honest people who do not long for Peace. This constitutes an important factor which makes it possible for the peoples of Asia and of the Pacific regions to eliminate the threat of war and to safeguard Peace. This also makes us believe that another world war is avoidable.

It must be pointed out that Peace cannot be awaited, and that it has to be won by the Peace-loving peoples in unity. The Peace in Asia and in the Pacific regions can be ensured if the peoples of Asia and of the Pacific regions are mobilized to strive for Peace. The solemn task that lies before us is that we must in close unity oppose the rearming of Japan by the United States in order to safeguard the security of Asia and of the Pacific regions; that we must oppose the intervention of any nation in the internal affairs of another nation in order to safeguard the independence and integrity of sovereignty of nations as well as to ensure the peaceful co-existence of nations with different systems; and that we must insist upon the peaceful settlement of the existing conflicts in order to restore and develop the normal trade relations and the interflow of culture among nations.

In view of the situation as stated above, we, the undersigned, consider it a matter of urgency and great significance to convoke a Peace Conference for Asia and the Pacific regions at a suitable time in the immediate future, in order to have a comprehensive exchange of opinions on the problems of safeguarding the interests of Peace and to seek for appropriate measures for their solution.

Already in 1951, this proposal was put forward by persons in Asian nations and in other nations of the world, who strive for the cause of Peace. In the course of its discussion and examination, this proposal has been enthusiastically endorsed by the broad Peace-loving masses of Asia and of the Pacific regions, and they have been unanimously in favour of immediately taking steps to carry it out. The leaders of the cause of Peace in India have suggested that this Conference should be held in Peking. The Chinese people enthusiastically welcome the idea of convoking this Conference in Peking to safeguard Peace, and consider it their bounden duty to issue immediately a call for this Conference, jointly with the peoples of all nations who love Peace and stand for justice.

On the preparation for and the convocation of this Conference, we take the liberty of putting forward the following proposals for consideration.

(1) The delegates to the Conference should come mainly from the nations in Asia and in the Pacific regions, representing circles as wide as possible and irrespective of race, social stratum, religious belief, and different political views; all the people who are in favour of Peace and oppose war should be welcomed (including scientists, educators, men of letters, scholars, professors, art workers, journalists, trade-union leaders, leaders of peasant movements, young people, students, women leaders, workers of the Peace Movement and other Peace-loving people).

(2) The nations of Asia and of the Pacific regions should appoint distinguished people from their respective nations, who have made contributions to the cause of Peace, and who are really Peace-loving, to participate in the joint sponsoring of this Conference. The following eleven persons have been nominated as sponsors on behalf of the People's Republic of China: Soong Ching-ling (Mme Sun Yat-sen), Kuo Mo-jo, Peng Chen, Chen Shu-tung, Li Szu-kuang, Ma Yin-chu, Chang Hsi-jo, Liu Ning-i, Tsai Chang, Mao Tun, and Liao Cheng-chih. It is hoped that your country will take part in the joint sponsoring of this Conference, and that the list of the sponsors from your country will be sent to us by wire before April 10th.

(3) The nations of Asia and of the Pacific regions should at once set up preparatory committees in their

respective countries in order to proceed with the preparations for participation in the Conference and to propagandize extensively the momentous significance of a Peace Conference for Asia and the Pacific regions so as to promote a better understanding of it among the broad masses. The preparatory committee for the participation of the People's Republic of China in the Peace Conference for Asia and the Pacific regions has already been formed, with Liu Ning-i, Liao Cheng-chih and Liu Kuan-i in charge. It is requested that constant contacts be maintained with them.

(4) A Preparatory Conference should be convoked in Peking at a suitable time. It is hoped that your country will appoint delegates to this Conference, and that the list of your delegates will be sent to Liu Ning-i before April 10th.

We are eagerly waiting for you to give us your views on and response to our call and proposals at your earliest convenience.

Soong Ching-ling (Mme Sun Yat-sen), *Chairman of the Chinese People's Relief Administration.*

Kuo Mo-jo, *Chairman of the Chinese People's Committee in Defence of World Peace.*

Peng Chen, *Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Committee in Defence of World Peace.*

Chen Shu-tung, *Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Committee in Defence of World Peace.*

Li Szu-kuang, *Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences.*

Ma Yin-chu, *President of the University of Peking.*

Chang Hsi-jo, *Chairman of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs.*

Liu Ning-i, *Vice-Chairman of the All-China Federation of Labour.*

Tsai Chang, *President of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation.*

Mao Tun, *Vice-Chairman of the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles.*

Liao Cheng-chih, *Chairman of the All-China Federation of Democratic Youth.*

PREPARATORY MEETING

(text of the Bulletin published by the meeting at the end of the proceedings)

BULLETIN OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING FOR A PEACE CONFERENCE OF THE ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGIONS

June 8th, 1952 Peking

The Preparatory Meeting for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions which began its session on June 3rd in Peking, was successfully concluded on June 6th.

Eleven Chinese, well-known for their devotion to the Peace Movement, representing the will of the Chinese people and accepting the proposal of the Indian and other Peace-loving people, sponsored this Conference. Participating in this Meeting were 47 delegates from twenty different countries, namely: China, India, Pakistan, the Soviet Union, Japan, Korea. the United States, Australia, Mexico, Viet Nam, Indonesia, Canada, Burma, Ceylon, Mongolia, Chile, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand and Malaya. Two Secretaries of the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace and one delegate from the Asian-Australasian Liaison Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions also took part in the Conference. While the Conference was in session, delegates from five countries—Colombia, Guatemala, Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa-Rica—were on their way to Peking. Countries who have agreed to the convocation of this Meeting but were unable to send delegates on account of various difficulties are Peru, Ecuador, Laos and Nepal. Two people from Australia, two from Burma, five from China, one from India and one from Indonesia attended as observers. In this Meeting delegates of all the countries reported on the urgent desire of their people for Peace and the situation of the Peace Movement in their respective countries and expressed their opinions concerning the convocation of the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions for extending and strengthening the Peace Movement. The chief task of this Meeting was to discuss and adopt the declaration of the Preparatory Meeting and the proposals for the preparation of a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions.

For the drafting of these two documents, a drafting committee for the declaration and an organisational committee were formed by the Meeting. These two committees, having exerted great efforts, successfully completed their task.

After extensive and searching discussions, the declaration of the Meeting and the proposals for the preparation of a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions were unanimously adopted without a single abstention.

Beside Mr. Kuo Mo-jo who signed the declaration in the capacity of a sponsor of the Meeting the other signatories are the following delegates from the various countries:

CHINA: Chen Shu-tung, Liu Ning-i, Li Teh-chuan, Nan Han-chen, Wu Yao-tsung.

INDIA: D. D. Kosambi, Indulal Kanaiyalal Yagnik, Sardar Gur Bakhsh Singh.

PAKISTAN: Ghulam Mohammed Khan, M. A. Shakoor.

THE SOVIET UNION: Vadim Kojevnikov, Hodjaev, Ivan Glushenkov.

JAPAN: Tomi Kora, Kei Hoashi, Kisuke Miyagoshi.

KOREA: Bak Cheng Ai, Jon Dong Hiok.

USA: John Adams Kingsbury.

AUSTRALIA: John Wear Burton, G. R. Van Eerde, Stephen L. Macindoe, Ada Bromham, A. T. Gietzelt.

MEXICO: Eli de Gortari de Gortari, Rafael Mendez Aguirre.

VIET NAM: Duong Bach Lien, Le Chan Phuong.

INDONESIA: Suwarti, Suroso, Surjonegoro.

CANADA: Mary Irick Jennison.

BURMA: U Hla, U Myo Myint, Thakin Lu Aye, U Thien Pe Myint, U Hkun Hti, U Aye Kyi.

CEYLON: Udekendauala Saranankara.

MONGOLIA: Bazar Shrindib.

CHILE: José Venturelli.

NEW ZEALAND: Rewi Alley, H. Courtney Archer.

The PHILIPPINES: Manuel Cruz.

THAILAND: Nai S. Tularak, Nai Prasert Supsoonthorn.

MALAYA: Chan Suat Hong.

Secretaries of the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace: P. V. Gulyayev, Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.

Delegate of the Asian-Australasian Liaison Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions: E. Thornton.

S. S. Yusuf also signed with the authorisation of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

According to the resolution of this Meeting, the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions will be held in Peking during the last week of September 1952. In order to help the preparatory work for the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, the Meeting decided to appoint a secretary general who should be a Chinese and secretaries of whom two should be designated by India and Japan. When necessary, the secretary general is entitled to invite the delegates appointed by other countries concerned to act as his assistants. Liu Ning-i has already been designated by China to be the secretary general to immediately proceed with the various aspects of the preparatory work.

DECLARATION OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING FOR A PEACE CONFERENCE OF THE ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGIONS

June 6th, 1952—Peking

We, the 47 delegates from 20 countries of Asia, Australasia, South America and North America, meeting in Peking from June 3rd to 6th, 1952, in the Preparatory Meeting for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, hereby issue an urgent call to the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions: we call on the peoples of the various countries in these areas to unite, strengthen and extend the movement for safeguarding Peace.

We come from different countries and speak different languages. Although we are of different political views and religious beliefs, nevertheless we represent the common will to strive for Peace of the people of the countries in the Asian and Pacific regions. We understand profoundly that the people demand Peace and abhor war. They are against aggression and will never commit acts of aggression against others. They ask for commercial intercourse and oppose embargoes and blockades. They desire mutual understanding and friendly relations and do not want to be obstructed and barred from meeting each other. They need a prosperous life and abhor atom bombs, germ-bombs and chemical weapons.

Today, however, the ardent aspirations of the 1,600 million people in the Asian and Pacific regions are menaced by the spectre of war and military preparations.

In Korea, the cease-fire on a just and reasonable basis so long and urgently demanded by all Peace-loving peoples in order to end the terrible suffering of the Korean people and to open the road to a peaceful settlement of problems in the Far East, is being delayed while the use of ever more horrible weapons of indiscriminate slaughter threatens to spread the hostilities. Elsewhere, too, as in Viet Nam and Malaya, existing military conflicts in Asia are taking heavy toll of the lives and treasure of the people and jeopardize the Peace of other lands.

In Japan, the imposition of the separate treaty and military pact in violation of existing International Agreements and of the will of the Japanese people for full independence and a peaceful life secured by a genuine Peace Treaty, is bringing new hardships to the Japanese people and threatens the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions with the resurgence of

the aggressive Japanese militarism which wrought such great devastation on these peoples in World War II, while the presence of foreign troops on Japanese soil threatens to involve the Japanese people in new wars.

Throughout the Asian and Pacific regions, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of nations are being jeopardized by aggressive pacts which burden the people with armaments and the stationing of foreign troops on their soil. These pacts deprive the people of material resources needed for their own welfare and economic development. Wide-spread military preparations and the existing military conflicts as in Viet Nam and Malaya are bringing ever greater oppression of the movements for national liberation and for the defence of national independence. These movements, by seeking to end national oppression and national enslavement, make a great contribution to creating the basis for the peaceful co-existence of nations. In the name of military strategy, barriers are increasingly being raised to prevent the free economic and cultural exchange between nations which is so necessary for the prosperity and mutual understanding of peoples.

We believe that by acting together for Peace, the peoples of the Asian and Pacific countries can change this situation. They can bring to an end all present and potential conflicts in Asia and can push back the menace of war. By turning their common will for Peace into a united force for the defence of Peace, they can win the conditions of Peace which will assure full national independence and will bring to an end the disastrous consequences of military preparations which they now suffer. They can assure the peaceful co-existence of nations with differing political and economic systems, based on equality between nations and on the right of peoples to settle their own affairs without outside interference. They can win the application of the principles and spirit of the United Nations Charter which demands the peaceful settlement of differences between nations and the reaching of agreement between the Great Powers. They can put an end to the wasteful armaments race through international disarmament and through the banning of atomic, bacteriological, chemical and all other weapons of mass destruction. They can tear down the barriers to world trade and to free cultural exchange between all peoples.

Peace cannot be awaited. It has to be won by the Peace-loving peoples in unity.

Joined with the Peace-loving peoples in all other regions of the earth who share the same aspirations, the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions can win the victory of Peace over war.

To help achieve this great goal, we call on all Peace-loving individuals and social organisations in the various countries in the Asian and Pacific regions, irrespective of political views, religious beliefs, nationalities or professions, to unite on an ever wider basis under the guidance of the preparatory committees which have already been formed or are going to be formed in their respective countries, to hold discussions on the aforementioned problems and to elect their representatives to the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions which will be held in Peking within a short time, in order to work out an effective programme for consolidating Peace and security in these regions.

We further call upon all Peace-loving peoples and organisations in other parts of the world to give us their enthusiastic support and valuable opinions.

The peoples of the various countries in the Asian and Pacific regions have already demonstrated the great strength of their unity in enthusiastically responding to the call to sponsor and prepare for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions. They are already conscious of their strength which is still growing and expanding. They are therefore fully confident of the victory of the movement to safeguard Peace.

If Peace can be ensured in the Asian and Pacific regions, it will contribute immensely to world Peace.

Let us unite still more closely and on an ever broader basis! Let us act determinedly in unison and still more firmly shoulder the lofty task of safeguarding the Peace!

Human reason and international justice will undoubtedly triumph over the brute force of aggression and war!

This declaration was adopted unanimously and signed by all the delegates attending the meeting.

This declaration was also signed by eleven delegates who, having been delayed, arrived in Peking after the end of the Meeting. They were:

COLOMBIA: Jorge Bayona, deputy, Secretary General of the National Peace Committee of Colombia.

COSTA RICA: Eduardo Mora Valverde, economist.

GUATEMALA: Mario Silva, professor, leader of the Peace Movement, Otto Raul Gonzales, poet, Jose Manuel Sanchez, trade union leader and railway mechanic, Sra. Atala Valenzuela, teacher.

MEXICO: Paula Gomez Alonzo, professor, Jose Rogelio Alvarez, professor and journalist, Edelmiro Maldonado, Secretary of the Mexican National Council of the Defenders of Peace.

NICARAGUA: Edelberto Torres, Secretary general of the Committee in Defence of National Sovereignty of Nicaragua.

SALVADOR: Antonio Diaz, physicist.

PROPOSALS FOR THE PREPARATION OF A PEACE CONFERENCE OF THE ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGIONS

(approved by the Preparatory Meeting)

(1) Place for the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions: Peking, China.

(2) Conference Date: The last week in September, 1952.

(3) Number of Delegates: The total number of delegates shall not exceed 500. The number of delegates from each country shall be decided upon through consultation between the Preparatory Committee and the country concerned.

(4) Finances: The total expenditures shall be shared by all the countries.

(5) The delegations of all the countries shall appoint one committee member each to form the Preparatory Committee for the Conference. The Preparatory Committee shall have its office in Peking. The committee members shall not be required to remain in Peking all the time, in order that they may hasten forward the preparatory work in their respective countries. Persons to be appointed as committee members shall not be limited to the delegates attending this Preparatory Conference.

A Secretariat shall be set up under the Preparatory Committee, to take care of the preparatory work. Persons to be the Secretary-General and Secretaries of the Secretariat shall be decided upon by the Presidium of the Preparatory Conference.

(6) Topics for Discussion in the Conference:

1. To safeguard the independence, freedom and Peace of the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions; to oppose the expansion of armaments and war preparations; to prohibit war clamouring and propaganda inciting racial hatred; to abolish any suppression of Peace propaganda; to demand freedom for the Peace Movement; to prohibit the use of atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons; to oppose the bombing and massacre of non-combatants and civilians; to emphasize the observance of international law.
2. To develop equal, mutually beneficial and normal international economic relations and cultural exchange; to oppose blockade and embargo; to improve the people's livelihood; to promote the welfare of women and children.
3. To oppose the re-militarization of Japan and to oppose the use of Japan as a base for aggression, in order to eliminate the serious threat to Peace in the Asian and Pacific regions.
4. To settle peacefully the Korean question on a fair and reasonable basis and to solve reasonably all the questions relating to Peace in the Asian and Pacific regions including Viet-Nam, Laos, Combadia, Malaya and other places.

LIST OF DELEGATES AT THE PREPARATORY MEETING

AUSTRALIA:

Dr. John Wear Burton, farmer; former deputy head Department of Foreign Affairs. Leader of the delegation.

Rev. G. R. Van Eerde, Methodist Minister and secretary of the "Peace in the Pacific" committee.

Dr. S. L. MacIndoe, Principal research agronomist of the agriculture section of the Government of New South Wales and a representative of the Australia-China Society.

Mrs. Ada Bromham, Secretary of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and member of the "Peace in the Pacific" committee.

A. T. Gietzelt, manufacturer, executive officer of the "Peace in the Pacific" committee.

BURMA:

U Hla, writer and publisher, special Council member for Upper Burma, All Burma Council, World Peace Congress. Leader of the delegation.

U Myo Myint, assistant general secretary, All Burma Council, World Peace Congress; assistant general secretary, Burma Trade Union Congress.

Thakin Lu Aye, Vice-President of the Burma Trade Union Congress.

U Thein Pe Myint, writer, film and stage director, Vice-President, Burma-China Friendship Association.

U Khun Hti, representative of the Shan minority.

U Aye Kyi, industrialist, Vice-President, Burma-U.S.S.R. industrial Association.

CANADA:

Mary Irick Jennison, Executive secretary of the Canadian Peace Congress.

CEYLON:

Rev. Udekendauala Saranankara, Buddhist monk, managing editor of "Navalokaya" (New World).

CHILE:

Jose Venturelli, painter, member of the Chilean Peace Committee.

CHINA:

Chen Shu-tung, Vice-President of the Chinese Committee for the Defence of World Peace.

Liu Ning-i, Vice-President of the Chinese Trade Unions.

Lih Teh-chuan.

Nan Han-chen.

Wu Yao-tsung.

INDIA:

D. D. Kosambi, Vice-President of the All-India Peace Council, mathematician and archeologist, leader of the delegation.

Indulal Yagnik, executive member of the All-India Peace Council, Peasant leader, cultural worker.

Sardar Gur Bakhsh Singh.

INDONESIA:

Mme Suwarti, Member of Parliament, President of the Indonesian Women's Movement, Deputy leader of the delegation.
Suroso.
Surjonegoro, Businessman.

JAPAN:

Mme Tomi Kora, member of the Upper House.
Kei Hoashi, economist, former member of the Upper House.
Kisuke Miyagoshi, member of the Lower House.

KOREA:

Mme Bak Cheng Ai, Vice-President of the Korean National Peace Committee, President of the Korean Democratic Women's League. Leader of the delegation.
Jon Dong Hiok, member of the Korean National Peace Committee.

MALAYA:

Chan Suat Hong.

MEXICO:

Eli De Gortari De Gortari.
Rafael Mendez Aguirre.

MONGOLIA:

Bazar Shirindib, President of the Mongolian Committee for the Defence of Peace, historian, President of Choibalsan University.

NEW ZEALAND:

Rewi Alley, teacher.
H. Courtney Archer, teacher.

PAKISTAN:

Ghulam Mohammed Khan, Vice-President of the Pakistan Peace Committee.
M. A. Shakoor, Vice-President of the Karachi Peace Committee, Vice-President of the Pakistan-China Friendship Society.

PHILIPPINES:

Manuel Cruz.

THAILAND:

Nai S. Tularak.
Nai Prasert Supsoonthorn.

U.S.S.R.:

Vadim Kojevnikov, writer, member of the secretariat of the Soviet Writers' Union. Leader of the delegation.
G. Hodjaev, President of the Trade Union Council of the Uzbeck Republic.
Ivan Glushenkov, Professor of Biology.

U.S.A.:

John Adams Kingsbury, Advisor to the Roosevelt Administration on Public Wellfare Projects.

VIET NAM:

Duong Bach Lien, Member of the Central Executive Committee of the Viet Nam General Confederation of Workers. Leader of the delegation.
Mme Le Chan Phuong, Council member of the Viet Nam Women's Union.

DECLARATIONS OF DELEGATES CONCERNING THE PREPARATORY MEETING MADE AT A PRESS CONFERENCE

At a Press Conference which was held on June 8th in Peking, delegates to the Preparatory Meeting replied to questions put to them by Press correspondents. Here are the statements which the delegates made:

Mme Li Teh-chuan (China):

"The meeting in Peking of delegates from 20 countries, representing wide sections of the people, is of great significance for the Peace Movement of Asia and the Pacific regions. After four days of friendly discussion and cordial exchange of opinions, the different views found a common basis of agreement in the meeting; and a declaration and a proposal for a Peace Conference for Asia and the Pacific Regions were adopted unanimously and without a single abstension. This is a great achievement."

Dr. D. D. Kosambi (India) stressed that the success of the meeting was a sign of the great solidarity of the people of the Asian and Pacific countries. He spoke of the present economic difficulties of India and pointed out that the only solution for his country was the elimination of tension in the present world situation and the recovery of free trade.

U Hla (Burma):

"The Korean war is closely linked with World Peace; and delegates on their return should make people understand this question, and inform their people about the evidence of U.S. germ warfare which they saw in China."

Vadim Kojevnikov (U.S.S.R.) said that the spirit which prevailed at the meeting was one of free expression and exchange of different views. After discussion and exchange of opinions, all the different thoughts and ideas were ultimately unified in the central, substantial problem. This cordial unity was a guiding principle of the work of the Preparatory meeting and is also a guarantee for the success of the work to come.

Mme Tomi Kora (Japan) said that what inspired the Japanese delegates so deeply was the fact that the people of so many different countries were so very interested in the movement against the remilitarisation of Japan. Every delegate at the meeting, she said, felt the menace of a remilitarised Japan. She also mentioned that the opinions of the Japanese delegates were fully respected throughout the meeting.

Chulam Mohammed Khan (Pakistan):

"The two world wars, the war in Korea and Viet Nam and the Anglo-U.S. intervention in Egypt and Iran have convinced the people that without Peace they can have nothing."

Rev. Van Eerde (Australia) pointed out that the Australian delegates have gained from the Conference the knowledge of what is really going on in the Asian and Pacific regions and have broadened their understanding of the Peace Movement.

Opening report

presented by

PROFESSOR JOLIOT-CURIE

President of the World Council of Peace

at its Extraordinary Session

in Berlin, July 1st 1952

32-18-57

REPORT MADE BY

PROFESSOR JOLIOT-CURIE

PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE
AT THE COUNCIL'S EXTRAORDINARY SESSION
IN BERLIN ON JULY 1st, 1952.

First of all I wish to thank the distinguished visitors who have accepted invitations to be present at this Session of the Council, and I bid them welcome.

Their presence here is a great stimulus to us, and I am sure that the knowledge and experience they bring will be of great value to us and will contribute to the success of our efforts.

I give my greetings to all the members of the Council present at this Session.

The German Peace Committee and the Secretariat of the World Council have made a magnificent effort in organising our meeting here under excellent conditions. I am sure I am only speaking in your name when I thank them for their energy and their devotion.

I should also like to put on record how much we have appreciated the kindly speech of Professor Dietrich, and how deeply we have been touched by the welcome given us by our German friends.

If we meet in Berlin, it is not only, as it were, in memory of our first session when we launched the Five Power Peace Appeal. It is because primarily we wanted to face the difficult problems of the hour in a capital which has acquired considerable importance through recent diplomatic and military decisions, and through the successive visits of those responsible for Western policy.

The grave events of the last few months led the Bureau of the World Peace Council, which met in Oslo on April 1st, to call an Extraordinary Session here in order to discuss peaceful solutions to the problems which to-day divide humanity, and to find the best ways of putting them into operation.

The recent decisions taken on Germany and Japan, the obstacles preventing the conclusion of a truce in Korea, the use of bacterio-

logical warfare, all show clearly the turn for the worse in the international situation, and give this session an importance of which we are deeply aware.

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In this introductory speech I would like to give a swift survey of the general situation, and consider the conditions which our campaign must follow. In the course of this Council Meeting our General Secretary will speak on the activity of the Peace Movement and the ways of extending it.

The Bureau proposes that in the course of the agenda, general or specialised reports would then be given, providing the basis for discussion. We shall have to examine again, in the light of acquired experience, solutions which were dealt with in earlier conferences; and new proposals will certainly be formulated.

It is not enough in an Extraordinary Session like this to formulate resolutions, however excellent; we must at the same time discover the best ways of putting them into operation. Only on that condition can our resolutions be considered as solutions.

We know indeed that the best of ourselves will go into the task of finding effective solutions, but we know perfectly well that we cannot find all the answers alone. It is vital that we associate in this task all the thousands of men and women who gave us the mandate for our last Congress, all those who have since joined our Movement, all those who, however, removed from us they still may be, earnestly desire Peace.

The best way of reaching this end is by way of preparations for a great World Congress. The conclusions we reach at this Council Meeting should become the basis of world-wide consultations. That is why, at the very beginning of this report, I am formally proposing to you, in the name of the Bureau, the calling of such a Congress for the end of the year.

I should like to clarify this proposal a little more. We should never forget in the work we are here undertaking that this is the way to arouse throughout the world yet once again that ferment of explanation, of discussion, of analysis of all these problems, which forces on all those people concerned in the maintenance of Peace the inescapable fact that Peace is their own personal business and that there is an opportunity for them to take effective action to prevent war.

The result of our work, our resolutions and our conclusions, will certainly have their repercussions, from the moment they begin to spread. But even beyond their immediate effects I want to emphasise that they form the basic themes of the vast discussions and argument which will take place in all countries and in all circles.

This is the way the World Council campaign takes form and practical substance. In this connection, would you allow me to remind you of what I said on the 23rd of December of last year, in opening the National Conference of the French Peace Movement,

> *"Be well persuaded that all the members of the World Council are profoundly aware that even the mere possibility of success in their actions or their influence depends on the labour of men and women like you, in every land."*
>
> *"Without the continuous work of explanation and comparison, without the benefit of millions of individual experiences organised in the national movements, without your strength, the World Council would rapidly be reduced to a simple gathering of powerless individuals..."*
>
> *"The influence for Peace that the World Council must have on public authorities, on international organisations, whether or not dependent on Governments, will gain in force as your actions gain in strength and energy."*
>
> *"The World Council will enjoy a wider hearing as and when you gain a larger hearing in your own countries. If we reaffirm that the maintenance of Peace is a matter directly concerning every citizen, we mean once again that it is your action, united with the actions of each and all of the peace-loving people in every other country of the world, that is in fact the final determining factor."*

In the preparation of the Congress all those who already realise the dangers of war, and all those who want Peace, must study the solution which we offer, and discover others. In acquiring a just appreciation of the importance of the problems and of the action to be taken, they will at the same time acquire the power of persuasion which spreads the active will for Peace. This is how millions of men and women not yet associated with our movement will fight to save Peace and without whose help Peace cannot be saved.

It is by bringing the vast majority of citizens of all countries to adopt as their own the just and peaceful solutions proposed that they can effectively be put into practice. In fact, once a really

conscious and active public opinion has been created, it will become impossible to make a pretence of ignoring these solutions, and to drag the peoples of the world into a recourse to violence, that is, to war.

It is enough for the World Council to interpret the feelings of Peace-loving citizens. It must strengthen them in giving them concrete support. It must so act that these feelings and aspirations are translated into positive demands founded on the dictates of reason.

The power of public opinion, stimulated by the Peace Movement, has already been demonstrated, thanks to the Stockholm Appeal, which prevented the use of the atom bomb in Korea.

A great many statements and declarations have already stressed the part public opinion plays. For instance, here are a few lines from an article published in February 1951 in the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists by J. R. Oppenheimer, the American atom bomb expert.

> *"I am sure I am right when I say that public opinion is a factor of the highest importance in the employment of atomic weapons. I have been assured of this by many military experts."*[1]

On a different level, I may remind you that at Vienna we stressed disarmament problems which had already been dealt with in the Address to the United Nations adopted at Warsaw. During the last General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris, public opinion expressed itself in a number of ways, and the President of the General Assembly, Señor Padilla Nervo, emphasised to the delegation of the World Council that it was essential for public opinion to express itself energetically in order to guide the work of the Assembly into channels fruitful for Peace.

During that session of the General Assembly we were able to hand the text of our Vienna Resolutions to all the representatives of the United Nations. A large number of our delegations were received by representatives of the leading Powers, and it is no exaggeration to say that this pressure played a considerable part in the formation of the Disarmament Commission, charged with two main tasks, to eliminate the threat of weapons of mass destruction, and to reach an agreement on the general reduction and control of armaments.

[1] All quotations from English-language sources throughout this pamphlet have been re-translated from French.

On June, 15th, the Disarmament Commission presented a most disappointing report to the Security Council. If that could happen, it was because public opinion was not sufficiently alert and active, and this in turn should indicate to us the way we have to go.

We have seen the effort that has been made in recent months to spread the idea that the only possible solution left was violence, and that the only outstanding issue left was how to create an armed force capable of either dictating its wishes or imposing them by war. No concessions, no appeasement! Only there is another idea which has been presented and which has been gaining ground slowly and surely in the minds of millions of men; the idea of negotiation as against the idea of resort to force.

The Five Power Pact Appeal, launched in this very city, has been accompanied by discussion and argument around the signature campaign which has given all those involved the opportunity of understanding the meaning and appreciating all the implications. They have demonstrated that resort to force is in no sense inevitable, and that all problems and differences can be resolved by negotiation.

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We are convinced that in this way we have helped greatly in the creation of a spirit favourable to the idea of negotiation, and there are more and more signs that this is so in circles still far removed from the Peace Movement. To mention only one example among many: the resolution passed by the National Synod of the French Reformed Church, which met in Paris in June 1952:

> *"The Synod, greatly concerned by the tension which is exacerbating mutual suspicions both within each country and among the nations themselves, and which is daily increasing the risk of war, has decided unremittingly to exercise all its authority in the service of Peace. They are convinced that it is always possible for Governments to reach agreement through justice, honesty and in full respect for pledges given. We adopt as our own the resolution of the recent General Assembly of the Methodist Church of the United States, insisting that all Governments should continue to negotiate, and should leave the door open to any proposal, no matter whence it comes, which contains a possibility of Peace."*

Our Movement rejoices at the evidence of such actions which can only give still stronger support to the struggle for Peace.

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I should now like to pass briefly in review some of the problems which will be treated more thoroughly in later reports. Two dangerous stages in the preparation for war are the signing of the Treaties with Japan and Western Germany.

The Peace Treaty with Japan, signed at San Francisco, to which neither the Soviet Union nor China were party, has a definitely aggressive character aimed against these two countries.

The reconstruction of the Japanese armed forces, under U.S. orders, the presence of U.S. troops, the setting up of naval and air bases, have made Japan a factor of aggression.

In a speech delivered at Paris on May 5th, 1952, before the Institute of Political Sciences, Mr. John Foster Dulles attempted to justify this Treaty—for which he was primarily responsible—by declaring that Japan was highly industrialised, and it was necessary for the security of the United States that it should be part of the so-called "free world". Otherwise, he declared, it might become a possible instrument of Soviet aggression, without apparently considering for a moment that the Russians and the Chinese might justifiably consider that the San Francisco Treaty might equally make Japan a possible instrument of American aggression.

Peaceful proposals had been made to settle the problem of Japan, proposals which guaranteed the security of each country while giving Japan the opportunity of existing, in assuring her of supplies of raw materials and outlets among neighbouring Asian countries. Japan, as was explained by Mr. Dulles, must not pay for the coal she receives by long sea routes three times as much as she would pay if it came from her neighbours.

In present conditions how is one to solve the economic problems which face Japan? What contradictions! In order to safeguard "their security", the United States are creating a fantastic economic situation in a country which in fact they are colonising, a situation which, as it becomes intolerable, could sooner or later make Japan once more a danger to all.

Official American declarations, however, maintain that the situation in this country is good, and that the great majority of its citizens are in support of the present policy.

No one can be deceived by such assurances; the enormous demonstrations, like those of the last First of May, as well as those which took place some days ago, are too revealing.

In his speech, Mr. Foster Dulles declared:[1]

> *"The Asiatics have not the same deeply ingrained civil and political traditions; moreover, terrified by the ghost of 'Old Colonialism', they are suspicious of the form of association and military position of the free world."*

Mr. Foster Dulles was no doubt anxious to condemn "the old Colonialism", but certainly not this "form of association" which reproduces it in fact as demonstrated by the usurpation of sovereign powers to the profit of a controlling nation; by the building of military bases; by an interference in all national affairs, by juridical privileges; by priorities in raw materials, and so on, in fact, by what one can justly call "neo-colonialism". Are not the greater part of the countries of the so-called "free world", already its victims?

The substitution, however, under the pretext of defence of this U.S. "neo-colonialism" for "the old Colonialism" of the former Imperial powers, has given rise to serious difficulties in its turn.

I gave an example at our Vienna meeting when I referred to the bloody incidents in Egypt. Since then, a new and highly significant example of the contradictions which arise between these forms of colonialism—all none the less tending to the same end—has arisen in the case of Tunisia. The independence of Tunisia, justifiably demanded by the immense majority of Tunisians, an independence which would be in itself a guarantee for Peace, is certainly a problem with which the United Nations should deal. The Tunisians, supported by many other countries, presented a demand to the United Nations to put their claims and charges on the agenda. On this occasion the United States found herself in an embarrassing position. On the one hand she claims to condemn colonial Powers as such (though she hopes to replace them), on the other hand, she depends on them for her military arrangements. Taking refuge in abstention, she prevented the Tunisian question from being put on the agenda.

This example not only demonstrates all the contradictions of interests inherent in the Atlantic arrangements. It also illustrates the serious fact that this policy deliberately falsifies the whole working of the United Nations, and is a threat to Peace. Which is

[1] U.S. Information Bulletin, No. 1563, May 6th, 1952, page 3.

exactly what Pandit Nehru showed in his speech before the Indian Parliament on June 12th:

> *"The Arab and Asiatic nations would be obliged to take the tragic decision to withdraw from the United Nations if two or three powerful nations can prevent discussions there."*
>
> *"We do not take the decision of the United Nations not to discuss the Tunisian question lightly", he continued. "If the Asiatic and African nations cannot make their voice heard, it may be that they will decide to have an organisation of their own."*

The Prime Minister recognised that the United Nations Charter is a good thing, but he added:

> *"I am becoming more and more of the opinion that it is not being respected enough and that the United Nations has shifted from its original moorings and has become gradually a protector of colonialism. Many countries are beginning to believe that the United Nations, which was founded to preserve Peace, has become an organisation to prepare war."*

But under whose influence is the United Nations shifting its moorings and being transformed into an organisation for preparing war?

The Peace Movement sees in these events additional reasons for supporting the peoples who are struggling for their independence and for continuing to demand a return to the letter and spirit of the San Francisco Charter.

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A moment ago, I pointed out the serious dangers to Peace contained in the unilateral measures adopted as far as Japan is concerned.

In Europe, we are witnessing an analogous situation and one which also presents grave dangers.

It is a revealing fact that even those who for years have been preparing the present organisation of Europe have not found it possible to admit to what were their intentions from the very first.

In the Parliament of my country, the Foreign Minister, on November 24th, 1949, exposed the dangers of the "active military participation of Germany in the system of European defence";

such participation, he said, would "lead to immediate international tension, to a danger of conflict for which France does not want to run the risk nor bear the responsibility".

It is not by hiding the facts under the deceptive cloak of the "European Defence Community" that the dangers, so solemnly proclaimed a short time ago, can be exorcised.

Under the pretext of unification and economic co-ordination, under the pretext of creating purely defensive military forces, what in fact has just been done is to proceed to the integration of a German militarism and imperialism revived as the core of a bloc constructed and animated with the aim of undertaking a new "Holy War".

We must expose the deception of this "European Community" and its dangers to Peace.

The unification of Germany by peaceful means is ruled out by the policy which is being pursued by those who wish to make the Parliaments of the signatory countries ratify the recent agreements.

In place of this unification, an attempt is being made to create all the conditions which will allow a militarist Government—which has in no way hidden its intentions— to bring about by military force the unity of Germany and to conquer Polish, Czechoslovakian and French territory. The very machinery by which the Third Reich launched the Second World War is being deliberately restored and if the peoples are not on their guard, the same catastrophe will come about.

These dangers are now being perceived by a very large number of German people and by people in all countries.

The hundreds of thousands of French and Italian people, of all walks of life who have publicly demonstrated their indignation against the coming to Europe of General Ridgway is striking proof of this.

If indignation is spreading every day to an ever increasing number of people in these countries, it is because they know that this General has come to constitute an aggressive European army in the heart of which is a supreme Wehrmacht thirsting for revenge; it is because they know that this General will do to their country what he has done to Korea.

Did not "The Times" declare, after the signing of the Bonn agreements:

"This is a dramatic reversal of alliances"?

In a remarkable article in "Le Monde",[1] M. Hubert Beuve-Méry concluded:

> *"A broad section of 'high society' in the West is to-day voting for German re-armament with the same feelings, and with the same perspective, which yesterday brought them to Munich. It was better to handle Germany even if it was Hitlerite and whatever the price that had to be paid, since sooner or later she was to enter into battle with Moscow. To resist her, to weaken her, was to strengthen Bolshevism. To-day, the illusion remains that to re-arm Germany is the only means of holding back Moscow and, as then, whoever dares to doubt this is pilloried..."*

In all the countries concerned, the fight has begun to oppose this race to war and here I would like particularly to salute the brave and encouraging efforts in this direction by a very great proportion of the German people.

The World Council of Peace has previously studied these problems and has suggested solutions.

Various offers for negotiations and practicable proposals for discussions have been made by the Soviet Government.

We believe, as the Soviet Note proposes, that Germany must not be part of any group of Powers directed against any peaceful State whatsoever.

It is clear that under the actual working conditions of the United Nations this neutralisation cannot be seriously assured by the admission of Germany to this organisation, as was suggested in the Big Three note of May 13th this year.

A proposal for another Four Power Conference is under consideration, despite the signing of the agreements in Lisbon and Bonn. We must see to it that these negotiations are undertaken. Each defender of Peace must grasp the importance of the declaration adopted by the recent international conference "For the Solution of the German Problem, against Militarism, for Peace and International Co-operation", held very recently at Odense in Denmark. After explaining "that a very serious step towards war has just been taken", this declaration maintains that possibilities exist for the peaceful solution of the German problem.

> *"The Great Powers can reach an agreement on Germany on condition that the rights which the conference summarises as follows, are recognised:*

[1] "Le Monde" June 11th, 1952.

The right to national unity;
the right to a freely elected Government;
the right to a peace treaty;
the right to sovereignty and to security."

"We are convinced that sufficient guarantees can be found to ensure the security of neighbouring countries; without wishing to state them in detail, in the absence of German delegates, we nevertheless affirm that one of the most important is to be found in the measures taken to assure the free expression and the free development of all the Peace forces in Germany."

"In a similar way to all the delegates of the many nations participating in this conference, we must pledge ourselves 'to mobilise public opinion for a supreme effort to avoid the irreparable and to make the removal of this fearful threat the beginning of a lasting Peace'."

It is just a little more than two years since the war in Korea started. The constant concern of the Peace Movement has been to work for an end to the fighting, so that these unhappy people can rebuild their ruins and so that war does not spread over the rest of the world.

On this second anniversary it is impossible without shuddering to count the cost of this war—of which you will hear further terrible details later on.

The armed forces of the United States to which a few foreign contingents have been added, have been called up and public opinion in many countries has been mobilised for the so-called liberation of the Koreans.

In the process of liberation, all the towns have been razed to the ground, hundreds and thousands of men, women and children have been killed by bombs or burned alive by napalm; the discoveries of biology have been used not to heal the sick but to spread epidemics and all this to set up and maintain a dictator whom even his allies cannot help but criticise for his attitude and to stigmatize for the systematic corruption which he has introduced.

For a year now, the armistice hoped for by all the families of Korea, of China and the United States, has not been settled. The history of these perpetually held-up armistice negotiations will be laid before you. The intention not to reach a conclusion is flagrant. Why this obstinate deception of the universal desire for Peace?

In Mr. Warren Austin's own country, groups of scientific workers with at their head Professor Theodor Rosebury (who was until the end of the Second World War the director of the special laboratories of bacterial warfare) have solemnly asked the Government of the United States in an open letter addressed to Mr. Truman, to ratify the Geneva Protocol of June 17th, 1925. The same demand expresses itself equally in many other countries and in very different social groups.

The resolution made in Oslo on the proposal of the Chinese Committee for the Defence of Peace, provided for the setting up of an international Commission to go to Korea and China. A Commission of Lawyers, who were on the spot before this appeal, has already ascertained the facts and it has just published its report.

Furthermore, in answer to the Oslo Appeal, a commission composed of scientists from different countries is at present in China. Other experts will join them in the near future. We are all fully aware of the importance that will be attached to the work of this Commission.

In the course of contacting competent scientists, it appears that it will be necessary to consider the constitution of a Permanent Commission of experts: this Commission should be in a position to send teams without delay to the places where notice has been given that new attacks by bacterial weapons have been made.

I would at once like to make the following observation: while redoubling our efforts to bring bacterial warfare to an end, to prevent it from being used again, and to have the guilty brought to justice, we must not lose sight of the great danger which the piling up of atomic weapons constitutes for humanity. The horror which was aroused by the utilisation for lethal purposes of biological discoveries must not lead us into the serious fault of letting it be considered that atomic bombs are merely weapons of a classical kind. Atomic, just as bacterial weapons, are weapons of mass destruction and we must, more than ever, demand that they be outlawed.

This question of outlawing weapons of mass destruction leads me to return to the problem of disarmament which I raised at the beginning of my address.

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We proposed, first in Warsaw and then in Vienna, solutions which became increasingly well defined.

At the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris, a first important step was achieved—the problem of classical weapons and weapons of mass destruction were closely linked and confined to examination by a single Commission.

This Commission, which has just submitted a rather disappointing report, tackled, without being able to solve, the essential difficulty of defining the order in which the various operations and covenants would have to be carried out.

The World Council upholds the view that by the signing of a preliminary Convention, the nations will have to undertake, on the one hand, to outlaw weapons of mass destruction and to control the operation of this outlawing and, on the other hand, to reduce armament. Once these undertakings are signed, it will be obligatory to proceed to a census, and to the setting up of the control organisation. It is clear that the reverse procedure—general census before undertaking to prohibit and reduce—present great dangers, since it would be to the great advantage of a possible aggressor to know by means of the preliminary census the means of defence of the country which he would attack.

It is necessary to recognise that the importance of the order of the successions of operations has not yet been fully understood by many people. It will be indispensable, in our work to be quite precise on this point so as to remove all confusion.

I have had occasion to make a few remarks on disarmament, and particularly on the control of atomic energy, in an article which was published in March 1952 in an issue of the review "Défense de la Paix". I would simply like to recall that the United States is continuing to block practical proposals of control which have been put forward, with the Baruch plan or a similar one.

I would remind you that this provides for the ownership by an international body based on a majority vote, of uranium and thorium mines, raw materials and nuclear industrial installations. This means giving to the United States, by the mechanism of the automatic majority, an actual monopoly over all the atomic activities of the world, and over all the deposits of uranium ore.

The World Council of Peace must recognise, as the many specialists of atomic energy do, that the condition of control proposed by the delegates of the Soviet Union are effective. It is necessary to point out that the proposals imply the relinquishing of important sovereign rights, but this is acceptable since it will be agreed to for the benefit of all in the interests of Peace.

The Baruch plan also implies the surrendering of sovereign rights but to the benefit, in fact, of a single nation only, which is unjust and certainly not in the interests of Peace.

It is necessary to enlighten those who have allowed themselves to be misled and to show them how, once more, the leaders of the United States are disguising the most selfish operations under the guise of generosity.

They base this demand on the wide-spread feeling that the exaggerated concern of sovereign rights of nations has been the cause of many wars and that it is necessary to foresee its abandonment. But as I said at Pleyel three years ago, the normal evolution of the world is certainly towards the disappearance of sovereign rights, and all the more so since the appliances of science tend more and more to link together the interests of all nations. The surrender of sovereign rights can be consented to when it would be to the benefit of all the nations in the world, the well-being of all and for Peace.

But this cannot be agreed to in an unreasonable manner and to the sole profit of a dominating nation. This would then be to play the game of imperialism which would end in those who abandoned their sovereign rights being colonised. Many who before did not believe in these simple reasons are now feeling the harmful effects of this policy which they had hitherto supported, and are beginning to express their disapproval.

The fact that some of these people participated in the Moscow Economic Conference, and the significance of this Conference in such circles, is proof of an awakening, and of the existence of an increasing drift of opinion which is opposed to the policy of conquest of American businessmen.

But uranium is not the only raw material which is preoccupying the attention of the leaders of the United States. And it is important to know all these preoccupations in order the better to understand one of the motives—and not the least important—of the foreign policy of the United States.

The report of the Presidential Commission of the United States[1] on the probable evolution of raw materials from 1950 to 1975, contains a mass of information.

At the present rate of increase of U.S. production which is doubling every twenty-five years, and in a world remaining divided into

[1] U.S. Information Bulletin No. 1592, June 19th, 1952.

blocs, without economic relations, the United States could only with great difficulty procure for herself the necessary raw materials without almost totally depriving all her allies of them.

For instance, for oil, rubber, iron ore, zinc and manganese ore, she has so far absorbed half of the world production while only possessing less than 10% of the population of the industrial nations.

In so far as uranium is concerned, in which she has very few ores, her needs amount to nearly the total production of her Allies (coming mainly from the Belgian Congo), which she uses and stockpiles on her own territory.

How can one avoid seeing in this fear of a famine of raw materials one of the most profound reasons for her "Holy War" policy?

It must be emphasised, however, that this dilemna is an artificial one: either to slow down economic progress, or make war.

It may be very praiseworthy to try and double production every twenty-five years, but not at the cost of producing want in the other countries of the world, not at the cost of war.

The truth is that by relieving humanity of the crushing burden of armaments, by turning the discoveries of science to peaceful uses, by accepting the peaceful co-existence of different systems, it would be easy to double the production of useful wealth every twenty-five years, not only for the United States, but for all the nations of the world.

In this preliminary survey of the events which have exacerbated international tension, and which emphasise the danger of a world war, I have tried to throw into relief some of the tasks which it seems to me are of essential importance for the Peace Movement.

It is undeniable that our campaign to prevent war has already had great success. None the less, faced with the danger which becomes more definite every day, we must intensify the struggle in making the successive objectives to be attained quite simple and quite clear to everyone.

Our Movement is open to all Peace-loving people, and it must be firmly understood by everyone that our sole aim is to prevent the terrible world war that certain people are preparing, and to contribute towards the establishment of a just and durable Peace.

Influenced in various ways, above all by lying propaganda, many honest people still have doubts about the sincerity of our campaign and will not join us. But many of them are not so blind that they

cannot see, in the light of events, the real causes of the danger of war. More and more, individually or in groups, they condemn the dangers of their Governments' policy, and take action in favour of Peace. We believe that in taking such action, they strengthen the Peace Camp, even if sometimes they misjudge our Movement.

It is most important that despite the contradictions which still trouble them, these people should have confidence in the value of the strength they represent for the maintenance of Peace. Such confidence is within their reach. We wish them every success in all their activities. We are well aware that these contradictions will iron themselves out if they follow through the path they have chosen, and that it will lead them to the peaceful solutions of the grave problems of today.

The aim is to establish a durable Peace, of benefit to all, whatever way of life is prefered. After all, is this not the point where all these paths converge, the various paths taken at the beginning of the struggle by all the different people who want Peace?

To succeed in our task, we must at every moment as it were, stop to analyse events and their relationships both objectively and carefully. We must understand properly the process by which a very important section of humanity in many countries, desiring only to live in Peace, has been hitherto induced to support or acquiesce in a policy which we know must lead inevitably to war.

Without making any claim to being the only defenders of Peace, we can claim that the value of our basic principles, our experience, the broad composition of our Movement, which is a living example of "peaceful co-existence", allows us to accomplish these tasks successfully, to make our contribution to the easing of the international situation, and to bring to fruition the most effective peaceful solutions. If we, that is each one of us, each defender of Peace, are so strong a factor for Peace, there is no contradiction between personal, political and other convictions, and the means which are envisaged or employed for the maintenance of Peace.

There cannot be such contradictions when men have decided their aim is, without championing any particular regime, to avoid a new and terrible war.

We have already mobilised a strength of public opinion with which the forces making for war must reckon, and the success we have achieved explains their fury and the campaign of lies they have unleashed against our Movement. But those who are preparing for war are trying to create psychological conditions favour-

able to their policy. They know perfectly well that if the great body of public opinion made a stand against them, they could no longer continue this policy with impunity.

Which is why at every step they try to disguise the worst and most sordid of their acts by invoking the ideals dear to every normal civilised man. It is in the name of liberty, social progress, human values, security and Peace that they are trying to induce the so-called "Free World" to accept the military and economic domination of one nation, to the profit of that one nation alone, and, in the end, to accept a war of extermination against those who do not agree with them. They attempt to place the responsibility for all the present difficulties on the shoulders of those whom they call potential aggressors, painting a terrifying picture of their way of life. Their apparent plans for Peace are no other than plans for war, meant to impose in the name of I-don't-know-what divine mission a way of life which in their eyes is the only one worthy of being lived.

What they are trying to create is a "Holy War" spirit; a spirit which has as its final end the extermination, in the name of liberty, of those who prefer another way of life than theirs. How else are we to interpret this speech of President Truman to a delegation of émigré Rumanians on May the 5th?[1]

> *"Your country will yet survive as a free country. You shall have our complete collaboration in helping you to survive. And if I am able to continue the programme which I have launched, you shall see your country free again in your lifetime."*

A clearer admission that this programme is a war programme could not have been made.

It is often not easy for those people whose social origin and philosophy gives them a preference for a particular way of life, to resist propaganda which leads them to believe that the only way to safeguard it is to support a policy which they know well could lead to war. These people must learn that it is their right to choose their particular way of life, and there is no question of having to support a policy which would impose on them a way a life they don't want. It is the right of every people to choose the regime they prefer. That is the principle of the peaceful co-existence of different regimes which is one of the fundamental bases of our struggle for Peace and which must be opposed to the policy of a

[1] U.S. Bulletin No. 1578, May 29th, 1952.

"Holy War". The moment that principle is admitted, all differences between nations can be arranged by negotiation, which implies reciprocal concessions and which leads to the operation of peaceful solutions, to everyone's profit.

It is unnecessary to stress here the economic advantages which would accrue to all the nations from peaceful co-existence. Raw materials and markets would be accessible for all, throughout the world.

I repeat, the great success of the Moscow Economic Conference testifies to this truth.

If this principle of co-existence is not admitted and "peace" is sought only on condition that one particular ideology or regime should triumph, then negotiation must be rejected, concessions can no longer be made and one's will must be imposed by force, that is to say, by war.

This policy which consists in employing violence and presenting the peoples with *faits accomplis* is increasingly arousing the concern of all those who, for the reasons which I have just mentioned, were induced to support it.

To substantiate this, I will quote an excellent article by Professor Maurice Duverger which was printed in the conservative newspaper, "Le Monde", April 12th, 1952, and entitled "Co-existence or a Holy War?" I quote the following extracts:

> *"The first question is the military level which the West finally wishes to attain: Is it a question of equilibrium or one of superiority? Responsible persons here are discreet. Officially, one talks, above all, of equilibrium; in practice, many think in terms of a margin of superiority. The question in itself scarcely makes sense.*
>
> *"Furthermore, it will always be difficult to gauge whether the equilibrium has been achieved or surpassed. All defeated conquerors believed themselves the strongest at the beginning. The crux of the problem lies in the ultimate aim of rearmament: is it a question of maintaining Peace or destroying Bolshevism? Do we want co-existence or a Holy War?*
>
> *"Those who bluntly pose this question are generally considered as neutralists, 'cryptos', or traitors. Could it be that the West has a bad conscience?"*

An ever increasing number of honest people, faced with the slander and the flagrant contradictions between the words and the deeds of the leaders of the Holy War policy, are beginning to per-

ceive the dangers which they are running. They are discovering that the real objectives of this policy which they supported were in opposition to their deepest aspirations. This complete change of opinion in favour of a true road which leads to Peace is taking place at the present time in the minds of very considerable numbers of human beings.

It is understandable that this growing potential for Peace is not yet able to express itself strongly. When a man has supported in good faith a false "peace" policy for a number of years and begins to realise that he has been misled, he goes through a period of confusion and sees no way forward. A certain time must elapse before he can have confidence again and before he can find the way forward.

And this is an essential part of our task—to give back confidence to those—and they are very many—whose confusion leads to apathy and an acceptance of the inevitability of war.

But there are still others who do not yet realise the harm they are setting in store for themselves and for others by supporting the Holy War policy. In the forefront of these, it must unfortunately be said, are a very large number of American people.

It must be recognised that the American people, who have shown so many admirable qualities, and whose magnificent productive work can be so useful to the world, is suffering from the effects of unbridled propaganda and from a system called "internal security" which is isolating them more and more from the rest of the world.

They are made to believe that their security, the way of life which they love, are in danger, that such is the case for many peoples who are their friends, and in order to guarantee their essential mutual defence or to defend freedom, humanity, social progress, etc.... these people are being asked to make very heavy sacrifices in money and in work and even in the lives of many of their young men. Unthinkingly, trusting in the words of their statesmen and their generals, they are ready to throw themselves and the world into a terrible adventure.

How can the American people reconcile the principles they invoke of freedom, humanity and social progress with the fact that wherever, what they believe to be American aid is practised, Governments which are enemies of social progress and freedom, and are hostile to honest dealings, are put into power?

How can these principles be reconciled with the fact that Chiang-Kai-Shek has been installed in Formosa, Syngman Rhee in Korea and Bao-Dai in Indo-China?

Does this mean that mutual defence can only be assured by what are the most corrupt and reactionary forces in the world?

This flagrant contradiction is already recognised by many Americans who are courageously struggling to enlighten their fellow citizens.

There are also statements by soldiers, workers, businessmen and tourists who return to the United States after having stayed for some time in other countries under United States influence. They tell their fellow citizens that the people of these countries feel no gratitude towards them. They learn that the reason why there are so many inscriptions on the walls and on the pavements, telling the Americans to go home, is because what they believe to be American aid to these countries has resulted in the worst social reaction, impoverishment, loss of national independence and the persecution of patriots, and that this is realised by people in all walks of life in these countries.

We must help the American people out of the isolation in which they are being kept. By acquainting them with the truth as to the consequences of the policy which they are supporting, we shall rid them of their dangerous illusions and we shall make them conscious of that part of the responsibility which they bear.

We can assure them that their true friends are not to be found in those whom they believe to be such. Would not the preparation of the World Congress present a good opportunity for the millions of men and women, young and old, who are following the true road which leads to prosperity and Peace, to write to the millions of men and women in the United States and enlighten them?

All this activity, in the fore-front of which stand the American Defenders of Peace, will combine to create a healthy and powerful current in the United States.

We must bear in mind that, faced with the dangers which are focussed in a third world conflict, anxiety, weariness and inhibiting confusion have taken hold of a very large number of honest people. In this situation, where it is continually a question of poverty and war, their lives become unbearable and many end by saying "We must put an end to it". This state of mind, once it becomes general, has already in the past led to making the people accept the unleashing of war. In contrast, it is our duty, by show-

ing the solutions and the advantages of Peace, while there is still time, to transform this despair into a will to change the course of events, in favour of Peace.

We must put an end to it—by taking the road to Peace.

*

In the last part of this address, I would like to clarify some aspects of the attitude which must be stimulated throughout our Movement if we desire to get broad public opinion invincibly set against war.

If the proposal which is put forward to you to prepare for a great World Congress for Peace for the end of this year meets with your agreement, we will have to envisage during this Council meeting, the general outline of its tasks.

These tasks must be inspired by the will to change the course of events and must lead to solutions for the relaxation of international tension.

We have never, since the beginning of our Movement, since Pleyel, had to confront such a formidable situation. There have never been so many nor such great threats of war.

But I am convinced that without the weight of the World Peace Movement, the situation could be very much more serious. Have we not aready succeeded in creating cracks in the war structure?

We must intensify our activity more than ever. The thousands of meetings, discussions and conferences which will start the preparation of the great World Congress we are planning will provide us with powerful means.

We have reason to be optimistic because we perceive that on many sides the war structure is beginning to totter.

In this race between War and Peace we shall be able to awaken the universal conscience in time and it is Peace which will win.

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THE KOREAN WAR

Reports by

KUO MO-JO, Vice-President,

Yves FARGE, Bureau Member

at

The Extraordinary Session

of the

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Berlin July 3rd 1952

32-18-48

32-18-49

THE REPORT OF Mr. KUO MO-JO,

President of the Chinese Committee of Peace

and Vice-President of the World Council of Peace

on

THE IMMEDIATE ENDING OF THE WAR IN KOREA

which he presented on July 3rd

at the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace

in Berlin

Mr. President, Members of the Council and Friends,

Concerning the Korean problem, President Joliot-Curie whom I admire and respect, made some very pithy remarks in his Report. I am now making only a few supplementary statements of a general nature.

June 25th of this year marked the second anniversary of the Korean war.

Up to the present time, the two opposing armies are still on a war footing in the vicinity of the 38th Parallel where the war first started. The armistice talks which began on July 10th last year have gone on for almost one year.

During this long period the U.S. has raised all kinds of unreasonable demands and has created numerous provocative incidents. Thus the discussions on every item of the agenda were involved in difficulties and complications.

Under these circumstances, the peoples of Korea and China have taken an attitude of extreme patience and firmness in order to fulfil the desire for Peace of the people all over the world.

One problem, the only one, now remains to be settled in the armistice talks. Consequently, the talks still drag on laboriously. This problem is the repatriation of war prisoners, and the discussion of this question has been drawn out since November 11th last, that is for seven months without being solved.

In fact, this problem is not a problem at all. In accordance with historical precedents, especially as stipulated in the Geneva Convention of 1949, immediately after the fighting stops the two belligerent parties should repatriate their war prisoners. The war prisoners cannot give up their privilege of returning home to lead a peaceful life. The United States of America, however, is unwilling to observe what is laid down in the Geneva Convention and instead

wants to detain over 100,000 Korean and Chinese prisoners-of-war. Ladies and Gentlemen, this is why the Korean armistice talks are still being held up.

We can clearly see from this question the intentions of the U.S. Government.

At the conference table the U.S. representatives have done their best to stall the armistice talks. In order to retain the Korean and Chinese prisoners-of-war, they have raised such proposals as "one-to-one" exchange of prisoners-of-war, "voluntary repatriation" and giving the prisoners-of-war "political asylum" all of which are contrary to the Geneva Convention.

At the conference table at Panmunjom, the U.S. representatives have repeatedly declared that their proposal is "firm, final and irrevocable". They whistled during the discussions, pretended to be asleep, walked out of the conference room and even arbitrarily declared their one-sided three-day suspension of meetings.

In order to arrive at a speedy settlement of this question of war prisoners on a reasonable basis, we the Korean-Chinese side have made several substantial concessions in the past few months.

Here, let me cite two examples to make this clear.

On February 3rd this year, the Korean-Chinese representatives proposed that prisoners-of-war of both sides should be classified into three categories according to their nationalities and places of residence. First, foreign armed personnel, that is, United Nations Forces and the Chinese People's Volunteers, should all be repatriated. Second, Korean armed personnel, both South Korean forces and the other side should all be repatriated. Finally, those prisoners-of-war whose homes are located in the territories of their custodians may be allowed to return home without repatriation.

The U.S. representatives, however, always insisted on so-called "voluntary repatriation" and started to carry out the so-called "screening" of the war prisoners by duress and killings.

The delaying tactics employed by the U.S. representatives at the armistice talks have now been fully exposed. Furthermore, the provocations outside the conference have once again demonstrated their intentions to wreck the armistice talks.

First of all, while the talks were in progress, there was the large-scale use of germ weapons by the U.S. forces. According to two captured U.S. air force officers, John Quinn and Kenneth Enoch, the U.S. army first used germ weapons on January 1st, this year. At present the U.S. germ warfare goes on unabated.

Next, on Koje island, there was the large-scale slaughter of Korean and Chinese prisoners-of-war. In order to find support for their so-called "principle of voluntary repatriation", the U.S. side compelled Korean and Chinese prisoners-of-war to make known their "will" which is in reality not their will at all. There was the tragedy of the continuous use of various kinds of weapons by the Americans to massacre the war prisoners on a large scale. This was because the Korean and Chinese prisoners-of-war were unwilling to submit. Some of the facts relative to this tragedy were admitted by General Colson who was at that time in charge of the prisoners' camp. Because of this admission, he was discharged. Since then, the conditions in the camp have become even worse.

On top of this, the U.S. army plunged into another venture just recently. I refer to the bombing and partial destruction of power stations on the Yalu River which are jointly owned by Korea and China.

The problem arising out of the Korean situation is one of the most urgent problems with which the people of the whole world are concerned. The maddened instigators of war are anxious to touch off the powder box which will lead to a new world war.

We appeal to the people of the whole world to achieve the following objectives:

(1) The immediate stopping of the use of germ weapons and to ask the people of all countries to demand that their own Governments ratify and observe the Geneva Agreement of June 17th, 1925, on the prohibition of the use of germ weapons.

(2) The immediate stopping of the massacre of peaceful civilians and the wanton destruction of peaceful cities and of peaceful construction work.

(3) The immediate stopping of the ill-treatment and killing of war prisoners which is contrary to international law.

(4) The immediate reaching of an agreement in the armistice talks, and both parties to repatriate unconditionally their war prisoners according to the Geneva Agreement of 1949 on war prisoners.

(5) The immediate bringing about of a settlement of the Korean problem on the basis of equality and justice after the armistice has been reached.

These lines from an old poem are familiar to almost every Chinese:

"The prærie fire
Cannot destroy the roots of the grass;
Wind blows in the Spring
And a carpet of green again covers the Earth."

During the two years of the Korean war and in the midst of unprecedented calamities, once more we witness the truth of this world of greeness—people who have become masters of themselves can never be conquered.

The madmen who play with fire cannot see this reality; they obstinately believe that the flame is never strong enough. But if he who plays with fire does not stop adding fuel to the flames, he will certainly get the consequences he deserves.

Let the people of the whole world arise and put a stop to this threat of war. The people of the United States of America have a special responsibility to rescue the people of the world from this calamity which can be tragic beyond imagination.

Scientists, especially American scientists, must shoulder the moral responsibility of making science serve mankind and of preventing it from being used for weapons of destruction.

The world situation at present reminds us of the days of Bruno and Galileo.

Let us defend our science, defend humanity and defend Peace!

REPORT ON THE BACTERIOLOGICAL WAR, THE WAR IN KOREA AND THEIR INTERNATIONAL CONSEQUENCES

presented by

M. YVES FARGE,

President of the French Peace Movement,

Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace,

July 3rd, 1952

32 - 18 - 52

The following are the circumstances in which this report has been prepared.

The writer Claude Roy and I went to Peking as delegates of the French National Peace Council to take part in a commemoration of four great anniversaries held on May 4th. The development of biological warfare, the need of all of us to do what we can to establish the facts on the subject, the attacks directed against the Defenders of Peace who have raised their voices in protest against the crime—these led me to prolong my stay in China and go to Korea. From April 28th to June 16th, I had opportunity to examine facts, collect documents, and check on the statements and relevant generalisations whatever might appear extraordinary, abnormal or fantastic.

32-18-53

I thank the Chinese and Korean Peace Committees for the trust they placed in me, the facilities they gave me, and the understanding with which they received questions which might, from time to time, have seemed to cast doubt on facts honestly established.

*

The witnesses' depositions and other evidence placed at my disposal were sifted by thorough discussion. At Pyongyang, the Vice-Minister of Health, who was giving me some extremely serious information about infection of artificial origin affecting some dwellers in coastal villages, was asked by the doctors to hold over his statement because the scientific check was not complete. At the laboratory of the Mukden Faculty of Medicine, a pathogenic agent had just been isolated following the dropping of feathers by parachute; the agent concerned was the Weilchi bacillus which causes gas gangrene. But I was told that this particular case must be regarded as non-proven, because, when the feathers were collected, there had been failure to check whether there might not have been animal excrement containing the bacillus on the ground where the feathers fell.

Throughout my work, I had available the specialist ability of Dr. Chou Ping-song who was a pupil of Drs. Grivet and Lallemand at the Hospital of Saint-Antoine in Paris in 1930 and 1931, and assistant to Professor Lucan Champonnière of France at the Aurora University of Shanghai. Whenever it was a matter of talking to witnesses or scrutinising evidence recorded by earlier enquiry, the interpreter who was with me was Mr. Tseng Tzen-yo, graduate of the Law Institute of Lyons University, whom I had known when he studied at Grenoble as a pupil of Professors Dufour, Levasseur and Bartoli.

Because I have not had a scientific training and because I wanted to form my conclusions on a sound basis, I secured a number of scientists and doctors to advise me: two epidemiologists, Professor Chen Wen-kwei, one of the foremost Asian authorities on plague, former representative appointed by the League of Nations for the study of plague in India, and Dr. Etropo Ho, graduate of the University of the State of New York; one microbiologist, Dr. Wei Ksi, professor at Shanghai Medical College, former research worker at Harvard University; two entomologists, Dr. Chen, graduate of Paris University, member of Paris University, member of the Entomological Society of France, and Dr. Ho Chi, former research worker at the Institute of Tropical Medicine in Liverpool. With fifty-two of their colleagues, they signed, before I left Peking, the following declaration:

> *"We have accumulated enough scientific proof to establish that the American forces have in fact employed bacteriological warfare in Korea and in our country. Their guilt is plain."*

They gave me copies of a number of dossiers, illustrating the way this proof has been established.

*

We shall begin with a principle that everyone will admit: the needs of defence must have priority over the demands of information. Nothing that I might see, or might happen to describe afterwards, should be of such a character as to aid the plans of the American General Staff responsible for the attacks. I had only to listen to the two parachutist spies, Wang Ki and Ok Byong Fuk to learn what had to be kept quiet, for the instructions that had been given them were clear; to report the extent of the epidemics; to estimate the number of deaths; to collect information on the anti-epidemic measures adopted by the Chinese and Korean authorities.

Next, it should be appreciated that the sceptical attitude toward the established facts, which we have encountered on this side of the world, was shared also by the Chinese scientists and doctors, who at first could not credit the fantastic circumstances, who, like ourselves, were sometimes led astray by hastily issued communiques, and who also, for the first few days, were taken in by a pattern deliberately designed by the enemy to confuse and mystify.

Today there are in being powerful anti-epidemic methods, an efficient mobilisation for inoculation, a veritable scientific general staff, isolating bacilli in the laboratories at the same time as it deduces the strategy and tactics of the bacteriological attack of which China and Korea are the victims, in order to find out precisely the measures on which prompt and effective defence must be based.

What I am about to bring before the World Council of Peace is, certainly, a case drawn up to make matters plain to the public opinion of every country, but this case, it should be appreciated, is drawn from files compiled to secure the defence of two peoples against the bacteriological offensive, that is to say, files into the compilation of which every scientist, every professor, every doctor, every research worker has put the very best of his conscience and patriotism with the primary and foremost object of arriving at the rules and means of defence best suited to frustrate the attempted poisoning of two peoples.

38-18-54

Now I think the position is clear.

I shall try to justify the reasoning that induces me to be so positive, by showing how the data in this report lead to the following conclusions:

—There is in existence a concerted and studied plan controlling the development of the bacterial war, and this plan has become apparent during its course;

—The essential aspects of the unfolding of the attack coincide with the military and scientific data published in the United States in books, periodicals, newspapers and reports;

—The laboratory findings in Korea and China corroborate the admissions of prisoners, even though these admissions contain scientific heresies;

—Biological war as now being waged must be looked on as a stage in a sequence of atrocities, a stage which may lead to the use of atomic devices whose presence near the theatre of operations is known.

*

To arrive at these conclusions I have had at my disposal, firstly, the investigation files containing depositions of witnesses who saw the aircraft, witnesses who picked up the containers, witnesses who testified to the abundance and nature of the insects, or the character of the objects picked up. Then, the verbatim records of enquiries, laboratory analyses, clinical statements and, in cases of death, post-mortem reports. Every document is signed by the witnesses and by the responsible legal and medical authorities, and is accompanied by photographs of the witnesses and their identity papers.

The cases and categories are classified by town or village, by district and by region; each series of files about a town or village, district and region is accompanied by a report on the health conditions of the area for the years preceding the war; some of these reports include references from the World Health Organisation publications and from an American document of high importance in respect to Korea. It is entitled: "Epidemiology of the Diseases of Naval Importance in Korea"; in this report, notably, may be read the statement that plague disappeared from Korea a considerable while ago.

Four central laboratories work night and day on the compilation of these files. I visited two of them: they are fully equipped with apparatus from Germany, Japan and the United States. They comprise an entomology and zoology section, a pathological examination section, a microphotography section, and a bacteriological section, including specially important departments devoted to plague and cholera.

A study of the whole of the files made it possible to show that the aggressor set out from the first to solve the problem of widest possible artificial dispersal of pathogenic agents, by wind or by man; hence, for the former method, the use of leaves, feathers and paper, for the latter, the scattering of insignificant objects that a passer-by might put in his pocket without thinking twice about it. But it was very soon understood that this was, if I may put it so, simply the professional craft aspect of bacteriological warfare, and that thorough collation and comparison of facts was necessary on a much deeper scale.

From this moment, certain facts which had been obscure became plain. The question had arisen: what was the significance of the meat and dead animals dropped by aircraft but not carrying bacilli? From the cases examined and collated it became clear that the meat and carcasses had been scattered wherever helomyiid and anthomyiid flies had also been disseminated. It was obvious, therefore, that the flesh was intended to create favourable conditions for the

breeding and survival of the flies bearing pathological agents of intestinal infections. This meant yet another step forward, in that it disclosed a possible reason for the use of containers divided into compartments.

Another question had arisen: what was the significance of the tree-leaves dropped by aircraft. What was their target and what were they for? It was necessary to collate and compare the observations made in Korea and in China to notice that these leaves were generally scattered in regions where silkworms are reared or cotton grown. The solution of the problem did not belong any longer to the microbiologists, but to the Institute of Agricultural Research in Peking, whose job it became to isolate a parasite on the leaves dropped on silkworm-rearing areas, and a pathogenic fungus on the similar leaves dropped on cotton fields.

The first example I have taken from the sphere of epidemiology, which affects man directly, the second from the sphere of agriculture, where the evidence discloses a plan to starve mankind of produce; the third I shall take from the industrial sphere and cite it as illustration of intent simultaneously to harm economic life and human life.

It concerns attempts to poison sea water. These attempts have been made in the areas that restock the fisheries of the Gulf of Pechili and on the North coast of the Yellow Sea. Insects carrying typhoid bacilli—particularly a kind of cockchafer—were scattered broadcast off the seacoasts around the ports of Dairen and Tsingtao; these two ports are separated from one another by some 200 miles as the crow flies. This naval operation against the coasts of China constitutes a direct act of aggression against that country

At first sight, such an operation might be thought so unprecedented as to seem improbable.

But incidents which seem improbable may become quite obvious when examined carefully. I need only give the following example as proof: Mr. Ri Byong Nam, Korean Minister of Public Health, told us that in the village of Chari a trader's wife found some shellfish on a hill; she and her husband ate some, and both died of cholera. It appeared absurd to us that an American æroplane should drop infected shellfish on a hill in the hope of poisoning some possible passer-by.

We went to the village of Chari. A health squad was in charge; witnesses came to speak to us at the edge of the village. We could see rice-fields, the hill, and, at the bottom of the little valley, the remains of the house of the trader who died of cholera, which had been burnt. We first established a fact confirmed by all witnesses:

on May 16th and 17th U.S. aircraft had dropped explosive bombs on the plains to the North and South that are separated by the hill. These plains are dotted with cultivators' villages. On May 18th, a few shellfish were found, wrapped in straw bundles, in a place where only woodcutters pass from time to time. The trader and his wife died of cholera on May 19th: the doctor testifies to this, as well as the post-mortem reports. In questioning the chief of the health squad, who spoke of the inicident as of something quite ordinary, we learned that at the top of the hill are two large natural reservoirs which supply drinking-water to the two plains whose peasant inhabitants are mainly occupied in rice-growing.

We also learned that the first act of the health squads had been to empty the reservoirs, condemn them, and mobilise the entire population of the two plains to put chloramine in all the water of the district of Ko Pyung Myng.

By examination of the topography of the region, the anti-epidemic precautions and the direct statement of witnesses, it became obvious that an attempt had been made to spread cholera over a whole agricultural area supplied by two natural reservoirs similar to many in Korea. Why shellfish? Because they were suitable for this particular operation, to act as ready carriers for the cholera vibrios. Why the shellfish on a barren hill? Because they had missed their target—the reservoirs—which, as we saw with our own eyes, are situated about three to four hundred yards from the place where the shellfish were picked up. Where did these shellfish come from? They are of a species common round the coasts of Korea and Japan; the straw bundles which contained them are characteristically in use at Fusan, a town in the extreme South of Korea.

The following day, discussing this operation with microbiologists, we were told that the cholera vibrios disseminated from U.S. aircraft are—like the plague bacilli—exceptionally virulent.

In one of the laboratories I visited there was a map of Korea on which were marked 340 red dots. The dots were scattered over the whole area of North Korea, they were particularly dense round towns and villages, traffic junctions, sheets of water and springs.

These 340 spots each represented bacteriological warfare attacks carried out by one or more aircraft. Do not conclude from consideration of this map that there had been only 340 bacteriological attacks on Korea: I must make clear that the 340 were attacks which had been investigated and clarified, having been made the subject of check and cross-check.

A first survey of this map and of the files on which it was based disclosed the following three plain features:

(1) The intestinal epidemic diseases spread by insects and objects have been dropped on or near reservoirs, springs, streams and rivers;

(2) Diseases of the respiratory system, particularly plague, have been spread by insects or objects dropped on the ruins of towns and villages and on the places where troops or civilians have congregated in conditions of precarious shelter;

(3) At traffic junctions and on lines of communication there has been a special air drive utilising appropriate methods, among them spraying of ærosols by jet aircraft.

If we leave Korea, that is, if we go to North-East China, these common features are more difficult to discern. On the whole, our observations lead to the same conclusions, but when looking at the facts in detail, we often have to put interrogation marks. The obvious explanation for the irregularities is as follows: the U.S. army has not occupied Manchuria and it has occupied Korea; it has not been able to study North and North-East China as closely as it has been able to study Korea.

To be more precise, bacteriological tactics in three aspects: against roads, inhabited areas and lines of communication—have in general been employed in Manchuria as in Korea; but it is important to note that North-East China has not got areas in ruins and that it is composed of provinces where since 1949 a powerful drive for popular education has been undertaken, not without success, to eliminate the last chance of reappearance of plague in Manchuria, where it had done so much harm. Further:

> *"Air operations against springs and sheets of water have had no effect at all with us,"* I was told by Dr. Sung, Professor of Public Hygiene at the Mukden Faculty of Medicine, *"because for several years our population has stopped drinking water that has not previously been disinfected."*

Whichever way you look at it, the Korean dossier is impressive: it shows that in its plan of bacteriological aggression the American General Staff took into consideration the geographical, climatic and demographical conditions of the country, and this study must have required long premeditation and minute preparation.

The 340 sets of files at the Korean laboratory we inspected provide us with further plain conclusions, if we take into account the following geographical features:

—Korea has a great number of mountain springs;

—Korea is very rich in water-courses and sheets of water. Particularly in the North, Korea is supplied with drinking water by a large number of natural reservoirs;

—Although the winter was relatively mild this year in Korea, it is none the less a fact that March and April are the months of thaw, with attendant diffusion and dispersion of water, sometimes in unpredictable directions.

In its endeavour to spread infectious intestinal diseases, particularly cholera, the American General Staff took into account these geographical and climatic data, characteristic of Korea.

So we arrive at two anomalies which upset the classic data of epidemiology: cholera appears in the cold season; cholera, plague, typhoid and dysentery originate on irrigated plateaus, in mountain regions and in torrent and river valleys, that is to say, in localities where the health and climatic conditions are exceptionally good.

I have spoken of the trader's wife who picked up shellfish on a hill; I shall now introduce you to the soldier Wang Kaong who found fish on a mountain. At Sung Song Li, on March 7th, at 10 o'clock at night, U.S. aircraft flew over the area; we shall let Wang Kaong continue for himself:

"Next day I went out with a comrade and we had walked about 300 yards; the road goes between two rice-fields, we found fish in the Eastern rice-field; they were scattered in threes and fives over a distance of about a dozen yards; water was about 40 yards distant, a pond and a stream that were frozen. We searched some more and found 37 similar fish. They were dead."

Having recorded this, we turned to the specialists. What significance should be attached to this evidence: the fish were dead, and they had been dropped on a surface icebound or at least freezing. We received reply that certain bacilli, and especially the typhoid bacillus, survive for a long time in the intestines of fish (even when these are dead): it was said further that this was plainly an air attack intended to secure diffusion by water at the time of the thaw. The place, date and temperature gave undeniable support to this explanation.

*

Before pursuing my account of the evident use made of the geographical, climatic and current social conditions in Korea, before going further with this report by examining the attempts made

to spread plague and typhus in the towns and villages and among ruined buildings, I must digress a moment, and in doing so we shall find, I think, justification of what I said at the beginning—that the biological war now waged must be seen as a stage in a sequence of atrocities.

On Saturday, June 7th, in the capital Pyongyang, I met three witnesses who had testified in a trial of war criminals who had carried out a massacre of 35,000 Koreans. I quote from my diary the story told me by Mrs. Li Woon Ma, aged 38, living in the village of Yo Dong, in the province of Hwan Mai. This is what she told me, holding back her tears, which she shed only at the end of her story:

> *"On October 17th, 1950, the Americans massacred 47 members of my family, including my cousins. My father was the secretary of a branch of the Workers' Party; the Americans ordered his nose to be pierced and his neck transfixed by a nail; they stripped him naked and buried him alive. My father's wife was stripped and for three days dragged through the village; finally she was disembowelled by bayonet thrusts. My younger sister had four children, aged 8, 6, 3 and eight months. All were buried alive. My elder sister's family, numbering seven, they caused to be burnt."*

I asked her:

> *"How can you say that it was the Americans who committed these crimes?"*

She answered:

> *"The soldiers of the South Korean army told us they were carrying out American orders. Two American officers watched the massacre, and it was they who had the little girls and young women put naked on a lorry; we never saw them again."*

I shall spare you certain horrible details.

This conversation took place in an underground shelter, and the situation in Pyongyang is as follows—up to the time I was there the city had already received 13,000 half-ton bombs, over 17,000 incendiaries, over 650 double-explosion bombs, over 570 multiple-explosion bombs. It stands to reason ordinary, smaller bombs are no longer counted. Mr. Kim Bong Song, Director of the City Plan, filled in the statistics as follows: "We are now up to 18,380 deaths caused by air bombardements, among these 9,892 of women—I do not include in these figures the 12,000 executed or massacred during the American occupation."

Pyongyang is a wilderness of ruins, like every other town or village in North Korea. In this wilderness of ruins, in basements and cellars lives this calmest, gentlest, most sublime and most heroic of populations.

Every night—after dark because the anti-aircraft defence is strong now—U.S. bombers come to bomb Pyongáng, that is to say, to smash the ruins still further, to break the stones still smaller, kill another few men and women, a few children incautiously straying above ground. It is quite clear that when this stage has been reached, this degree of destruction, air bombing is no longer a paying proposition.

I am sorry to say a "paying proposition", but this is exactly how it is looked at by the military mind, as this was revealed to us in the course of a conversation we were to have a few days later with a U.S. air force officer, a prisoner in the hands of the Koreans, who told us:

> *"The business is much simpler than you think: we have to fulfil 55 bombing missions, then we can go home. This being so, the only problem that concerns us is how to get through the 55 missions as quickly as possible."*

Pyongyang will stay in my mind as the image of Pentagon barbarism, as Warsaw remains that of Hitlerite barbarism.

When, in the face of such an accumulation of destruction, a people so fated to misery and martyrdom refuses to give in; when this materially ruined nation inflicts a defeat on armies perfectly equipped and disposing of means that are the product of a State confident of its wealth and strength and claiming its industry and economy as the first in the world; when this poor people has already shown the bearing of a victor and the soldiers of the rich country show the demoralisation of men beaten; when demoralisation dwells amidst comfort and burning patriotism in the ruins; when this point has been reached, what more will they not yet do, lest the world they desire to enslave perceive the full content of vanity and treachery in the United States' policy of world conquest?

I passed through the ruins of Pyongyang, I entered the courtyard of a crumbling house in the Nam Munle quarter where, after a U.S. raid on the morning of March 5th, Han Sang Kon picked up by hand two torn sacks containing flies. Again I heard witnesses, questioned doctors and learned how Han Sang Kon and his two small children died three days later of cholera; I obtained

all the information I wanted on the manner in which the quarter was isolated and anti-epidemic measures taken.

We are now in the presence of the second feature of the bacteriological offensive against Korea: the first was contamination by water.

A great effort was made by the U.S. Air Force to spread epidemics during the cold season in places where the population was living under appropriate conditions: over 50 per cent of the insects dropped by plane were flies. I know it can be pointed out that a miserable communal existence is favourable to epidemics; more, that it may even be their cause: to this contention the entomologists oppose considerations I shall endeavour to summarise.

Winter is conducive to people living near together; it is in winter that town and country people stay longest at home. Also, in winter and the cold season, which in the North of Korea particularly may last until April 15th, insects picked up in the unusual conditions of which we know cannot normally emerge, live or breed. Apart from the unlikelihood of their occurrence in the particular spots, house flies, green flies, field crickets, black springtails, spiders and mosquitoes have been found in compact masses on snow, on frozen slush and on ice, and at temperatures below Zero Centigrade. A third abnormal circumstance: a great number of the flies were females ripe for reproduction. One is bound therefore to conclude that these flies, mosquitoes and other insects cannot be other than the product of a preliminary artificial acclimatisation.

In these conditions how were the mechanics of contamination intended to work out? The flies come out of their lethargy to take refuge in sheltered places; the mosquitoes look for stones in search of a milder temperature; the human flea that spreads plague, the carrier of exanthematic typhus (to consider parasites), avoid the light and the wind and seek dark and protected corners.

No longer able to reach the population with explosive bombs, the U.S. Air Force attempts to continue its destructive work by disseminating, by the means we have just portrayed, microbes carried by agents capable of penetrating the ruins and shelters.

As soon as we speak of fleas, arises the question of the rodents that carry the human flea. I do not know if facts similar to those I am about to report have been authenticated at other research centres than the one at Mukden University Faculy of Medicine; these were brought to my attention on my return journey.

Let us say straight away that in North-East China, where a great effort has been made since the liberation to educate the population in health measures, the protective steps adopted as soon

as bacteriological warfare started have been thorough to the last detail. Thus in every village, town and city, watch towers have been erected; competent inhabitants ensure round-the-clock observation by taking watch in turn; with the aid of loud speakers or gongs, they give the alarm to the population, who scrutinise the sky as soon as the noise of an æroplane engine is heard.

In these conditions, the dropping of bacteriological containers can scarcely escape the vigilance of the population and anti-epidemic services are quickly on the move.

So it was that in old Manchuria, organised in this way to meet the menace, the following was observed: on April 4th, 1952, a large number of voles, dead, half-dead, and in a small proportion still living, were dropped on the roofs, courtyards and ponds of 31 villages and townships of a district that had just been flown over by U.S. aircraft. Seven hundred of these voles were picked up: they carried plague. Plague had never been known in this district, either amongst men or animals.

The Mukden zoologists, like those of Peking, say these voles do not correspond to any of the 15 known kinds of small rodent in Manchuria. I have one of these voles in my possession, together with other incriminating evidence brought back from my journey, including a variety of spider of which the country of origin should be determined. Similarly I have also brought back, so that our own scientists can associate themselves with the research, a very complete file of documents dealing with the cases of encephalitis which have appeared in the regions flown over by U.S. planes; for in certain regions of North-East China, in circumstances exactly established, an unknown infectious disease has made its appearance; its clinical symptoms coincide with those of acute encephalitis, but at post-mortem some cases show pathological changes characteristic of pneumonia. Its character as an induced disease is not open to doubt.

I have not enumerated all the cases that may be looked on as abnormal; I have merely reported some of those directly brought to my attention and into the circumstances of which it was possible to conduct investigation and discussion which allows them to be furnished to the World Council today as earnest testimony.

*

It is now necessary to describe how conviction can be based on the phenomenon of simultaneity.

Simultaneous operations against men, cattle and crops; the simultaneity of similar bacteriological operations with the same

pathogenic agents in areas often very far distant from each other and, in any event, lacking any direct route of communication between them. This last aspect of the facts enables us to refute those who, in the West, have tried to suggest, without having available the information we now give them, that plague was brought to Korea by the Chinese volunteers.

In relation to the first aspect of simultaneity—it is difficult to imagine how, naturally, on the same territory and at the same time of year, could spread:

(1) Microbes intended for man, which, consistent with the means of diffusion we have outlined, use all the agents and means of locomotion given by the geographical, demographical and climatic conditions of the country and season;

(2) Microbes affecting animals, dropped on the places and at the time most likely to result in the most serious epizootics, such as the bacillus Pasteurella multicida borne by wolf-spiders and the anthrax bacillus borne by feathers.

(3) Agents carrying pathogenes capable of destroying, or in any event spoiling, crops. We quote, for example, maize dropped on maize-fields in leaf (carrying bacilli of maize anthrax); ripe soya pods and stems dropped on fields where soya shoots are just beginning to come up (carrying the cercosporiosis virus of soya); dry leaves—such as we have already described—carrying agents of diseases capable of attacking mulberry trees, that is to say, centres of silkworm culture, and also agents capable of infecting cotton plantations.

*

Can reason accept simultaneity as a natural circumstance when it takes this character: the same objects and the same insects carrying the same pathogenes appearing at the same time in Korea and in North-East China? The black springtail, the big house-fly and the chironomid midge carrying typhoid bacillus; spiders and small fish carrying dysentery bacillus, the stable fly and wisps of cotton carrying paratyphoid bacillus; spiders and feathers carrying anthrax bacillus?

Can reason accept as natural the occurrence, between March 1st and March 10th, of five outbreaks of plague in five different regions of Korea, distant one from the other at least 60 odd miles and not connected in any way by direct routes of communication?

If we consider the problem of plague in the form in which it has

appeared following the bacteriological attacks, the abnormal conditions of its occurrence are inescapable.

It is acknowledged that plague disappeared from Korea a very long time ago. The epidemiological history of plague in North-East China is perfectly well established; the plague epidemic centres in Manchuria were generally situated on the borders of Inner Mongolia, which is, as the crow flies, a distance of between 600—750 miles from the Korean border. Between 1947 and 1949 there were plague epidemics in North-East China; from 1949 to 1950 only small outbreaks of bubonic plague were recorded in the same area, not followed by pneumonic plague; and since 1950 there has not been the smallest plague outbreak in North-East China. On the other hand, the normal season in which plague used to break out in Manchuria was always August and September, during which months bubonic plague used to occur.

These historical facts establish that it is impossible to maintain with any show of reason, that the cases of plague introduced into Korea at the beginning of this year were the consequence of infection of Korea from North-East China.

But there is another aspect of the question that underlines the anomaly. In normal conditions the pneumonic form of plague does not occur at the start of an epidemic; in normal conditions it is always the bubonic form of plague which comes first, and then later may turn into pneumonic plague. However, the pathogenic agents of plague used by the Americans are characterised by such virulence that the normal sequence of bubonic plague is obscured. The cases recorded in Korea during these first six months demonstrate that the illness very quickly reached its pneumonic form, and, in any event, it is certain that there was no bubonic plague in Korea in the normal season, that is to say, in July, August, September and October, 1951.

*

Let me point out something else to you. This report of facts checked by me, and which serve as proof in themselves, have so far been separated from the circumstances attending them, which render the proof conclusive.

I shall now cite:

(1) The containers which have been dropped in places designed to be infected.

(2) The striking correspondence between the bacteriological operations identified in Korea and North-East China and those revealed at the Khabarovsk Trial, as well

as the results of researches in the United States made public before the attacks were launched.

(3) Testimony taken in prisoner-of-war camps.

From the beginning of the bacteriological operations, the Korean military authorities and the General Staff of the Chinese Volunteers have been very definitely of opinion that the dispersal of microbes by ærosols—that is, by spraying infected droplets—has been carried out by means of jet aircraft. Subsequently, operations of this kind appear to have taken place off the coasts of Korea and China by means of ships making use of sea winds. Is it necessary to say that proof of this sort of operation will be very difficult to establish except by capture of a plane or vessel designed for such a purpose?

It is quite another matter regarding the bombs and other containers dropped from aircraft, which have been the subject of direct observation and, in quite considerable numbers, have fallen into the hands of the defenders.

First of all, there are the four-compartment containers, now familiar through photographs: they are opened before they strike the ground by an aluminium-alloy fuse, made by special machine-tools, and they often bear marks and lettering in the English language.

Then there are indiscriminate packages, such as the cardboard tubes suspended from small parachutes; also bombs of porcelain or some ceramic that break in pieces on hitting the ground—an analysis of the substance of these latter made in the chemical laboratory of the Mukden Faculty of Sciences, if its results be pursued, should make it possible to discover their origin. This latter form of container is of the same design as the Japanese Ishii bomb, although more perfected in its details.

To this list, which enumerates facts already published, three other means of spreading germ-carrying agents should be added. The first is an artillery shell intended to infect troops in the line; this shell is based on a design and material similar to the design and material of shells produced at the Khabarovsk Trial. Then there is a bomb of colloidal substance which dissolves on the ground to become a semi-transparent liquid as it liberates its contents. Lastly, a peculiar contrivance that leaves the plane, revolves in the air, and disintegrates without touching the ground, throwing out objects or insects.

I wanted to hear the observers who had seen this peculiar contrivance fall. I shall cite one witness among others who seemed

to be able to throw light on this strange form of container. Here is what the soldier Chang Ging-jung told me:

> *"On February 17th I saw a plane which dropped something that burst after a few seconds, and I smelled an odour of burnt rubber. I thought it was poison gas and hid in a shelter. After the all-clear I found that within a radius of a hundred yards around the shelter the ground was strewn with flies. I can state that the object burst without making a sound and that we could not find any trace of debris. It was eleven o'clock in the morning; there was snow, and the incident took place at Pin Kan."*

Other depositions in our files reporting similar observations corroborate this account, in other ways. These contrivances are also used to spread infected leaves and feathers.

*

It is now time to pass to a comparison of certain texts with the facts I have just listed.

On the four-compartment bomb, of which neither the existence nor the fact that a great number have been found can be denied, we must quote the New York Herald Tribune of April 6th, 1952:

> *"After hearing secret testimony, Congressman Robert L. F. Sikes (Florida), Chairman of the House of Representatives Appropriations Sub-Committee, said that bacteria warfare 'does not involve some complicated super weapon'. The means of delivering germs to enemy territory,* he said, *are simple and involve equipment of the type with which the services are now 'already well-stocked such as the containers used currently for dropping propaganda leaflets'."*—(Part retranslated.)

On the cardboard cylinders attached to parachutes, it should be recalled that Rosebury and Kabat recommended their use in their article "Bacterial Warfare, a Critical Analysis . . ." in the "Journal of Immunology" (Baltimore) for May, 1947; and on the same point, the Mainichi Sunday Magazine (Tokio), issue of January 27th, 1952, exactly describes their mode of operation:

> *"Dropped by parachute on enemy rear positions, on supply bases and important towns, this cylinder breaks into two on striking the ground. The tiny animals or fleas contained in it immediately emerge."*

On porcelain bombs, the verbatim report of the Khabarovsk Trial gives us references:

"The Ishii Detachment (Detachment 731 of the former Kwantung Japanese Army) had therefore decided to use porcelain bombs, on which they were now working." (Testimony of Kajitsuka Ryuji, former Lieutenant-General in the Medical Corps, Chief of the Medical Administration of the Kwantung Army.)

In his evidence, Japanese Lieutenant-Colonel Segoshi (page 375 of the Khabarovsk verbatim report) went into fuller detail:

"Major Suzuki (Chief of the 4th Section) told me that since the bodies of these bombs were ceramic and thin-walled, a very small quantity of explosive was needed to explode them, consequently the explosion was of low power, and this saved the fleas from destruction, as the force of the explosion, the resistance of the air and the temperature had practically no effect upon them."

On the utilisation of ærosols and artillery shells, we shall quote the New York Post of May 26th, 1952:

"It is possible also to form clouds of epidemic bacteria by means of shells specially designed for the purpose and capable of discharge by either land artillery or warships."*

We have pointed out above that most of the containers used in Korea and North-East China were adapted for carriage of the agents intended to disperse microbes. On this subject, Theodor Rosebury, former chief of research on means of disseminating disease by aircraft at Camp Detrick, U.S.A., wrote in his book (published New York, 1949) the following (page 25):

"Containers for infected vectors must be so constructed as to permit survival of the vector inside for the required periods, and to allow safe landing from aircraft and insure liberation of the vectors on the ground, along with the usual requirements for safety in handling up to the point of discharge."

And in the same work we read again (page 46):

"Plague probably cannot long survive in the surrounding environment, during the hot season, except in organisms contaminated by rats or fleas."*

On the artificial culture of microbes for bacteriological war, the Khabarovsk Trial gives us the important testimony of Major

* Retranslation.

General Kawashima Kiyoshi, chief of the bacteria division of Detachment No. 731*:

> *"The 4th (production) Division, of which I was in charge from 1941 to 1943, was actually a factory for the manufacture of pathogenic germs. The Production Division was supplied with excellent apparatus for cultivating bacteria and this enabled us to produce monthly in a pure form about 300 kilograms of plague germs, or 500—600 kilograms of anthrax germs, or 800—900 kilograms of typhoid, paratyphoid or dysentery germs, or as much as 1,000 kilograms of cholera germs."*

A moment ago, I was concerned to stress the unusual, abnormal and artificial character of the material examined, as well as the complications introduced into the strategy and tactics of bacteriological warfare. In his book "Peace or Pestilence", Rosebury, from whom I take my last quotation, recognised this feature:

> *"If you want to understand bacteriological warfare you must figuratively stand on your head. Bacteriological warfare is an upside down science, an inversion of nature. Normally we study disease in order to prevent it or cure it. This is bacteriology right side up. But bacteriological warfare sets out to produce disease. It is not normal or natural but abnormal and artificial. Yet it is curious and very significant that the abnormality and the artifice of bacteriological warfare do not just make it different from normal science, in important ways they make it easier, more predictable."*

One final reference is necessary: one should read the whole of an article published in "Military Review", a journal published by a military staff-training school in Kansas, U.S. Its Editor-in-Chief is Colonel H. R. Emery and it circulates especially amongst staff officers. In the April 1950 issue, an article from a Swiss military journal is re-published in the form of a digest and this contains not only a justification but also an apology of bacterial warfare.

You must excuse me for this documentary chapter which has become inserted into a report that was intended to be solely a witness' account; but I think it was advisable to put it down for the sake of better explanation, clarification, and judgment.

We can now complete it by some quotations drawn from the confessions of American prisoners. These confessions have been

* Verbatim report of the Khabarovsk Trial, page 56.

published, especially those of Lieutenant John Quinn, Lieutenant Kenneth Enoch and the private soldier Marvin L. Brown.

These three witnesses contribute the following relevant evidence: brief, from Marvin L. Brown, on the use of bacteriological shells; detailed and exact, from Lts. Quinn and Enoch, who enumerated the kind of ærial operations they were ordered to perform, describe the containers they had to drop on Korean towns and countryside, and report the military lectures and briefings at which their commanding officers and biological warfare specialists told them of the job ahead.

The investigation group of Korean and Chinese specialists, and the journalists who also interrogated 1st Lt. Kenneth Enoch, navigator, and 1st Lt. John Quinn, pilot of the U.S. Army Air Force, both taken prisoner on January 13th, 1952, noted the following points from their statements:

> —Training courses on bacteriological warfare were given at the Iwakuni base in Japan by a civilian, Mr. Wilson. Twenty-five people, 10 pilots and 15 navigators, of whom Enoch named ten of his officer comrades, took part in or attended this course;
>
> —Instructions for two bacteriological bombing missions were given to these officers at Kunsan, January 6th, 1952. Enoch mentioned four of his comrades, Capt. Gilbert Carey being the officer in charge of the group, as having been witnesses of the orders given, and Quinn mentioned 13 of his comrades and one civilian, Mr. Ashfork, as having taken part in or attended this briefing;
>
> —These instructions were carried out on January 7th and 11th, 1952; Enoch acknowledged having dropped his "duds" on the Sariwon region and on the town of Chunghwa. Quinn added that his pilot comrades Jack Larson, Schmidt and Duffy participated in four similar operations;
>
> —Finally, these two prisoners contributed many vivid and important details, revealing the methods of conducting bacteriological warfare by ærial bombardment.

In a private conversation, I asked Enoch and Quinn if they confirmed their declarations. They answered yes. I asked them if they were sure of the names they had mentioned. Enoch was very positive in his affirmative response; Quinn answered that the names were correct so far as his memory could be trusted.

When Mr. Acheson tries to answer these two witnesses with contemptuous denials, he is making a mistake. The burden of such heavy charges and such serious accusations cannot be flung off with a mere smart retort.

Quinn and Enoch give the names of two civilians who came to instruct their groups and squadrons on bacteriological warfare; they give another 18 names of officers who received these instructions with them.

A first and vital question must be put to Mr. Acheson: Do these two civilians and 18 air officers exist? And if, as I believe to be the case, there are religious leaders in the United States whose moral authority is unchallenged, could they not be asked to come together, and call upon these 18 air officers to take an oath upon the Bible that Enoch and Quinn have either spoken, or violated, truth?

Should I say that the Governments of China and Korea have done nobly to extract this evidence from their files, for it is quite obvious that in this terrible war they have every right to be concerned in keeping the enemy in ignorance of what has been discovered?

Should I say, also, that I am convinced that yet other and more valuable evidence is in the possession of the Chinese and Koreans?

With my travelling companion, Claude Roy, I saw Marvin L. Brown, Kenneth Enoch and John Quinn. We talked to them without any Chinese or Koreans present. We ascertained that they were in good health, and they told us that they were well treated and had talked freely and without compulsion.

From John Quinn, who is a man of feeling and character, I tried to find the explanation that would make it possible to reckon the value of the evidence he had given and which we confirmed in our private conversation. This officer had thought out all the consequences of his action, and what he told us enabled us to visualise the sequence of incidents that had led him to free his conscience of its load.

He had come to fight in Korea convinced that it was necessary to put an end to Communism.

> *"I firmly believed,"* he told us, *"that the Chinese, and Orientals in general, had little respect for human life."*

Racism and anti-Communism had warped his judgment.

The discovery he has made since being captured is the bigness of that lie. He is well-treated, regarded as a human being whose dignity must be respected; in the camp he meets air force comrades

whom he had been told had died under torture. The Chinese volunteers regarded him as a comrade, according to the rule which one of them, a young officer professor, explained to me:

> *"When an enemy is disarmed, he becomes again in our eyes an intellectual, a worker or a peasant, and we talk with him as we wish to talk with all the intellectuals, all the workers, all the peasants in the world."*

And so the extent of his crime was revealed to John Quinn:

> *"I understood,"* he told me further, *"the need to stop it immediately."*

John Quinn is a Catholic, he knows the value of example, and that is why he has launched the following appeal.

> *"I appeal not only to Christians, but to whomsoever is able to help outlaw bacteriological warfare, with such urgency, that it may never again be used. I have never heard of a religion that would not forbid employment of a weapon whose nature renders it particularly effective against women and children."*

Because I asked him how he reconciled his obligations as an officer with his duty as a civilised man, he replied:

> *"My duty is to the people—and not only to the people of the United States—but to the peoples of all the world."*

Then I understood one of the things that our World Council has to resolve to do—to speak to the American people, to tackle them in the simple language that all honest people understand, to talk to their hearts and their heads.

There are hundreds and perhaps thousands of John Quinns whom we must reach. The stirring of conscience felt by these American prisoners has perhaps already been felt by some of the scientists, the churchmen, the plain good people of the United States, and we owe them the asssurance that they are not alone, and that the peoples are expecting of them the words and actions that the conscience of an honest man dictates.

This wide-scale bacteriological warfare has involved too many instruments, in other words, made use of too many people necessarily familiar with one or other aspect or stage of the operations, for the illusion long to be cherished at Washington that such warfare can be kept secret.

To involve the Government of the United States in such a serious accusation—a Government on which, as property owners clinging to their privileges, they have placed their last hopes (even at the price of war)—this is an act which the greedy will never bring themselves to do. In order to justify themselves before the honest people they are deceiving, maybe, also to quiet certain feelings of remorse, they will rather persist in denials, put pressure on all those of uneasy conscience or on those of goodwill who would like to share in the search for truth, and they will try and gag the people who have cried their disapproval.

Further, if we want to make people realise the aspect of horror that bacteriological war entails, we must still bear in mind the repugnance that seems to prevent so many men and women from facing facts in the full blackness in which they appear.

If the Korean war is a testing ground for the war that may be waged tomorrow, it is also a testing ground for every man who claims to think, judge and act. The razed towns, the massacred civil population, the burning napalm which turns human beings into torches and pulp, the poison gases of which too little has been said, today the viruses, the vibrios and the microbes, tomorrow the atomic weapons. Beware, the depth of horror felt may become the extent of horror realised!

It is said in my country that misfortune brings people together. Korea is very close to us; to any who doubt this, it should be sufficient to recall the following. The Japanese General Shiro Ishii, who established the first bacteriological warfare arsenal, who is working as an expert on the U.S. General Staff and advising on direction of the war in Korea, is not the sole survivor of the crimes of the past. The Nazi Walter Schreiber is another who in 1951 was engaged, as an expert on biological warfare, to participate in the labours of the Air Force School in the State of Texas. For the war of tomorrow, it will be impossible to undertake anything without resuming connections with the methods, the men and the fascism that bore responsibility for the Second World War and its horrors.

The stake is such that we must explore every area where agreement can be most wide and deep.

If we must condemn those responsible, condemn Ridgway and the superior officer directing bacteriological warfare, Brigadier General Crawford Sams, two undeniable war criminals, but les us give all who have been misled a chance.

The condemnation we must secure without delay is the condemnation of arms of mass destruction: the decision we must wring

from the United States is her ratification of the Geneva Protocol. On this basis of action, the most powerful unity can and must be realised.

Our responsibilities are heavy: first, to the Chinese and Korean peoples who set us a pattern of restraint, for, while resolutely and heroically defending their freedom and their country, they also ignore every provocation that could extend the war into a general conflict. Yet once again the world has had proof of this fact following the provocative bombings of the Yalu power stations that supply Manchuria.

Without doubt our task is hard.

But I ask all the defenders of Peace in the World, all those of courage and feeling, to keep clear before their eyes this other picture that I bring back from Korea.

In the evening, when the guns are silent, talks take place from trench to trench, on the horrors of the slaughter, on the costly double-cross that is all this war amounts to for the Americans, on inhuman bacteriological warfare. Chinese volunteers and Korean soldiers start discussions with the soldiers opposite.

Meetings have already taken place between the lines; soldiers have lost their lives coming out of the trenches to talk to their enemies.

Is this not a great lesson for the Peace Movement?

*

The things I have so recently seen have made me realise that, while events are growing graver, duty demands that we should be ever more patient, more obstinate, more all-inclusive, in seeking ever broadening bases of agreement and action.

As they bring in their train so many miseries and cruelties, events oblige everyone who loves his children and his country, everyone who feels that these atrocities affront him in his integrity as a man, to make up his mind and to speak up.

What was and what is the foremost expression of the attempts at enslavement and conquest of the countries bordering on both Pacific and Atlantic Oceans? The desire to impose a 38th Parallel on all the continents, all the nations, every family, with the object of dividing and tearing asunder the peoples, whose Governments are being asked to agree to one national surrender after another.

What is the purpose of these bases and military occupations in too many of the territories of Europe and Asia? To oppose force to the legitimate expression of the independence of peoples.

Whither will such a policy lead? To war, and to that very kind of war that I have just described.

For those who have not yet joined their efforts with ours, their duty is to make impossible the attempt to subject their countries to a 38th Parallel. For us, the defenders of Peace, our duty is imperative: we must sanction every sort of explanation and offer every possible guarantee of independence and free decision to the men of goodwill whom we call to the defence of Peace.

To all who are disturbed, uneasy or anxious, I put in conclusion these three questions:

> —Biological warfare began in those same first six months of 1952 during which the Government in Washington has been giving back their arms to the Nazi and Japanese war criminals. Does not this bacteriological warfare amount to resumption—on the scale of an experiment on the entire human race—of the cruelties of Nazism and fascism?
>
> —We have known wars that were undeclared. With biological warfare are we not entering an era when war need no longer be admitted?
>
> —If it be so—and this is my third question—have we done all we should have done that, one day, we may not be forced to admit that the Third World War began in fact on the territory of Korea with experiments in methods and arms of mass destruction?

In challenging ourselves like this, I think we echo the preoccupations felt by everyone with a sense of responsibility, especially those in Europe, who are wondering whether their countries may not be dragged into a general war without having been consulted, and almost by surprise. And we can see what such a war would be.

To ask ourselves these questions is to take an exact measure of our responsibility.

The documents I deliver to you, the evidence I bring, must be put before all men who mean to stay men. They must be told: this is what war is today, this is what is happening in one part of the world, this is what is in store for us if we cannot contrive the inspiration to stop it.

All these evils, all these miseries, all these tragedies I have described, we must ceaselessly tell to those about us: Take care! Indifference and inaction are, even now, the faults that conscience will never forgive!

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"*THIS CAN'T GO ON*"

an Address to the People

of the United States

delivered by Ilya EHRENBOURG,

Member of the Bureau

of the World Council of Peace

at its extraordinary Session

Berlin, July 4th, 1952

32-18-45

"THIS CAN'T GO ON"

AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES DELIVERED BY ILYA EHRENBOURG, MEMBER OF THE BUREAU OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE AT ITS EXTRAORDINARY SESSION, BERLIN, JULY 4th, 1952

This Spring, when I was in Copenhagen, a Danish girl said to me:

> *"Everybody's talking about war, and I have three children. The papers write it's the Russians' fault, they want to destroy the American way of life. I don't live the Russian way or the American way, I live my own life. I don't say it is anything special, but I don't want anybody to stop me. I don't understand anything about politics, but this can't go on..."*

"This can't go on..." These words wake an echo in everyone.

If, during the past year the danger of war has not increased, it has also not grown less. When the doctor says of a man exhausted by a long illness that his condition shows no change, this is ground for concern. Not only is the war, of which a handful of criminals dream, dreadful—dreadful likewise are the fever of waiting, the mutual mistrust, the lies, the hatred, the blank walls cutting off one people from another, the clash of arms, the younger generation growing up haphazard, the death-dealing inventions ranged against the increasing defencelessness of man.

"This can't go on..." says the Korean mother, hiding her child in a ravine and, as though in answer, the American mother with a son in Korea murmurs: *"This can't go on..."* The Chinese peasant, cultivating his tiny field of kaoliang, says *"This can't go on..."* and his words are echoed by the gaucho on the boundless pampas of the Argentine. The world cannot live without Peace.

Why blaze the villages of ill-starred Korea? Why do the mothers of France, land of rich soil, go hungry? Wherefore do the states so enlarge their armoured burden that, beneath that armour, the body of man withers, thought is impoverished and the hope of happiness grows dim? Of course, for the worthy members of the World Council of Peace such questions are not hard to answer;

they know who avoids discussions, who dictated the separate agreements about Germany and Japan, who has subjected Korea to horrors heretofore unknown in the whole history of war, who thwarts each effort to lower the temperature of man's fever, and poisons the minds of millions with fear, anger and hatred.

However, far from all the beings on this earthly sphere realise the source of the mischief. The movement for Peace has broadened; it embraces half of humanity (this is enough to give pause to General Eisenhower, perhaps even General Ridgway), but it is not enough to make the world safe. We must think of the other half of humanity, touch the mind and heart of the bewildered who know not which way to turn. For the handful of criminals deliberately striving for a new war is insignificant in number, it can barely amount to one-thousandth of the population of the United States. I know that America includes industrious farmers, honest workers, noble scholars, fine writers, mothers who clasp their infants to their breasts, sweethearts who dream of simple human happiness.

I know that America holds millions of ordinary people who fear not only bubonic plague but the common cold, and whom talk of atomic warfare plunges into despair.

Why cannot a hundred million outweigh a handful of ruffians?

In the hands of the calculating or the crazy who dream of a new war are newspapers, radio stations, film studios, agitators, provocateurs, preachers. They have deceived and are deceiving not only millions of Americans but also plenty of Europeans. Among those who mistrust, even regard with hostility, the Defenders of Peace, there are very few who are defenders of war. For every deceiver, there are thousands, millions of deceived. It is these deceived I desire to convince.

I shall talk straight, and keep nothing back.

The Danish girl whom I recalled supposes that the Russians want to destroy the American way of life. So do several other Danes and very many Americans. In the words of the old Spanish song: *"They don't know what they sing, they sing what they know."* Mr. John Foster Dulles said not long ago:

> *"The Communists have marked down the United States as a target for destruction. Soviet propagandists proclaim day in and day out at the top of their voices that the United States is wicked, that America must be hated and conquered."*[1]

[1] All quotations from English sources are re-translated.

Not only the American newspapers but responsible figures like President Truman, declare every other day that the Soviet Union hankers to destroy the "American Way of Life".

Every expression can be interpreted variously, but it appears there is no expression that admits of so many or so varied interpretations as "way of life".

For President Truman, the "American Way of Life" is the policy of the State Department and the intrigues of the Pentagon. For the plain American citizen the concept "American Way of Life" is the life he likes—work, family, an automobile, American football, jazz, an exciting film, a speech in his club or a sermon in church, fun on Sunday and cares on Monday. Every person has a right to like or dislike such a way of life, to rate it high or to rate it low, but if this way of life pleases the Americans, nobody has any right to interfere with it.

And nobody is interfering with it.

For millions of plain Americans, the expression "American Way of Life" is associated with streamlined automobiles and good roads, with prefabricated houses, with refrigerators and television sets—whether he owns or whether he only sees them in the shops—with the possibility of shaking hands with a senator or even with the President, with an easy unaffectedness, with the Sunday idealism that mollifies the business ruthlessness of every day, with the democratic manners that smooth over social inequality, with the fantasy of a lucky chance that may transform a homeless beggar to an all-powerful millionaire. It is time the plain American should understand that the Russians are not massing to deprive him of his little Ford; that the Chinese have no intention of meddling with television programmes in the U.S.A., that the Koreans do not lust after Mr. Smith's refrigerator; that the Poles are unconcerned whether the aforesaid Mr. Smith does or does not shake the hand of Dulles or even Truman, and into the bargain dreams of making not only millions but billions.

It is time the plain American should understand that a great deal depends on him, he can promote war or he can promote Peace. Nobody is preventing him from living as he pleases, but if the handful of criminals decides to propagate the "American Way of Life" by force of arms, that way of life will collapse like a house of cards.

Never will I believe that a man who honours his mother could affront his neighbour's mother. Never will I believe that a man

who respects the sanctity of his own home could misbehave in his neighbour's home. Every people cherishes its way of life.

The plain American who likes the "American Way of Life" must respect the manners, laws, customs, tastes of other peoples. You cannot inculcate an ideology with a bomb. You cannot inject a taste with a shell. You can kill a man with the germs of encephalitis or plague, but no microbe will compel a Chinese to think or feel like General Ridgway.

The criminals who embarked on the war in Korea insisted that they were defending Syngman Rhee's regime from the Communists. I do not know to whose taste may be the regime of Syngman Rhee, against which even the ministers he nominates rise in revolt. But let us assume that this regime arouses pleasure in certain Americans. Very well, they have the right to praise him, but they will be wrong if they reckon that burning Pyongyang with napalm will convince its inhabitants of the superiority of the "American Way of Life". The inhabitants of Pyongyang have become convinced of something else. They now know that it is possible to possess both great technique and little scruple.

I have been to America—much I liked and much I didn't like. I have met Americans who have been to my country—much they liked and much they didn't like. These are things that can be argued about and from argument, it is said, is born truth.

The American authorities declare every few days that they do not like the system in the Soviet Union. That's their business.

To us, Soviet people, there is much in America itself we find distasteful; for example, we frankly wish that Americans disliked black deeds and not black skins; that they respected the dollar a bit less and men a bit more. However, that's the Americans' own business.

The plain American must understand that it is impossible, in the name of his own liberty, real or fancied, to try to deprive other peoples of their liberty. The "Voice of America" announces regularly to all and sundry that in America has been set up a "Society for the Liberation of Russia", with at its head a man who only recently was U.S. ambassador in Moscow. In my country there is not and could not be a Society for the Liberation of America. However much we may desire the elimination of race discrimination in the U.S.A., we know that this depends not on the growth of Soviet armaments but on the growth of the American conscience. Hitler, too, talked of "liberating Russia". He wanted

to liberate Russia from the Russians. The plain American should bethink him whither leads the greed of the deceiver and the naivety of the deceived.

The American soldier arrives at Leghorn or at La Rochelle. He sees black looks, signs saying "Go home". He is indignant; he was told that he had come to Italy or France to protect these countries from the Russians and he hears shouts: "Go back home!" They hastily explain to the soldier that the "Reds" have poisoned the people against Americans.

I ask this hurt American: Can you really believe this business is a "Communist plot"? Did either Laval or Mussolini succeed in poisoning the people against Americans? Why in 1944 did the French greet General Eisenhower with flowers and why did the same French in 1951 shout to the same Eisenhower "Go home!"

Very likely, it is none of your fault, young soldier of America, and I do not think that the citizens of Genoa or Bordeaux mean any offence to you personally, but you come as an unwelcome guest; they think of you as the soldier of an occupying army. Don't be angry with the French or Italians; blame rather the people who sent you to Europe. Maybe you think I speak from prejudice? Good, if you doubt the words of a Soviet writer, ponder the words of a personage whose bona fides are beyond dispute, namely, Mr. John Foster Dulles. Here is what he said on May 15th this year:

> *"As I could not help noting during my recent travels East and West, we must face the bitter truth: many of the peoples of the world are less afraid of the Soviet Army than they are that the United States may hastily unleash an atomic war, against which the inhabited centres of their countries have no defence whatever. The Administration does not possess full powers to restrain prominent persons occupying responsible posts at home from making bellicose statements."*

That, American soldier, is why people shout at you "Go home!" Don't take it to heart, the thing is still within bounds. No one shouted to Hitler's troops that they should go home; with them one did not argue, one simply threw them out. No one has anything against you personally, but in the history of every nation there strike decisive hours, when the good name of the nation, its honour, its future, depend on the will of each of its citizens. Naivety and a happy-go-lucky attitude may even add charm to an individual

in his private life, but they are out of place when what is at stake is the future of your country or the whole world.

You have a right to choose that way of life which pleases you, you have a right to choose between Democrat and Republican, between psycho-analysis and physiotherapy, between two boxers or two film stars, between the prairies, the Rocky Mountains and the beaches of Florida. But you have no right to choose between war and Peace. No foreigner will call on you to answer for voting for one or another President, for promoting the adoption or rejection of this or that law, but all the peoples of the world will hold you responsible, though you be a good and peaceful man, if the authorities of your country venture to let loose a third world war.

In this hall are present journalists from various countries, among them Americans. I want to trust in their honesty. Whatever be their opinions, their duty is to bear my words to their readers. I speak as a Soviet citizen, as a Soviet writer. I am convinced that I express not only my personal opinion, but also the opinion of millions of my readers. It is not true that we, Soviet people, hate America. We respect the American people, their genius, their achievements in science, their inventiveness, their industry. I add, speaking personally as a writer, I value very highly many American writers, despite the fact that their viewpoint is often so different from mine. I add, speaking as a man, I have been in the United States and met there many people both wise and good.

No one in the Soviet Union has ever encroached upon, nor ever will encroach upon, the American way of life. Let every people live according to its lights; let every people find the path to Peace, whereby the ideals, interests and tastes of one people shall not interfere with any other people's living, thinking and creating. It is impossible to impose on China the regime of Chiang-Kai-Shek on the grounds that 19 American States voted for Chiang-Kai-Shek at the United Nations. One has to remember not only that the population of China is nearly twice as numerous as the population of all 19 American States combined, but also that the citizens of every State, whether large or small, have the right themselves to decide the regime they want. It is impossible to impose on the Soviet people this or that resolution on the plea that thus voted Venezuela, Turkey or the Philippines; one must reach agreement with the representatives of the Soviet people.

Suppose you assemble in Washington all the American ambassadors who ever were and solemnly dub them "Liberators of Russia", the cause of Peace will not thereby be advanced by one iota.

Usually at election time, American politicians, gauging the mood of their electors, choose to speak of Peace. But, nowadays, they have become so accustomed to thoughts of war that, in speaking of Peace, they involuntarily reveal their war plans. General Eisenhower said on June 7th, that it is essential to arm, that he has no faith in negotiation with the Soviet Union, that there is a "direct conflict between the ideologies of East and West" and that he "has no panacea to relax the strained international situation". Mr. Taft on June 2nd proposed the organisation of underground groups devoted to sabotage in all countries he designates as Communist.

Americans whom my words reach may think that I distort the picture, that the political figures of the U.S.A. all stand for Peace. I allow myself to call as witness former Congressman, Mr. Bruce Barton. Hardly anyone would suspect him of sympathy with either the Soviet Union or Communists. He once reckoned that the best means of saving Europe was to let Germany and the Soviet Union "destroy each other", and while a Member of the House of Representatives, he backed the proceedings of the Dies Un-American Activities Committee. Here is what Mr. Bruce Barton says:

> *"Certainly everyone is officially for Peace. The President is for Peace; the Secretary of State is for Peace; the Pentagon is for Peace. But in fact all their thinking, all their planning, all their expenditure is taken up on war and nothing else... Peace, to them, means wiping out more Chinese in Korea, Indonesians in Indonesia, Indo-Chinese in Indo-China and subsidising war preparations in all parts of the world. If a leading figure in any country abroad, Nehru for example, has the courage to say 'I want no part in this slaughter', he instantly becomes a target for the heaviest fire of our propagandists... Instead of trying to find ways of peacefully living cheek by jowl with Russia, our officials spend their time solely in bragging and threatening."*

I think there is nothing to add to this appraisal by a high financier and eminent anti-Communist. To avoid the peril of war, one must sit together at one table and come to terms. The Soviet

people wants Peace with any America, the America of the Progressives and the Republicans and the Democrats. It wants Peace with the American workers and with the American capitalists; it wants Peace not only with its friends but with its enemies. It wants Peace not because it is fainthearted or weak, but precisely because its heart is large.

The plain American may say that there are sharp discords between the American and Soviet viewpoints on many questions. I am not a diplomat, I am not a specialist in questions of atomic energy, nor an expert in international law. I am first and all the time a writer. But I know that many times the representatives of my country have proposed to the Americans that talks be started, and I know that many times the Americans have refused to talk. I am told, it will be hard to agree. This is true, agreement is not easy. For this is required mutual goodwill and desire to find agreement. When Nazism threatened Europe and America, the Soviet Union and the United States agreed. Throughout the terrible years, our soldiers and the soldiers of America fought side by side for Peace. This, for our part, we have not forgotten. Very well—at that time, too, there existed ideological discords and differences of taste and conflicts of interest. Would, then, a third world war be any less an evil than Hitler?

Today is the national day of the United States. On the 4th of July, 1776, the American people overcame those who held them in thrall and established the independence of their Republic.

It is on this day that I call to you, citizens of America! Remember the ideals that inspired the first of your forefathers; tell your responsible leaders to give up "bragging and threatening", to sit down round a table with Soviet representatives, with the representatives of the other Great Powers and honestly try to reach agreement. Thereby you will save your country, your children, your future too.

I believe in the head and the heart of the American people.

Later this year will be held a great Peace Congress, high hope of all the peoples. Let the people of America realise the importance of this Congress and send there a delegation that shall voice the will of every class and every party. I desire only to say that in the persons of the Soviet delegates they will find friends able to appreciate the distinct path of every people and desiring not to enforce on others their way of life, but to save the life, culture and future of all humanity.

PUBLISHED BY THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

32-18-1

APPEAL

&

RESOLUTIONS

OF THE EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Berlin July 1st - 6th 1952

Appeal For The Convocation Of A Congress Of The Peoples For Peace

The war still going on in Korea, the use of arms of extermination, the revival of German and Japanese militarism, the use of violence against the independence of nations, rouse the concern of every human being, even those who have not realised the danger of war until now.

32-18-2

The peoples of many countries are becoming aware of the danger that they may be drawn step by step into a new world war, regardless of their wishes.

Hundreds of millions of men and women have called for the banning of weapons of mass destruction, for strictly controlled reduction of all armaments, and for a Pact of Peace.

In parliaments, in trade unions, in political, social and religious bodies, new currents of opinion in favour of safeguarding Peace are rising. Collaboration between all these forces is possible. This is necessary so that the course of events may be changed and Peace saved.

On December 5th, 1952 the Congress of the Peoples for Peace will begin in Vienna. This Congress should be prepared for in every country by discussions on the widest possible scale.

Men and women of all views and faiths, come together,

discuss, and seek out solutions! Choose your representatives for this great gathering!

Your will for Peace must be expressed.

The Congress of the Peoples for Peace will bring together, on the basis of aims arrived at in common, persons of every opinion and groups or organisations of every kind, who desire disarmament, security and national independence, free choice of their way of life, and the relaxation of international tension.

The Congress of the Peoples for Peace will bring together all those who wish to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over resort to force.

Peace can be saved!

Peace must be saved!

In order that every human being may judge the terrible facts of which we have been made aware, we have decided to publish the documents submitted to us. The utmost possible light must be cast upon these criminal deeds.

With this in view, the Chinese Committee for the Defence of Peace has proposed the setting up of an International Commission to gather all the facts and all the evidence. The competence and impartiality of this Commission must be beyond dispute. To create it, we shall invite the participation of men and women outstanding in the fields of science, of law and of religion. We are sure that world public opinion will give its support to the efforts of this Commission.

Our second duty is to safeguard all the peoples against bacteriological warfare.

We note that the United States of America is the only one among the Great Powers to have failed to ratify the International Convention of June 17th, 1925 forbidding the use of asphyxiating gases and bacteriological weapons. We call on all the peoples of the world to press their Governments, with the aim of securing that this Convention be signed, ratified and observed by every State without exception.

We call upon them likewise to act decisively to secure that those guilty of employing this most cowardly and monstrous of all weapons be brought as war criminals before a competent tribunal.

In demanding the protection of the innocent and the punishment of the guilty, we are certain that we interpret the feelings of the immense majority of men and women. In their name, we proclaim the most noble of all causes: that of the right of every child to life, and respect for every human being.

If the peoples do not act immediately to stop bacteriological warfare, there will be no bounds to cruelty, nor to the unleashing of the forces of destruction of life.

We call upon humanity to defend itself.

Oslo, 1st April, 1952.

Parliament who bear the responsibility of supporting the realisation of these agreements.

The World Council of Peace solemnly declares that the co-operation of all men of goodwill is indispensable to the development of effective action without delay.

It calls upon the trade unions, political parties, organisations, and churches, particularly upon those of Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, the Scandinavian countries and all the nations neighbouring on Germany. It appeals to the rising generation whose future would be ruined forever by war. It appeals to all those who are conscious of the threat which is hanging over the homes of the world, to all those who believe that disaster is not inevitable and that the gravity of the hour demands the greatest confidence in the capacity of the peoples to listen to one another and to find a common path of action.

With all their assembled strength the peoples can, in the months facing us, prevent the ratification of the separate agreements, impose the holding of a meeting of the Four Powers and make it reach a peaceful solution that corresponds to their own security as well as to the national interests of the German people.

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Resolution
On The Struggle Against Japanese Remilitarisation And For A Democratic Japan

The San Francisco Treaty which was signed under pressure of the United States, and the Japanese-American Security Treaty have provoked, only two months after their being declared effective (April 28th, 1952), the strong opposition of the Japanese people who consider that these acts have been forced on them in violation of their vital interests and their desire for peaceful development.

Millions of people throughout the world support the Japanese people in their opposition to these Treaties and the Administrative Agreement following them, because they constitute a danger to the Peace, not only of the Japanese people and the people of Asia and of the Pacific, but also those in the rest of the world.

Events have confirmed the view expressed in the resolution of the World Council of Peace passed at its Vienna meeting, November 1st—6th, 1951. The rapid expansion of Japanese rearmament, the maintenance of U.S. occupation troops and of numerous war bases on Japanese territory, the signing of a so-called Peace treaty with the puppet regime of Chiang Kai Shek accompanied by the American support of aggressive groups in other parts of Asia, can only point to Japan as a base of aggression.

Faced with this threat of the extension of the war in Asia, the World Council of Peace is of the opinion that :

the San Francisco Treaty and the dependent agreements are not valid because of their disregard of international agreements; and must be replaced by a genuine treaty, signed by all interested States.

That treaty should provide:

(a) for the withdrawal of all occupation troops and prohibit the establishment of foreign military bases in Japan;

(b) for the full sovereignty of the Japanese people and the necessity for their democratic and peaceful development.

The World Council of Peace salutes the heroic struggle of the Japanese people for Peace, independence and democracy against the forces of militarism and war, and appeals to all other peoples of Asia and the Pacific to give them the maximum support in this struggle thereby helping to ensure their own peaceful and democratic development. It further appeals to peace-loving peoples in all countries whose Governments signed the San Francisco Treaty to struggle for its replacement by a genuine Peace Treaty.

Towards this end, the World Council of Peace calls on the peoples of Asia and the Pacific to make the greatest effort to mobilise the forces of Peace and democracy at the Asia and Pacific Peace Conference to be held in Peking in the Autumn 1952, which will help to find a satisfactory solution to the Japanese problem and other problems concerning Peace in the regions of Asia and the Pacific.

Resolution
On The Cessation Of The Korean War

For more than two years there has been conducted an atrocious war in Korea, characterised by massacres of the population, bad treatment and killing of prisoners-of-war, mass bombing of open towns, the use of napalm and poison gases.

The World Council, after having examined all the documents that have been submitted to it, is also convinced that bacteriological arms have been employed.

The American armed forces have repeatedly committed acts of aggression against China entailing the risk of a generalisation of the conflict: after the bombing of several Chinese towns, after the use of biological weapons on Chinese territory, after repeated threats of recourse to the atomic weapon, the recent aerial attacks on the electrical installations of the Yalu which supply industry of North-east China, constitutes a deliberate provocation designed to render more difficult the conclusion of an armistice.

The methods of war used by the American military command in Korea and the obstacles constantly put in the way of the successful concluding of the armistice negotiations, involves not only the responsibility of the United States, but that of all the Governments who approved the illegal inter-

Address To The Governments Of The Four Great Powers And To All Peoples On The German Problem

Seven years after the crushing of the Hitlerite regime the Peace Treaty with Germany has still not been concluded.

The World Council of Peace interpreting the aspirations of millions of men and women throughout the world, addresses itself to the Governments of the Four Great Powers, the U.S.A., France, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R., which, by the Potsdam Agreement, assumed a special responsibility for the peaceful solution of the German problem.

32-18-3

It says to them that the time has come to assume their responsibility fully and collectively.

In fundamental contradiction to such a duty the separate agreements concluded in Bonn and Paris on the 26th and 27th May aim at a one-sided settlement. The agreements carry within themselves the rebirth of militarism and of fascism, deepen the division of Germany and of Europe, and are an obstacle to all practical efforts to promote general disarmament.

The peoples know well that unless there is a negotiated solution based on a firm determination to succeed, there is the real danger of there being no other outcome but war.

The World Council considers the best solution to be the immediate convening of a Four-Power conference, the object

of which will be to take all decisions with a view to the peaceful solution of the German problem.

It considers, as the best solution, that the German people themselves, through free elections, achieve their unity and give themselves the Government which will conclude a Peace Treaty with all the States against which Hitlerite Germany made war.

This Treaty will have to recognise the right to sovereignty of a unified, democratic, independent and peaceful Germany.

This Treaty, in which Germany will agree not to enter into any military coalition, will fix the methods and times of evacuation of the foreign armies of occupation. It will thus help restore to the Nations of Europe the choice of their destiny in security, co-operation and respect for their independence.

The World Council of Peace, at the same time as it calls upon the Governments of the Four Great Powers, also calls on the peoples of all countries.

It salutes the great movement of public opinion and the different actions which are developing, unhindered by frontiers and beyond divergencies of ideas or beliefs, against the danger which the ratification and carrying out of the Bonn and Paris agreements will involve.

It assures of its support those vigilant and courageous men and women who in all countries, and especially in Germany, are demonstrating their determination to join forces against this peril and who demand an explanation of the members of their Governments, leaders or Members of

vention of the United Nations into the internal conflict in Korea, and which have placed their armed forces under the authority of the U.S. High Command, whose action, conducted in the name of the United Nations Organisation, is incompatible with the peaceful aims proclaimed by its Charter.

In order to put an end to the martyrdom of the Korean people and to safeguard Peace, the World Council of Peace calls on all peoples to demand:

(1) The immediate cessation of hostilities by the conclusion of an armistice respecting international laws and customs, the signing of which no longer rests as it does today waiting for the American delegation to abandon its unjust demands concerning the repatriation of prisoners-of-war.

(2) The ratification and the respecting by all States of the Geneva Protocol of 17th June, 1925, which prohibits the use of bacteriological warfare.

The realisation of these immediate objectives will permit the re-establishment of a lasting Peace in Korea, by a peaceful and fair solution respecting the freely expressed desires of the Korean people and by the evacuation of foreign troops from their territory.

The war in Korea, with the atrocities which are accompanying it, and the use of weapons of mass destruction, constitutes a grave warning to all the peoples of the world.

Ratification of the Oslo Appeal

The World Council of Peace, at its Extraordinary Session in Berlin, approves and ratifies the Appeal launched at Oslo on April 1st by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace against the use of bacterial weapons in Korea and China.

APPEAL AGAINST BACTERIOLOGICAL WARFARE

We have examined with the utmost care the documents relating to the bacteriological warfare now being waged in China and Korea. This study has profoundly shocked us and filled us with horror. Bacteriological warfare is not only an abominable crime which must be stopped; it is a menace to the whole of humanity.

We appeal to the conscience of all men and women everywhere to call for a halt to bacteriological warfare and to demand the outlawing of bacteriological weapons. Particularly do we address ourselves to the men and women of the United States, for before each one of them there rises a question of honour and human dignity.

The fact that the war in Korea is being waged in the name of the United Nations constitutes a particularly grave circumstance. We place squarely face to face with their responsibilities the Governments that have approved the intervention of the United Nations and which consequently bear moral and political responsibility for the methods of war employed.

For our part, we have a double duty. Firstly, to inform public opinion and make the truth appear clearly in the sight of everyone.

LOST DUE TO THE ACTED COMMERCIAL OPERATIONS

PUBLISHED BY THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Appeal

FOR THE CONVOCATION OF A

CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES FOR PEACE

32-18-103

THE war still going on in Korea, the use of arms of extermination, the revival of German and Japanese militarism, the use of violence against the independence of nations, rouse the concern of every human being, even those who have not realized the danger of war until now.

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Peace can be saved!

Peace must be saved!

Adopted at Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace
Berlin, July 1st - 6th, 1952

THE BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

No 29 July, 1952

EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

BERLIN, JULY 1st — 6th, 1952

32-18-66

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— GREETINGS AND PRESENTS TO THE SESSION.

A special session of the World Council of Peace was held in Berlin, July 1 to 6, 1952.

The session which opened with a report by the President of the World Council of Peace, Professor Frédéric Joliot-Curie, was greeted by Professor Walther Friedrich in the name of the German Peace Committee and Herr Friedrich Ebert in the name of the city of Berlin. There were 298 people who participated in the Session, representing 59 countries from all parts of the world and numerous international organisations.

Upon the proposal of the Bureau, the following agenda was adopted and discussed:

— Peaceful solution of the German and Japanese problem.
— An immediate end to the war in Korea.
— The race for armaments and the fight for a Peace Pact.

In the course of the 15 plenary sessions over which the President, the Vice-Presidents and the members of the Bureau presided in turn, 104 speakers from 59 different countries took the floor.

Three commissions worked during the session: one on the peaceful solution of the German and Japanese problem, chaired by Mrs. Isabelle Blume; another on an immediate stop to the war in Korea, chaired by M. Yves Farge; and the third, chaired by Signor Pietro Nenni, devoted itself to the drawing up of an Appeal For The Convocation Of a Congress Of The Peoples For Peace.

During the final general session, these commissions presented proposed resolutions, all of which were unanimously adopted.

In addition to the Call for a Congress of The Peoples for Peace, the session issued:

— an "Address To The Governments Of The Four Great Powers And To All The Peoples On The German Problem";
— a "Resolution On The Struggle Against Japanese Remilitarisation And For a Democratic Japan";
— a "Resolution On The Cessation Of The Korean War".

The Session ratified the text of the Appeal Against Bacteriological Warfare which was issued at the meeting of the Bureau at Oslo (April 1, 1952).

Finally, proposals for new members of the World Council of Peace were presented and accepted. Following are the names of the new members:

CHINA: Mr. LEE I-MAN (replacing Mr. WU LAN-FU), Mr. KUO FANG (replacing Mr. LIU CHING-SAN).
ITALY: Signor Saverio BRIGANTE, Prof. Mario MONTESI, Signor Giuliano PAJETTA.
ARGENTINE: Señora Maria Rosa OLIVER, Señor Alfredo VARELA.
COLOMBIA: Señor Regueros PERALTA.
LEBANON: M. Hussein SEJAM.
NEW ZEALAND: Mr. AIREY.

For the Bureau of the World Council:
FRANCE: M. d'ASTIER DE LA VIGERIE.
CHINA: Mr. LEE I-MAN (also proposed as secretary).

Appeal & Resolutions of the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace

APPEAL FOR THE CONVOCATION OF A CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES FOR PEACE

The war still going on in Korea, the use of arms of extermination, the revival of German and Japanese militarism, the use of violence against the independence of nations, rouse the concern of every human being, even those who have not realised the danger of war until now.

The peoples of many countries are becoming aware of the danger that they may be drawn step by step into a new world war, regardless of their wishes.

Hundreds of millions of men and women have called for the banning of weapons of mass destruction, for strictly controlled reduction of all armaments, and for a Pact of Peace.

In parliaments, in trade unions, in political, social and religious bodies, new currents of opinion in favour of safeguarding Peace are rising. Collaboration between all these forces is possible. This is necessary so that the course of events may be changed and Peace saved.

On December 5th, 1952, the Congress of the Peoples for Peace will begin in Vienna. This Congress should be prepared for in every country by discussions on the widest possible scale.

Men and women of all views and faiths, come together, discuss, and seek out solutions! Choose your representatives for this great gathering!

Your will for Peace must be expressed.

The Congress of the Peoples for Peace will bring together, on the basis of aims arrived at it common, persons of every opinion and groups or organisations of every kind, who desire disarmament, security and national independence, free choice of their way of life, and the relaxation of international tension.

The Congress of the Peoples for Peace will bring together all those who wish to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over resort to force.

Peace can be saved!

Peace must be saved!

ADDRESS TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FOUR GREAT POWERS AND TO ALL PEOPLES ON THE GERMAN PROBLEM

Seven years after the crushing of the Hitlerite regime the Peace Treaty with Germany has still not been concluded.

The World Council of Peace interpreting the aspirations of millions of men and women throughout the world, addresses itself to the Governments of the Four Great Powers, the U.S.A., France, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R., which, by the Potsdam Agreement, assumed a special responsibility for the peaceful solution of the German problem.

It says to them that the time has come to assume their responsibility fully and collectively.

In fundamental contradiction to such a duty the separate agreements concluded in Bonn and Paris on the 26th and 27th May aim at a one-sided settlement. The agreements carry within themselves the rebirth of militarism and of fascism, deepen the division of Germany and of Europe, and are an obstacle to all practical efforts to promote general disarmament.

The peoples know well that unless there is a negotiated solution based on a firm determination to succeed, there is the real danger of there being no other outcome but war.

The World Council considers the best solution to be the immediate convening of a Four-Power conference, the object of which will be to take all decisions with a view to the peaceful solution of the German problem.

It considers, as the best solution, that the German people themselves, through free elections, achieve their unity and give themselves the Government which will conclude a Peace Treaty with all the States against which Hitlerite Germany made war.

This Treaty will have to recognise the right to sovereignty of a unified, democratic, independent and peaceful Germany.

This Treaty, in which Germany will agree not to enter into any military coalition, will fix the methods and times of evacuation of the foreign armies of occupation. It will thus help restore to the Nations of Europe the choice of their destiny in security, cooperation and respect for their independence.

The World Council of Peace, at the same time as it calls upon the Governments of the Four Great Powers, also calls on the peoples of all countries.

It salutes the great movement of public opinion

and the different actions which are developing, unhindered by frontiers and beyond divergencies of ideas or beliefs, against the danger which the ratification and carrying out of the Bonn and Paris agreements will involve.

It assures of its support those vigilant and courageous men and women who in all countries, and especially in Germany, are demonstrating their determination to join forces against this peril and who demand an explanation of the members of their Governments, leaders or Members of Parliament who bear the responsibility of supporting the realisation of these agreements.

The World Council of Peace solemnly declares that the co-operation of all men of goodwill is indispensable to the development of effective action without delay.

It calls upon the trade unions, political parties, organisations, and churches, particularly upon those of Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, the Scandinavian countries and all the nations neighbouring on Germany. It appeals to the rising generation whose future would be ruined forever by war. It appeals to all those who are conscious of the threat which is hanging over the homes of the world, to all those who believe that disaster is not inevitable and that the gravity of the hour demands the greatest confidence in the capacity of the peoples to listen to one another and to find a common path of action.

With all their assembled strength the peoples can, in the months facing us, prevent the ratification of the separate agreements, impose the holding of a meeting of the Four Powers and make it reach a peaceful solution that corresponds to their own security as well as to the national interests of the German people.

RESOLUTION
ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST JAPANESE REMILITARISATION AND FOR A DEMOCRATIC JAPAN

32-18-68

The San Francisco Treaty which was signed under pressure of the United States, and the Japanese-American Security Treaty have provoked, only two months after their being declared effective (April 28th, 1952), the strong opposition of the Japanese people who consider that these acts have been forced on them in violation of their vital interests and their desire for peaceful development.

Millions of people throughout the world support the Japanese people in their opposition to these Treaties and the Administrative Agreement following them, because they constitute a danger to the Peace, not only of the Japanese people and the people of Asia and of the Pacific, but also those in the rest of the world.

Events have confirmed the view expressed in the resolution of the World Council of Peace passed at its Vienna meeting, November 1st-6th, 1951. The rapid expansion of Japanese rearmament, the maintenance of U.S. occupation troops and of numerous war bases on Japanese territory, the signing of a so-called Peace treaty with the puppet regime of Chiang Kai Shek accompanied by the American support of aggressive groups in other parts of Asia, can only point to Japan as a base of aggression.

Faced with this threat of the extension of the war in Asia, the World Council of Peace is of the opinion that:

the San Francisco Treaty and the dependent agreements are not valid because of their disregard of international agreements; and must be replaced by a genuine treaty, signed by all interested States.

That treaty should provide:

(a) for the withdrawal of all occupation troops and prohibit the establishment of foreign military bases in Japan;

(b) for the full sovereignty of the Japanese people and the necessity for their democratic and peaceful development.

The World Council of Peace salutes the heroic struggle of the Japanese people for Peace, independence and democracy against the forces of militarism and war, and appeals to all other peoples of Asia and the Pacific to give them the maximum support in this struggle thereby helping to ensure their own peaceful and democratic development. It further appeals to peace-loving peoples in all countries whose Governments signed the San Francisco Treaty to struggle for its replacement by a genuine Peace Treaty.

Towards this end, the World Council of Peace calls on the peoples of Asia and the Pacific to make the greatest effort to mobilise the forces of Peace and democracy at the Asia and Pacific Peace Conference to be held in Peking in the Autumn 1952, which will help to find a satisfactory solution to the Japanese problem and other problems concerning Peace in the regions of Asia and the Pacific.

RESOLUTION
ON THE CESSATION OF THE KOREAN WAR

For more than two years there has been conducted an atrocious war in Korea, characterised by massacres of the population, bad treatment and killing of prisoners-of-war, mass bombing of open towns, the use of napalm and poison gases.

The World Council, after having examined all the documents that have been submitted to it, is also convinced that bacteriological arms have been employed.

The American armed forces have repeatedly committed acts of aggresssion against China entailing the risk of a generalisation of the conflict: after the bombing of several Chinese towns, after the use of biological weapons on Chinese territory, after repeated threats of recourse to the atomic weapon, the recent

aerial attacks on the electrical installations of the Yalu which supply industry of North-east China, constitutes a deliberate provocation designed to render more difficult the conclusion of an armistice.

The methods of war used by the American military command in Korea and the obstacles constantly put in the way of the successful concluding of the armistice negotiations, involves not only the responsibility of the United States, but that of all the Governments who approved the illegal intervention of the United Nations into the internal conflict in Korea, and which have placed their armed forces under the authority of the U.S. High Command, whose action, conducted in the name of the United Nations Organisation, is incompatible with the peaceful aims proclaimed by its Charter.

In order to put an end to the martyrdom of the Korean people and to safeguard Peace, the World Council of Peace calls on all peoples to demand:

(1) The immediate cessation of hostilities by the conclusion of an armistice respecting international laws and customs, the signing of which no longer rests as it does today waiting for the American delegation to abandon its unjust demands concerning the repatriation of prisoners-of-war.

(2) The ratification and the respecting by all States of the Geneva Protocol of 17th June, 1925, which prohibits the use of bacteriological warfare.

The realisation of these immediate objectives will permit the re-establishment of a lasting Peace in Korea, by a peaceful and fair solution respecting the freely expressed desires of the Korean people and by the evacuation of foreign troops from their territory.

The war in Korea, with the atrocities which are accompanying it, and the use of weapons of mass destruction, constitutes a grave warning to all the peoples of the world.

RATIFICATION OF THE OSLO APPEAL

The World Council of Peace, at its Extraordinary Session in Berlin, approves and ratifies the Appeal launched at Oslo on April 1st by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace against the use of bacterial weapons in Korea and China.

Appeal against bacteriological warfare

We have examined with the utmost care the documents relating to the bacteriological warfare now being waged in China and Korea. This study has profoundly shocked us and filled us with horror. Bacteriological warfare is not only an abominable crime which must be stopped; it is a menace to the whole of humanity.

We appeal to the conscience of all men and women everywhere to call for a halt to bacteriological warfare and to demand the outlawing of bacteriological weapons. Particularly do we address ourselves to the men and women of the United States, for before each one of them there rises a question of honour and human dignity.

The fact that the war in Korea is being waged in the name of the United Nations constitutes a particularly grave circumstance. We place squarely face to face with their responsibilities the Governments that have approved the intervention of the United Nations and which consequently bear moral and political responsibility for the methods of war employed.

For our part, we have a double duty. Firstly, to inform public opinion and make the truth appear clearly in the sight of everyone.

In order that every human being may judge the terrible facts of which we have been made aware, we have decided to publish the documents submitted to us. The utmost possible light must be cast upon these criminal deeds.

With this in view, the Chinese Committee for the Defence of Peace has proposed the setting up of an International Commission to gather all the facts and all the evidence. The competence and impartiality of this Commission must be beyond dispute. To create it, we shall invite the participation of men and women outstanding in the fields of science, of law and of religion. We are sure that world public opinion will give its support to the efforts of this Commission.

Our second duty is to safeguard all the peoples against bacteriological warfare.

We note that the United States of America is the only one among the Great Powers to have failed to ratify the International Convention of June 17th, 1925, forbidding the use of asphyxiating gases and bacteriological weapons. We call on all the peoples of the world to press their Governments, with the aim of securing that this Convention be signed, ratified and observed by every State without exception.

We call upon them likewise to act decisively to secure that those guilty of employing this most cowardly and monstrous of all weapons be brought as war criminals before a competent tribunal.

In demanding the protection of the innocent and the punishment of the guilty, we are certain that we interpret the feelings of the immense majority of men and women. In their name, we proclaim the most noble of all causes: that of the right of every child to life, and respect for every human being.

If the peoples do not act immediately to stop bacteriological warfare, there will be no bounds to cruelty, nor to the unleashing of the forces of destruction of life.

We call upon humanity to defend itself.

Oslo, 1st April, 1952.

Summary of Reports and Discussion

FIRST SESSION

(Tuesday, July 1st, afternoon)

Presiding: Professor Frederic JOLIOT-CURIE, President of the World Council of Peace, Nobel Prize Winner.

Professor FRIEDRICH, rector of Berlin University, President of the German Peace Committee, member of the World Council of Peace,

welcomed the members and guests of the World Council of Peace to Berlin.

Professor FRIEDRICH stressed the great significance and the dangers of recent international events which motivated the meeting here of this Extraordinary Session.

"We are aware," he said, "that since the signing of the general treaty in Bonn and that of the aggressive Military Pact in Paris, political events in Germany have become the focusing point of the danger of actual war much more so than at the time of the preceeding Session of the Council in Berlin."

Showing that the whole world sees on the one hand the rebirth of aggressive militarism in Western Germany with a great feeling of anxiety and, on the other hand, they see with growing hope the will for Peace which animates the German people, Professor Friedrich pointed out:

"Our contribution to world Peace lies in the struggle against the so-called German Treaty, which is justly named, in the West and in the East of our Fatherland, the general war treaty. We see our principle task in the unceasing struggle for a peaceful solution to the German problem and for restoring the unity of our people."

Giving a brief picture of the recent achievements of peaceful work in the German Democratic Republic, Dr. FRIEDRICH then concluded:

"We are convinced that a united and peaceful Germany can only be constructed if the international agreements in force are respected and if the German people be given the chance to express their opinion freely and openly and to pronounce themselves on their own future."

Monsieur Friedrich EBERT, Mayor of Berlin, gave expression to the welcome of the Berlin population and of the municipality of the city of Berlin.

M. EBERT welcomed, in particular, Frederic Joliot-Curie, the great scientist, and the distinguished personalities who, under his presidency, have come to the World Council of Peace, "the true deputies of the peoples—their authentic representatives."

He noted how much the choice of the city of Berlin for the second time, as the meeting place of the World Council of Peace, puts emphasis on the great confidence that the forces of Peace throughout the world attribute to the will and the peaceful work of the German people and the Berlin population in particular.

"We want to make Berlin," the speaker continued, "into a city of friendship between the peoples, a city of Peace, the symbol of the will to life of the German people, the city of German unity."

Emphasizing in particular how the reconstruction programme for Berlin for 1952 constitutes a real confession of faith in this respect, M. EBERT concluded by expressing the confidence with which the population of Berlin looked towards the work of the World Council. "We are certain," he said, "that its decisions will contribute vigorously to the peaceful solution of the German problem. The decisions of the World Council of Peace will be for us, as for all other peace-loving peoples a guide which will inspire us."

Report presented by Professor Frederic JOLIOT-CURIE President of the World Council of Peace

Dear Friends,

First of all I wish to thank the distinguished visitors who have accepted invitations to be present at this session of the Council, and I bid them welcome.

Their presence here is a great stimulus to us, and I am sure that the knowledge and experience they bring will be of great value to us and will contribute to the success of our efforts.

I give my greetings to all the members of the Council present at this session.

The German Peace Committee and the Secretariat of the World Council have made a magnificent effort in organising our meeting here under excellent conditions. I am sure I am speaking in your name when I thank them for their energy and their devotion.

I should also like to put on record how much we have appreciated the kindly speeches of Mr. Ebert and Professor Friedrich, and how deeply we have been touched by the welcome given us by our German friends.

If we meet in Berlin, it is not only, as it were, in memory of our first session when we launched the Five Power Peace Appeal. It is because primarily we wanted to face the difficult problems of the hour in a capital which has acquired considerable importance through recent diplomatic and military decisions, and through the successive visits of those responsible for Western policy.

The grave events of the last few months led the Bureau of the World Council of Peace, which met at Oslo on April 1st, to call an Extraordinary Session here in order to discuss peaceful solutions to the problems which to-day divide humanity, and to find the best ways of putting them into operation.

The recent decisions taken on Germany and Japan, the obstacles preventing the conclusion of a truce in Korea, the use of bacteriological warfare, all show clearly the turn for the worse in the international situation, and give this session an importance of which we are deeply aware.

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In this introductory speech I would like to give a swift survey of the general situation, and consider the conditions which our campaign must follow. In the course of this Council Meeting our General Secretary will speak on the activity of the Peace Movement and the ways of extending it.

The Bureau propose that in the course of the agenda, general or specialised reports would then be given, providing the basis for discussion. We shall have to examine again, in the light of acquired experience, solutions which were dealt with in earlier conferences; and new proposals will certainly be formulated.

It is not enough in an Extraordinary Session like this to formulate resolutions, however excellent; we must at the same time discover the best ways of putting them into operation. Only on that condition can our resolutions be considered as solutions.

We know indeed that the best of ourselves will go into the task of finding effective solutions, but we know perfectly well that we cannot find all the answers alone. It is vital that we associate in this task all the thousands of men and women who gave us the mandate for our last Congress, all those who have since joined our Movement, all those who, however removed from us they still may be, earnestly desire Peace.

The best way of reaching this end is by way of preparations for a great World Congress. The conclusions we reach at this Council Meeting should become the basis of world-wide consultations. That is why, at the very beginning of this report, I am formally proposing to you, in the name of the Bureau, the calling of such a Congress for the end of the year.

I should like to clarify this proposal a little more. We should never forget in the work we are here undertaking that this is the way to arouse throughout the world yet once again that ferment of explanation, of discussion, of analysis of all these problems, which forces on all those people concerned in the maintenance of Peace the inescapable fact that Peace is their own personal business and that there is an opportunity for them to take effective action to prevent war.

The result of our work, our resolutions and our conclusions, will certainly have their repercussions, from the moment they begin to spread. But even beyond their immediate effects I want to emphasize that they form the basic themes of the vast discussions and argument which will take place in all countries and in all circles.

This is the way the World Council campaign takes form and practical substance. In this connection, would you allow me to remind you of what I said on the 23rd of December of last year, in opening the National Conference of the French Peace Movement:

> "Be well persuaded that all the members of the World Council are profoundly aware that even the mere possibility of success in their actions or their influence depends on the labour of men and women like you, in every land.
>
> "Without the continuous work of explanation and comparison, without the benefit of millions of individual experiences organised in the national movements, without your strength, the World Council would rapidly be reduced to a simple gathering of powerless personalities . . .
>
> "The influence for Peace that the World Council must have on public authorities, on international organisations, whether or not dependent on Governments, will gain in force as your actions gain in strength and energy.
>
> "The World Council will enjoy a wider hearing as and when you gain a larger hearing in your own countries. If we reaffirm that the maintenance of Peace is a matter directly concerning every citizen, we mean once again that

it is your action, united with the actions of each and all of the peace-loving people in every other country of the world, that is in fact the final determining factor."

In the preparation of the Congress all those who already realise the dangers of war, and all those who want Peace, must study the solution which we offer, and discover others. In acquiring a just appreciation of the importance of the problems and of the action to be taken, they will at the same time acquire the power of persuasion which spreads the active will for Peace. This is how millions of men and women not yet associated with our movement will fight to save Peace and without whose help Peace cannot be saved.

It is by bringing the vast majority of citizens of all countries to adopt as their own the just and peaceful solutions proposed that they can efectively be put into practice. In fact, once a really conscious and active public opinion has been created, it will become impossible to make a pretence of ignoring these solutions, and to drag the peoples of the world into a recourse to violence, that is, to war.

It is not enough for the World Council to interpret the feelings of Peace-loving citizens. It must strengthen them in giving them concrete support. It must so act that these feelings and aspirations are translated into positive demands founded on the dictates of Reason.

The power of public opinion, stimulated by the Peace Movement, has already been demonstrated, thanks to the Stockholm Appeal, which prevented the use of the atom bomb in Korea.

A great many statements and declarations have already stressed the part public opinion plays. For instance, here are a few lines from an article published in February 1951 in the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists by J. R. Oppenheimer, the American atom bomb expert.

> "I am sure I am right when I say that public opinion is a factor of the highest importance in the employment of atomic weapons. I have been assured of this by many military experts."

On a different level, I may remind you that at Vienna we stressed disarmament problems which had already been dealt with in the Address to the United Nations adopted at Warsaw. During the last General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris, public opinion expressed itself in a number of ways, and the President of the General Assembly, Señor Padilla Nervo, emphasised to the delegation of the World Council how essential it was for public opinion to express itself energetically in order to guide the work of the Assembly into channels fruitful for Peace.

During that session of the General Assembly we were able to hand the text of our Vienna Resolutions to all the representatives of the United Nations. A large number of our delegations were received by representatives of the leading Powers, and it is no exaggeration to say that this pressure played a considerable part in the formation of the Disarmament Commission, charged with two main tasks, to eliminate the threat of weapons of mass destruction, and to reach an agreement on the general reduction and control of armaments.

On June 15th, the Disarmament Commission presented a most disappointing report to the Security Council. If that could happen, it was because public opinion was not sufficiently alert and active, and this in turn should indicate to us the way we have to go.

We have seen the effort that has been made in recent months to spread the idea that the only possible solution left was violence, and that the only outstanding issue left was how to create an armed force capable of either dictating its wishes or imposing them by war. No concessions, no appeasement! Only there is another idea which has been presented and which has been gaining ground slowly and surely in the minds of millions of men; the idea of negotiation as against the idea of resort to force.

The Five Power Pact Appeal, launched in this very city, has been accompanied by discussion and argument around the signature campaign which has given all those involved the opportunity of understanding the meaning and appreciating all the implications. They have demonstrated that resort to force is in no sense inevitable, and that all problems and differences can be resolved by negotiation.

We are convinced that in this way we have helped greatly in the creation of a spirit favourable to the idea of negotiation, and there are more and more signs that this is so in circles still far removed from the Peace Movement. To mention only one example among many: the resolution passed by the National Synod of the French Reformed Church, which met in Paris in June 1952:

> "The Synod, greatly concerned by the tension which is exacerbating mutual suspicions both within each country and among the nations themselves, and which is daily increasing the risk of war, has decided unremittingly to exercise all its authority in the service of Peace. They are convinced that it is always possible for Governments to reach agreement through justice, honesty and in full respect for pledges given. We adopt as our own the resolution of the recent General Assembly of the Methodist Church of the United States, insisting that all Governments should continue to negotiate, and should leave the door open to any proposal, no matter whence it comes, which contains a possibility of Peace."

Our Movement rejoices at the evidence of such actions which can only give still stronger support to the struggle for Peace.

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I should now like to pass briefly in review some of the problems which will be treated more thoroughly in later reports. Two dangerous stages in the preparation for war are the signing of the Treaties with Japan and Western Germany.

The Peace Treaty with Japan, signed at San Francisco, to which neither the Soviet Union nor China were party, has a definitely aggressive character aimed against these two countries.

The reconstruction of the Japanese armed forces, under U.S. orders, the presence of U.S. troops, the setting up of naval and air bases, have made Japan a factor of aggression.

In a speech delivered at Paris on May 5th, 1952, before the Institute of Political Sciences, Mr. John Foster Dulles attempted to justify this Treaty—for which he was primarily responsible—by declaring that Japan was highly industrialised, and it was necessary for the security of the United States that it should be part of the so-called "free world". Otherwise, he declared, it might become a possible instrument of Soviet aggression, without apparently considering for a moment that the Russians and the Chinese might justifiably consider that the San Fran-

cisco Treaty might equally make Japan a possible instrument of American aggression.

Peaceful proposals had been made to settle the problem of Japan, proposals which guaranteed the security of each country while giving Japan the opportunity of existing, in assuring her of supplies of raw materials and outlets among neighbouring Asian countries. Japan, as was explained by Mr. Dulles, must pay for the coal she receives by long sea routes three times as much as she would pay if it came from her neighbours.

In present conditions how is one to solve the economic problems which face Japan? What contradictions! In order to safeguard "their security", the United States are creating a fantastic economic situation in a country which in fact they are colonising, a situation which, as it becomes intolerable, could sooner or later make Japan once more a danger to all.

Official American declarations, however, maintain that the situation in this country is good, and that the great majority of its citizens are in support of the present policy.

No one can be deceived by such assurances; the enormous demonstrations, like those of the last May day, as well as those which took place some days ago, are too revealing.

In his speech, Mr. Foster Dulles declared (1):

> "The Asiatics have not the same deeply ingrained civil and political traditions; moreover, terrified by the ghost of 'Old Colonialism', they are suspicious of the form of association and military position of the free world."

Mr. Foster Dulles was no doubt anxious to condemn "the old Colonialism", but certainly not this "form of association" which reproduces it in fact as demonstrated by the usurpation of sovereign powers to the profit of a controlling nation; by the building of military bases; by an interference in all national affairs, by juridical privileges; by priorities in raw materials, and so on, in fact, by what one can justly call "neo-colonialism". Are not the greater part of the countries of the so-called "free world", already its victims?

The substitution, however, under the pretext of defence of this U.S. "neo-colonialism" for "the old Colonialism" of the former Imperial powers, has given rise to serious difficulties in its turn.

I gave an example at our Vienna meeting when I referred to the bloody incidents in Egypt. Since then, a new and highly significant example of the contradictions which arise between these forms of colonialism—all none the less tending to the same end—has arisen in the case of Tunisia. The independence of Tunisia, justifiably demanded by the immense majority of Tunisians, an independence which would be in itself a guarantee for Peace, is certainly a problem with which the United Nations should deal. The Tunisians, supported by many other countries, presented a demand to the United Nations to put their claims and charges on the agenda. On this occasion the United States found herself in an embarrassing position. On the one hand she claims to condemn colonial powers as such (though she hopes to replace them), on the other hand, she depends on them for her military arrangements. Taking refuge in abstention, she prevented the Tunisian question from being put on the agenda.

This example not only demonstrates all the contradictions of interests inherent in the Atlantic arrangements. It also illustrates the serious fact that this policy deliberately falsifies the whole working of the United Nations, and is a threat to Peace. Which is exactly what Pandit Nehru showed in his speech before the Indian Parliament on June 12th:

> "The Arab and Asiatic nations would be obliged to take the tragic decision to withdraw from the United Nations if two or three powerful nations can prevent discussions there."
>
> "We do not take the decision of the United Nations not to discuss the Tunisian question lightly", he continued. "If the Asiatic and African nations cannot make their voice heard, it may be that they will decide to have an organisation of their own."

The Prime Minister recognised that the United Nations Charter is a good thing, but he added:

> "I am becoming more and more of the opinion that it is not being respected enough and that the United Nations has shifted from its original moorings and has become gradually a protector of colonialism. Many countries are beginning to believe that the United Nations, which was founded to preserve Peace, has become an organisation to prepare war" (1).

But under whose influence is the United Nations shifting its moorings and being transformed into an organisation for preparing war?

The Peace Movement sees in these events additional reasons for supporting the peoples who are struggling for their independence and for continuing to demand a return to the letter and spirit of the San Francisco Charter.

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A moment ago, I pointed out the serious dangers to Peace contained in the unilateral measures adopted as far as Japan is concerned.

In Europe, we are witnessing an analogous situation and one which also presents grave dangers.

It is a revealing fact that even those who for years have been preparing the present organisation of Europe have not found it possible to admit to what were their intentions from the very first.

In the Parliament of my country, the Foreign Minister, on November 24th, 1949, exposed the dangers of the "active military participation of Germany in the system of European defence"; such participation, he said, would "lead to immediate international tension, to a danger of conflict for which France does not want to run the risk nor bear the responsibility".

It is not by hiding the facts under the deceptive cloak of the "European Defence Community" that the dangers, so solemnly proclaimed a short time ago, can be exorcised.

Under the pretext of unification and economic co-ordination, under the pretext of creating purely defensive military forces, what in fact has just been done is to proceed to the integration of a German militarism and imperialism revived as the core of a bloc constructed and animated with the aim of undertaking a new "Holy War".

We must expose the deception of this "European Community" and its dangers to Peace.

The unification of Germany by peaceful means is ruled out by the policy which is being pursued by

(1) U.S. Information Bulletin, No 1563, May 6th, 1952, page 3.

(1) Re-translated from the French.

those who wish to make the Parliaments of the signatory countries ratify the recent agreements.

In place of this unification, an attempt is being made to create all the conditions which will allow a militarist Government—which has in no way hidden its intentions—to bring about by military force the unity of Germany and to conquer Polish, Czechoslovakian and French territory. The very machinery by which the Third Reich launched the Second World War is being deliberately restored and if the peoples are not on their guard, the same catastrophe will come about.

These dangers are now being perceived by a very large number of German people and by people in all countries.

The hundreds of thousands of French and Italian people, of all walks of life who have publicly demonstrated their indignation against the coming to Europe of General Ridgway is striking proof of this.

If indignation is spreading every day to an ever increasing number of people in these countries, it is because they know that this General has come to constitute an aggressive European army in the heart of which is a supreme Wehrmacht thirsting for revenge; it is because they know that this General will do to their country what he has done to Korea.

Did not "The Times" declare, after the signing of the Bonn agreements:

"This is a dramatic reversal of alliances."

In a remarkable article in "Le Monde" (1), M. Hubert Beuve-Méry concluded:

"A broad section of 'high society' in the West is to-day voting for German re-armament with the same feelings, and with the same perspective, which yesterday brought them to Munich. It was better to handle Germany even if it was Hitlerite and whatever the price that had to be paid, since sooner or later she was to enter into battle with Moscow. To resist her, to weaken her, was to strengthen Bolshevism. To-day, the illusion remains that to re-arm Germany is the only means of holding back Moscow and, as then, whoever dares to doubt this is pilloried..."

In all the countries concerned, the fight has begun to oppose this race to war and here I would like particularly to salute the brave and encouraging efforts in this direction by a very great proportion of the German people.

The World Council of Peace has previously studied these problems and has suggested solutions.

Various offers for negotiations and practicable proposals for discussions have been made by the Soviet Government.

We believe, as the Soviet Note proposes, that Germany must not be part of any group of Powers directed against any peaceful State whatsoever.

It is clear that under the actual working conditions of the United Nations this neutralisation cannot be seriously assured by the admission of Germany to this organisation, as was suggested in the Big Three note of May 13th this year.

A proposal for another Four Power Conference is under consideration, despite the signing of the agreements in Lisbon and Bonn. We must see to it that these negotiations are undertaken. Each defender of Peace must grasp the importance of the declaration adopted by the recent international conference "For the Solution of the German Problem, against Militarism, for Peace and International Co-operation", held very recently at Odense in Denmark. After explaining "that a very serious step towards war has just been taken", this declaration maintains that possibilities exist for the peaceful solution of the German problem.

"The Great Powers can reach an agreement on Germany on condition that the rights which the conference summarises as follows, are recognised:

The right to national unity;
the right to a freely elected Government;
the right to a peace treaty;
the right to sovereignty and to security."

"We are convinced that sufficient guarantees can be found to ensure the security of neighbouring countries; without wishing to state them in detail, in the absence of German delegates, we nevertheless affirm that one of the most important is to be found in the measures taken to assure the free expression and the free development of all the Peace forces in Germany."

"In a similar way to all the delegates of the many nations participating in this conference, we must pledge ourselves 'to mobilise public opinion for a supreme effort to avoid the irreparable and to make the removal of this fearful threat the beginning of a lasting Peace'."

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It is just a little more than two years since the war in Korea started. The constant concern of the Peace Movement has been to work for an end to the fighting, so that these unhappy people can rebuild their ruins and so that war does not spread over the rest of the world.

On this second anniversary it is impossible without shuddering to count the cost of this war—of which you will hear further terrible details later on.

The armed forces of the United States to which a few foreign contingents have been added, have been called up and public opinion in many countries has been mobilised for the so-called liberation of the Koreans.

Instead of liberation, all the towns have been razed to the ground, hundreds and thousands of men, women and children have been killed by bombs or burned alive by napalm; the discoveries of biology have been used not to heal the sick but to spread epidemic and all this to set up and maintain a dictator whom even his allies cannot help but criticise for his attitude and to stigmatize for the systematic corruption which he has introduced.

For a year now, the armistice hoped for by all the families of Korea, of China and the United States, has not been settled. The history of these perpetually held-up armistice negotiations will be laid before you. The intention not to reach a conclusion is flagrant. Why this obstinate deception of the universal desire for Peace? Is not Korea being considered as a testing ground by those who are preparing for war?

They want to keep military bases close to China which has never been forgiven by leading circles in the United States for having got rid of Marshall Chiang Kai-Shek who let himself—and still lets himself—be ordered around so willingly.

Further, the conclusion of an armistice would threaten to spoil the pretext made by President Truman for the virtual annexation of the island of

(1) "Le Monde" June 11th, 1952.

Formosa. Also the ending of this war would make it still more difficult to persist in the exclusion of the indisputable representatives of 450 million Chinese from the United Nations. Can one imagine, for example, a disarmament convention adopted by the United Nations and to which China would not be a party, solely so that the delegate from Formosa could be maintained as a permanent part of the mechanical majority?

All these reasons have inspired those who, month after month, have invented new reasons to prevent the successful conclusion of the talks.

The latest of the imaginary obstacles relates to the repatriation of prisoners-of-war. From the sensational and contradictory reports which have followed each other for some weeks, it is nevertheless possible to state that the international conventions on prisoners have been systematically violated. Is it not characteristic that General Colson—negotiating the release of his predecessor held by the prisoners he had the task of guarding—had been able to give the assurance "that in future prisoners-of-war would be able to count on humane treatment in the camp in accordance with the principles of international law." In particular, General Colson promised to put an end to the forcible screening of prisoners-of-war, admitting that many prisoners had been killed or wounded by the United Nations forces.

The "Washington Post" wrote in relation to these statements:

> "For Heaven's sake, what have we done to Communist prisoners in the past if they are promised these things in the future?"

The events which have occurred in the prisoners' camp on the island of Koje, are extraordinarily revealing.

Veritable warfare has occurred therein and lives have been lost. Finally, how can we fail to judge with the utmost severity the intention of those who asked the agents of the corrupt regime in Formosa to examine Chinese prisoners?

To avoid at all costs a cease-fire agreement, planes have just launched an extremely powerful aerial offensive on the Chinese frontier. Some people are even asking whether the intended objective was not to provoke a Chinese re-action such as would start the third World War. Public opinion overwhelmingly disapproves of these actions.

It is only necessary to see the feeling aroused in the House of Commons in London, and the spirited declaration of Pandit Nehru in India to show that this action is meeting with serious opposition.

It is interesting to note the violent re-action of the American Press to the none the less very cautious words of Mr. Eden. The United States no longer tolerates the criticism of their allies and they have become so accustomed to resorting to force that no doubt they would not hesitate to threaten their own allies.

Our own position remains clear. By all the means in our power and with an ardour which must be reinforced by the knowledge of the atrocious sufferings which this war represents, we must work so that first the fighting ceases and so that the Korean people regain their liberty and independence.

I do not want to end these few remarks on the Korean tragedy without dealing with one of the most sinister chapters in the history of humanity—the use of bacterial weapons by the armed forces of the United States.

Tremendous feeling spread throughout the world on the announcement of the use of this new form of destruction which more perhaps than any other characterises the perversion of science.

The rejections and denials have multiplied, in spite of the accumulation of documentary evidence.

You all know the important resolution adopted by your Bureau at Oslo.

For my part, whatever be the appeals made to me and the pressure brought to bear upon me I remain faithful to the appeal which I launched on receipt of documents sent to me by Kuo Mo-Jo, and I re-affirm all the terms of the letter which I addressed on May 3rd to Mr. Warren Austin.

If the accusations of the use of bacterial weapons have still not had the desired repercussions everywhere, nevertheless they have provoked a lively concern in many circles, notably among scientists. In Mr. Warren Austin's own country, groups of scientific workers with at their head Professor Theodore Rosebury (who was until the end of the Second World War the director of the special laboratories of bacterial warfare) have solemnly asked the Government of the United States in an open letter addressed to Mr. Truman, to ratify the Geneva Protocol of June 17th, 1925. The same demand expresses itself equally in many other countries and in very different social groups.

The resolution made in Oslo on the proposal of the Chinese Committee for the Defence of Peace, provided for the setting up of an international Commission to go to Korea and China. A Commission of Lawyers, who were on the spot before this appeal, has already ascertained the facts and it has just published its report.

Furthermore, in answer to the Oslo Appeal, a commission composed of scientists from different countries is at present in China. Other experts will join them in the near future. We are all fully aware of the importance that will be attached to the work of this Commission.

In the course of contacting competent scientists, it appears that it will be necessary to consider the constitution of a Permanent Commission of experts: this Commission should be in a position to send teams without delay to the places where notice has been given that new attacks by bacterial weapons have been made.

I would at once like to make the following observation: while redoubling our efforts to bring bacterial warfare to an end, to prevent it from being used again, and to have the guilty brought to justice, we must not lose sight of the great danger which the piling up of atomic weapons constitutes for humanity. The horror which was aroused by the utilisation for lethal purposes of biological discoveries must not lead us into the serious fault of letting it be considered that atomic bombs are merely weapons of a classical kind. Atomic, just as bacterial weapons, are weapons of mass destruction and we must, more than ever, demand that they be outlawed.

This question of outlawing weapons of mass destruction leads me to return to the problem of disarmament which I raised at the beginning of my address.

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We proposed, first in Warsaw and then in Vienna, solutions which became increasingly well defined.

At the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris, a first important step was achieved—the

problem of classical weapons and weapons of mass destruction were closely linked and confined to examination by a single Commission.

This Commission, which has just submitted a rather disappointing report, tackled, without being able to solve, the essential difficulty of defining the order in which the various operations and convenants would have to be carried out.

The World Council upholds the view that by the signing of a preliminary Convention, the nations will have to undertake, on the one hand, to outlaw weapons of mass destruction and to control the operation of this outlawing and, on the other hand, to reduce armament. Once these undertakings are signed, it will be obligatory to proceed to a census, and to the setting up of the control organisation. It is clear that the reverse procedure—general census before undertaking to prohibit and reduce—present great dangers, since it would be to the great advantage of a possible aggressor to know by means of the preliminary census the means of defence of the country which he would attack.

It is necessary to recognise that the importance of the order of the succession of operations has not yet been fully understood by many people. It will be indispensable, in our work to be quite precise on this point so as to remove all confusion.

I have had occasion to make a few remarks on disarmament, and particularly on the control of atomic energy, in an article which was published in March 1952 in an issue of the review "Défense de la Paix". I would simply like to recall that the United States is continuing to block practical proposals of control which have been put forward, with the Baruch plan or a similar one.

I would remind you that this provides for the ownership by an international body based on a majority vote, of uranium and thorium mines, raw materials and nuclear industrial installations. This means giving to the United States, by the mechanism of the automatic majority, an actual monopoly over all the atomic activities of the world, and over all the deposits of uranium ore.

The World Council of Peace must recognise, as the many specialists of atomic energy do, that the condition of control proposed by the delegates of the Soviet Union are effective. It is necessary to point out that the proposals imply the relinquishing of important sovereign rights, but this is acceptable since it will be agreed to for the benefit of all in the interests of Peace.

The Baruch plan also implies the surrendering of sovereign rights but to the benefit, in fact, of a single nation only, which is unjust and certainly not in the interests of Peace.

It is necessary to enlighten those who have allowed themselves to be misled and to show them how, once more, the leaders of the United States are disguising the most selfish operations under the guise of generosity.

They base this demand on the wide-spread feeling that the exaggerated concern of sovereign rights of nations has been the cause of many wars and that it is necessary to foresee its abandonment. But as I said at Pleyel three years ago, the normal evolution of the world is certainly towards the disappearance of sovereign rights, and all the more so since the appliances of science tend more and more to link together the interests of all nations. The surrender of sovereign rights can be consented to when it would be to the benefit of all the nations in the world, the well-being of all and for Peace.

But this cannot be agreed to in an unreasonable manner and to the sole profit of a dominating nation. This would then be to play the game of imperialism which would end in those who abandoned their sovereign rights being colonised. Many who before did not believe in these simple reasons are now feeling the harmful effects of this policy which they had hitherto supported, and are beginning to express their disapproval.

The fact that some of these people participated in the Moscow Economic Conference, and the significance of this Conference in such circles, is proof of an awakening, and of the existence of an increasing drift of opinion which is opposed to the policy of conquest of American businessmen.

But uranium is not the only raw material which is preoccupying the attention of the leaders of the United States. And it is important to know all these preoccupations in order the better to understand one of the motives—and not the least important—of the foreign policy of the United States.

The report of the Presidential Commission of the United States[1] on the probable evolution of raw materials from 1950 to 1975, contains a mass of information.

At the present rate of increase of U.S. production which is doubling every twenty-five years, and in a world remaining divided into blocks, without economic relations, the United States could only with great difficulty procure for herself the necessary raw materials without almost totally depriving all her allies of them.

For instance, for oil, rubber, iron ore, zinc and manganese ore, she has so far absorbed half of the world production while only possessing less than 10 % of the population of the industrial nations.

In so far as uranium is concerned, in which she has very few ores, her needs amount to nearly the total production of her Allies (coming mainly from the Belgian Congo), which she uses and stockpiles on her own territory.

How can one avoid seeing in this fear of a famine of raw materials one of the most profound reasons for her "Holy War" policy?

It must be emphasized, however, that this dilemma is an artificial one: either to slow down economic progress, or make war.

It may be very praiseworthy to try and double production every twenty-five years, but not at the cost of producing want in the other countries of the world, not at the cost of war.

The truth is that by relieving humanity of the crushing burden of armaments, by turning the discoveries of science to peaceful uses, by accepting the peaceful co-existence of different systems, it would be easy to double the production of useful wealth every twenty-five years, not only for the United States, but for all the nations of the world.

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In this preliminary survey of the events which have exacerbated international tension, and which emphasize the danger of a world war, I have tried to throw into relief some of the tasks which it seems to me are of essential importance for the Peace Movement.

It is undeniable that our campaign to prevent war has already had great success. None the less, faced

[1] U.S. Information Bulletin No. 1952, June 19th, 1952.

with the danger which becomes more definite every day, we must intensify the struggle in making the successive objectives to be attained quite simple and quite clear to everyone.

Our Movement is open to all Peace-loving people, and it must be firmly understood by everyone that our sole aim is to prevent the terrible world war that certain people are preparing, and to contribute towards the establishment of a just and durable Peace.

Influenced in various ways, above all by lying propaganda, many honest people still have doubts about the sincerity of our campaign and will not join us. But many of them are not so blind that they cannot see, in the light of events, the real causes of the danger of war. More and more, individually or in groups, they condemn the dangers of their Governments' policy, and take action in favour of Peace. We believe that in taking such action, they strengthen the Peace Camp, even if sometimes they misjudge our Movement.

It is most important that despite the contradictions which still trouble them, these people should have confidence in the value of the strength they represent for the maintenance of Peace, and that is within their reach. We wish them every success in all their activities. We are well aware that these contradictions will iron themselves out if they follow through the path they have chosen, and that it will lead them to the peaceful solutions of the grave problems of today.

The aim is to establish a durable Peace, of benefit to all, whatever way of life is preferred. After all, is this not the point where all these paths converge, the various paths taken at the beginning of the struggle by all the different people who want Peace?

To succeed in our task, we must at every moment as it were, stop to analyse events and their relationships both objectively and carefully. We must understand properly the process by which a very important section of humanity in many countries, desiring only to live in Peace, has been hitherto induced to support or acquiesce in a policy which we know must lead inevitably to war.

Without making any claim to being the only defenders of Peace, we can claim that the value of our basic principles, our experience, the broad composition of our Movement, which is a living example of "peaceful co-existence", allows us to accomplish these tasks successfully, to make our contribution to the easing of the international situation, and to bring to fruition the most effective peaceful solutions. If we, that is each one of us, each defender of Peace, are so strong a factor for Peace, there is no contradiction between personal, political and other convictions, and the means which are envisaged or employed for the maintenance of Peace.

There cannot be such contradictions when men have decided their aim is, without championing any particular regime, to avoid a new and terrible war.

We have already mobilised a force of public opinion with which the forces making for war must reckon, and the success we have achieved explains their fury and the campaign of lies they have unleashed against our Movement. But those who are preparing for war are trying to create psychological conditions favourable to their policy. They know perfectly well that if the great body of public opinion made a stand against them, they could no longer continue this policy with impunity.

Which is why at every step they try to disguise the worst and most sordid of their acts by invoking the ideals dear to every normal civilized man. It is in the name of liberty, social progress, human values, security and Peace that they are trying to induce the so-called "Free World" to accept the military and economic domination of one nation, to the profit of that one nation alone, and, in the end, to accept a war of extermination against those who do not agree with them. They attempt to place the responsibility for all the present difficulties on the shoulders of those whom they call potential aggressors, painting a terrifying picture of their way of life. Their apparent plans for Peace are no other than plans for war, meant to impose in the name of I-don't-know-what divine mission a way of life which in their eyes is the only one worthy of being lived.

What they are trying to create is a "Holy War" spirit; a spirit which has as its final end the extermination, in the name of liberty, of those who prefer another way of life than theirs. How else are we to interpret this speech of President Truman to a delegation of émigré Rumanians on May the 5th?[1]

> "Your country will yet survive as a free country. You shall have our complete collaboration in helping you to survive. And if I am able to continue the programme which I have launched, you shall see your country free again in your lifetime."

A clearer admission that this programme is a war programme could not have been made.

It is often not easy for those people whose social origin and philosophy gives them a preference for a particular way of life, to resist propaganda which leads them to believe that the only way to safeguard it is to support a policy which they know well could lead to war. These people must learn that it is their right to choose their particular way of life, and there is no question of having to support a policy which would impose on them a way a life they don't want. It is the right of every people to choose the regime they prefer. That is the principle of the peaceful co-existence of different regimes which is one of the fundamental bases of our struggle for Peace and which must be opposed to the policy of a "Holy War". The moment that principle is admitted, all differences between nations can be arranged by negotiation, which implies reciprocal concessions and which leads to the operation of peaceful solutions, to everyone's profit.

It is unnecessary to stress here the economic advantages which would accrue to all the nations from peaceful co-existence. Raw materials and markets would be accessible for all, throughout world.

I repeat, the great success of the Moscow Economic Conference testifies to this truth.

If this principle of co-existence is not admitted and "peace" is sought only on condition that one particular ideology or regime must triumph, then negotiation must be rejected, concessions can no longer be made and one's will must be imposed by force, that is to say, by war.

This policy which consists in employing violence and presenting the peoples with faits accomplis is increasingly arousing the concern of all those who,

[1] U.S. Bulletin No. 1578, May 29th, 1952.

for the reasons which I have just mentioned, were induced to support it.

To substantiate this, I will quote an excellent article by Professor Maurice Duverger which was printed in the conservative newspaper, "Le Monde", April 12th, 1952, and entitled "Co-existence or a Holy War?" I quote the following extracts:

> "The first question is the military level which the West finally wishes to attain: Is it a question of equilibrium or one of superiority? Responsible persons here are discreet. Officially, one talks, above all, of equilibrium; in practice, many think in terms of a margin of superiority. The question in itself scarcely makes sense.
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> "Furthermore, it will always be difficult to gauge whether the equilibrium has been achieved or surpassed. All defeated conquerors believed themselves the strongest at the beginning. The crux of the problem lies in the ultimate aim of rearmament: is it a question of maintaining Peace or destroying Bolshevism? Do we want co-existence or a Holy War?
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> "Those who bluntly pose this question are generally considered as neutralist, 'cryptos', or traitors. Could it be that the West has a bad conscience?"

An ever increasing number of honest people, faced with the slander and the flagrant contradictions between the words and the deeds of the leaders of the Holy War policy, are beginning to perceive the dangers which they are running. They are discovering that the real objectives of this policy which they supported were in opposition to their deepest aspirations. This complete change of opinion in favour of a true road which leads to Peace is taking place at the present time in the minds of very considerable numbers of human beings.

It is understandable that this growing potential for Peace is not yet able to express itself strongly. When a man has supported in good faith a false "peace" policy for a number of years and begins to realise that he has been misled, he goes through a period of confusion and sees no way forward. A certain time must elapse before he can have confidence again and before he can find the way forward.

And this is an essential part of our task—to give back confidence to those—and they are very many—whose confusion leads to apathy and an acceptance of the inevitability of war.

But there are still others who do not yet realise the harm they are setting in store for themselves and for others by supporting the Holy War policy. In the forefront of these, it must unfortunately be said, are a very large number of American people.

It must be recognised that the American people, who have shown so many admirable qualities, and whose magnificent productive work can be so useful to the world, is suffering from the effects of unbridled propaganda and from a system called "internal security" which is isolating them more and more from the rest of the world.

They are made to believe that their security, the way of life which they love, are in danger, that such is the case for many peoples who are their friends, and in order to guarantee their essential mutual defence or to defend freedom, humanity, social progress, etc.... these people are being asked to make very heavy sacrifices in money and in work and even in the lives of many of their young men. Unthinkingly, trusting in the words of their statesmen and their generals, they are ready to throw themselves and the world into a terrible adventure.

How can the American people reconcile the principles they invoke of freedom, humanity and social progress with the fact that wherever, what they believe to be American aid is practised, Governments which are enemies of social progress and freedom, and are hostile to honest dealings, are put into power?

How can these principles be reconciled with the fact that Chiang Kai-Shek has been installed in Formosa, Syngman Rhee in Korea and Bao-Dai in Indo-China?

Does this mean that mutual defence can only be assured by what are the most corrupt and reactionary forces in the world?

This flagrant contradiction is already recognised by many Americans who are courageously struggling to enlighten their fellow citizens.

There are also statements by soldiers, workers, businessmen and tourists who return to the United States after having stayed for some time in other countries under United States influence. They tell their fellow citizens that the people of these countries feel no gratitude towards them. They learn that the reason why there are so many inscriptions on the walls and on the pavements, telling the Americans to go home, is because what they believe to be American aid to these countries has resulted in the worst social reaction, impoverishment, loss of national independence and the persecution of patriots, and that this is realised by people in all walks of life in these countries.

We must help the American people out of the isolation in which they are being kept. By acquainting them with the truth as to the consequences of the policy which they are supporting, we shall rid them of their dangerous illusions and we shall make them conscious of that part of the responsibility which they bear.

We can assure them that their true friends are not to be found in those whom they believe to be such. Would not the preparation of the World Congress present a good opportunity for the millions of men and women, young and old, who are following the true road which leads to prosperity and Peace, to write to the millions of men and women in the United States and enlighten them?

All this activity, in the fore-front of which stand the American Defenders of Peace, will combine to create a healthy and powerful current in the United States.

We must bear in mind that, faced with the dangers which are focussed in a third world conflict, anxiety, weariness and inhibiting confusion have taken hold of a very large number of honest people. In this situation, where it is continually a question of poverty and war, their lives become unbearable and many end by saying "We must put an end to it". This state of mind, once it becomes general, has already in the past led to making the people accept the unleashing of war. In contrast, it is our duty, by showing the solutions and the advantages of Peace, while there is still time, to transform this despair into a will to change the course of events, in favour of Peace.

We must put an end to it—by taking the road to Peace.

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In the last part of this address, I would like to clarify some aspects of the attitude which must be stimulated throughout our movement if we desire to get broad public opinion invincibly set against war.

If the proposal which is put forward to you to prepare for a great World Congress for Peace for the end of this year meets with your agreement, we will have to envisage during this Council meeting, the general outline of its tasks.

These tasks must be inspired by the will to change the course of events and must lead to solutions for the relaxation of international tension.

We have never, since the beginning of our Movement, since Pleyel, had to confront such a formidable situation. There have never been so many nor such great threats of war.

But I am convinced that without the weight of the World Peace Movement, the situation could be very much more serious. Have we not already succeeded in creating cracks in the war structure?

We must intensify our activity more than ever. The thousands of meetings, discussions and conferences which will start the preparation of the great World Congress we are planning will provide us with powerful means.

We have reason to be optimistic because we perceive that on many sides the war structure is beginning to totter.

In this race between War and Peace we shall be able to awaken the universal conscience in time and it is Peace which will win.

PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE GERMAN AND JAPANESE PROBLEMS

SECOND SESSION

(Tuesday, July 1st, Evening Session)

Presiding: Professor Walter FRIEDRICH (Germany), Rector of the University of Berlin, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

Report by Mr. Gordon SCHAFFER (Great Britain)
President of the British Peace Committee
Member of the World Council of Peace
on the Peaceful Solution of the German and Japanese Problems

The introduction to the first two questions on the agenda of this Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace in Berlin—those of Germany and Japan—was made by Mr. Gordon Schaffer, Chairman of the British Peace Committee and member of the World Council.

He referred to them as the "twin problems of Germany and Japan" and said that the one could not be discussed without the other since the two problems were intermingled. Peace had to be won both in Asia and Europe and freedom must be restored both in Japan and Germany.

"Both in Japan and West Germany, the agreement concluded at Potsdam between the war-time allies has been broken. The attempt is being made to force a solution in Asia without the Chinese People's Republic which speaks for a quarter of the human race, without the people of India and without the Soviet Union whose armies defeated the main Japanese land forces.

"In Europe the plan to remilitarise Western Germany is put forward against the united opposition of the people of the German Democratic Republic who have chosen a new path of Peace, friendship and social advance, against the nations in the East of Europe which suffered immeasurably at the hands of the Nazis and against the Soviet Union who bore the main brunt of the bloody struggle against the Nazi aggression."

But in both Japan and Germany the people are refusing to become cannon fodder for a new world war, said Mr. Schaffer and added:

"Later in this debate we shall hear from our friends and fellow fighters for Peace who are in the centre of these struggles. We have here representatives from People's China, from the brave people of Korea, from India, and I hope that the delegates from Japan have succeeded in reaching our Conference. We have here representatives from both sides of Germany, proving that on this platform for Peace the unity has already been achieved for which the whole German people are waiting."

The rest of Mr. Schaffer's speech was devoted to the German problem. He spoke of the "artificial slashing of an arbitrary frontier across the territory of a great nation" as being "an affront to the German people and a perpetual danger to world Peace" and recalled the warning made by the World Council when it had last met in Berlin in February 1951:

"In betrayal of the wishes of the people in whose name treaties were signed insisting on the disarma-

ment of Germany, military and Nazi forces are being revived. This military and industrial re-armament of Germany constitutes the most serious danger of a new world war."

Today, talk of Western German units in a European army has given place to blatent demands for a West German army.

"Herr Blank, Security Commissioner of Western Germany, announces 12 armoured divisions and an air force as great as the one which conquered France.

"The former Hitler generals and their allies in America, make no secret of their desire to recreate West German armies to try once again to fight the war which Hitler lost. Hitler's former generals declare openly that their conception of the so-called defence of the West is to wage war against the German Democratic Republic and the Western territories of Poland. Walter Lippman, the American commentator, has warned that the former Hitler generals seek to drag America and her allies into a war against Poland's capital, Warsaw, and against Kaliningrad in the Soviet Union. Hugh Dalton, the British Labour leader, told in Britain of his horror when he found that certain leaders of the German Social Democratic Party were demanding not only Poland's Western territories, but Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia as well.

"I am glad," continued Mr. Schaffer, "that we can record that these leaders do not represent the majority of the membership of the German Social Democratic Party which is taking a great part in the struggle in Western Germany against the contract signed in Bonn."

Dealing with the fact that the industrialists who financed Hitler were back in power, Mr. Schaffer said:

"West German newspapers have printed exposures showing that 85 per cent of the senior officials in the Federal German Foreign Office were formerly Nazis. In West Germany today men and women who fought fascism are victimised: a Nazi Party card today is too often a passport to high positions . . .

"Hitler's generals are making their own terms. They will only prepare to fight Hitler's war over again if it is admitted that Hitler was right first time; that Hess was right when he flew to Britain in May 1941 to urge the British Government to end the war in the West and join the Nazis in an attack on the Soviet Union; that Himmler was right when he offered to open the gate to the British and Americans in return for assistance against the Russians."

It was in an effort to confuse the people who ardently desired the final destruction of nazi-ism and fascism that certain leaders in Britain preached hatred against the German people because they wanted a war against Germany and not against the Nazi aggressors.

"But," Mr. Schaffer continued, "the peoples learned many lessons during the war. They understood why Hitler Germany was allowed and even encouraged to prepare war. They learned of the role of the international trusts and cartels in preparing for Hitler's aggression. The anti-trust department in Washington published the evidence showing that Hitler's war was made possible by the agreements between the German cartels and the cartels of the United States, Japan and other countries. Hitler had no oil or rubber, but he had coal and so by agreement between Standard Oil and I.G.-Farben, Germany was given every facility to make oil from coal and rubber from oil. Nazi Germany needed tungsten and other rare materials. She got them by agreement between Krupps of Germany and General Electric of the United States.

"Even when war had begun, representatives of Standard Oil of the United States and I.G.-Farben of Germany met at the Hague. They concluded an agreement recording their determination to resume their happy relationship after the war . . .

"Mr. President, fellow fighters for Peace, surely the issue could not be clearer. The tragic years since 1945 can be understood only if one sees them against this background. The cartel kings who gave a pledge at the Hague to resume friendly relations when the war ended kept their promises, the Western powers who signed the agreement of Potsdam to break up the cartels have broken theirs."

"Our world Peace Movement has sought since its foundation to bring behind the banner of Peace men and women of the most varied viewpoints. When we say that we are a broad movement proudly claiming to speak for all sections of our common humanity, threatened by common disaster, we mean it sincerely and without qualification. We have gladly welcomed the support of some who believe that Western re-armament was genuinely planned for defence.

"But on this question of rebuilding a Nazi-dominated Western Germany, there can surely be no division of opinion.

"If the leaders of the Western Powers want the friendship of Hitler's generals, they cannot expect the support of their peoples. If the leaders of Britain, France, Holland, Belgium and Denmark wish to greet as allies those who ravaged and tortured their countries they must expect to meet the anger of their peoples."

Mr. Schaffer then drew attention to the movements against German re-armament parallel to that of the World Council of Peace.

"A group of prominent personalities from France and Belgium, Socialists, Liberals, Communists, retired officers, in fact men and women from almost all shades of opinion in both countries gave their pledge to join in opposing German re-armament and safeguarding the Peace they had won together.

"In March 1951 just under 900 delegates from 17 European countries met in Berlin to voice the opposition of the workers. They called on all workers to unite on this issue and the struggle for a peace treaty with a united demilitarised Germany . . .

"In December 1951 French and German leaders of opinion again from the most varied sections decided at Strasbourg to plan a conference representing Germany and her neighbours. Out of that initiative came finally the conference held just over a fortnight ago near Copenhagen—a conference which gave the most serious study to the many and varied aspects of the German problem and showed that although there are many differences in detail there is a very broad measure of agreement on principle."

After dealing with the opposition of the peoples to

German re-armament in France, in Western Germany and in Britain, Mr. Schaffer said the Session should take note of the danger to Peace implicit in the open threats to use armed force in an attempt to revise the frontiers of Germany and Poland.

"The plain fact is that the demands in the West of Germany for the use of armed force against the Oder—Neisse frontier, backed as they are by shrill propaganda from America and Britain, is the blue print for world war three. These frontiers were agreed by all the war-time allies who also sanctioned the transfer of the German-speaking population. It seems to me that if this Council were to give a warning that potential aggressors are playing with fire by these threats, it would strengthen the cause of Peace.

Frau HOERETH-MENGE (Germany), member of the Munich City Council, member of the Committee of the League for Human Rights, Member of the World Council of Peace.

Recalling the resistance movement in West Germany against the anti-national policy of the Bonn Government, Frau Hoereth-Menge stressed that all honest Germans are fully aware of the value of the Soviet proposals regarding the German question which also correspond to the national interests of the German people as to those of neighbouring peoples. They are fully aware that the German people can assure their existence only if they succeed in putting an end to their division and in creating a united, democratic, sovereign and peaceful German State which will not threaten her neighbours.

Abbé Jean BOULIER (France), Member of the World Council of Peace, then analysed the legal aspects of various aggressive military pacts, particularly the recent Bonn and Paris Agreements.

Mrs. FORCHAMMER (Denmark), Vice-President of the National Council of Women (an invited visitor), explained that, having been frequently a victim of German militarism, Denmark is against any re-militarisation of Germany. The Western Powers have integrated West Germany into the Atlantic Pact. Specifically, she said:

"The neighbouring States clearly see the mortal danger which springs from the re-armament of a Germany which, in the heart of Europe, creates the situation of a new Korea. On the contrary those sections of the population who want a demilitarised Germany, see the creation of a demilitarised zone in the heart of Europe as a decisive factor in reducing tension, and the starting point of general disarmament."

Herr Stephan HERMLIN (Germany), the writer (an invited visitor), showed that the repeated refusals of the Adenauer Government in considering the peaceful proposals of the German Democratic Republic are a reflection of the United States' desire to see German militarism reborn.

He quoted the words of the West German statesmen, Kaiser and Hallstein, claiming Polish, French and Czech territories. The current plan aims at conquering the German Democratic Republic and its realisation would be in conflict with the Potsdam Agreement. Herr Hermlin gave a series of recent facts showing the war preparations of the Western Powers, specifically the organisation of groups of spies and saboteurs. Some of these admitted their acts in court. It was intended to bring back fascist terror and it was openly admitted that there was no question of re-unifying Germany, but rather of "liberating the Eastern provinces."

President Pieck had made it clear that if it was impossible to prevent the putting into effect of the war agreements, the German Democratic Republic would have to think of its defence. Herr Hermlin then spoke of the free and creative work carried on in the German Democratic Republic: "Our workers and our farmers no longer work for the war-lords. They love their new life. They are ready to defend their soil and their factories. They will also defend the confidence which other peoples are beginning to place in us."

THIRD SESSION

(Wednesday, July 2nd, morning)

Presiding: Signor Ricardo LOMBARDI (Italy), Deputy, former Minister, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

Bruno FREI (Austria), journalist (an invited visitor), said that the Austrian people know that a peaceful solution of the German problem, such as the Soviet Government has proposed, would also mean a peaceful solution of the Austrian problem. The United States want to make Austria a fortress between Germany and the Balkans; the Austrian rulers favour these plans, in alliance with the Yugoslav Government. They plan to turn Austria into a "bulwark" between East and West when by nature she is a bridge between them. But the determination not to participate in any military alliance is grow-

ing daily; the will to remain neutral is being strengthened.

Mme Isabelle BLUME (Belgium), Deputy, Secretary of the World Council of Peace, drew attention to the danger which the extension of the European Union to the Scandinavian countries represented from the viewpoint of political power. Although it does not make sense, many people have been taken in by it. The detrimental action of the Strasbourg Council has been to create supra-national powers, such as the Schuman Plan and the European Defence Community. These supra-national powers present a serious danger since they are beyond parliamentary control and permit men who are not responsible to their people to create situations of conflict, without the people having a chance to intervene.

Mme BLUME then proceeded to define forms of activity against the authoritarian powers in the Defence Community; the Peace Movement in each country must win over its Members of Parliament and, if possible, its Government; it should try to reach the Catholic Church and the Socialist Party. Parliaments of certain countries could appeal to the Members of Parliament of the six countries involved. A document on the European Defence Community needs to be published. Our voices should be heard by the Council of Europe and the people must be won over through thorough-going work of enlightenment. But above all, we must carry on a vast campaign among the people of the United States to acquaint them with the truth about these problems.

Sig. Saverio BRIGANTE (Italy), First Honorary President of the Supreme Court of Rome (an invited visitor), made it clear that the United Nations had not been created to establish or maintain certain balances of power with the aid of military coalitions, but to achieve united world action for Peace. To assure the application of this new principle, there can be only one force, that of the United Nations. The military treaties concluded at present within the framework of the Agreement on the European Army and dealing with the establishment of bases, the passage and stationing of troops on foreign territories, are therefore in contradiction with the U.N. Charter; the Charter in fact provides that no such agreements could be arrived at and concluded except upon the initiative and with the participation of the Security Council. With such agreements, Sig. Brigante stated, we have therefore returned to a system of military coalitions which cannot safeguard Peace.

"Any preventive treaty, even to prepare for urgent military steps, belongs exclusively to the domain of the Security Council, assisted by the Military Staff Committee.

"The movement of armed forces from one country to another constitutes in itself a danger to Peace; only the Security Council has, therefore, the power to co-ordinate, control and direct.

"Obviously, we must recognise the right to resist an armed attack, even collectively, but to exercise this right of legitimate defence we cannot have preventive armament treaties not planned by the Sovereign World Power, that is by the United Nations and, for the latter, by the Security Council. Otherwise we shall fall into the old system of coalitions which, up to the present, has perpetuated war in the world, and not Peace."

As for the German problem, Sig. Brigante noted that because of her artificial division, Germany cannot but aim for re-unification through all available means. The re-unification of this country must be accomplished, but for this we must adhere to the principles of International Law.

Leon KRUCZKOWSKI (Poland), the writer, Member of the World Council of Peace, speaking in the name of the Polish people, communicated the emotion and indignation of that people, so cruelly hit by the last World War, at the signing of the treaties which will reconstitute an aggressive German army; this is a new step towards war, a threat to the security of the other nations and specifically those who are neighbours of Germany. It is also an act aimed against the national sovereignty and the fundamental interests of the German people themselves.

The speaker then emphasized the ardent desire for Peace of the great majority of the German people. Seven years after the victory which was won in a common struggle against Hitler imperialism and militarism, the great majority of the German people are rising up against the attempts being made to drag them into the new plans of U.S. imperialism.

The sincere relations of friendship, good neighbourliness and co-operation which unite the German Democratic Republic and Poland are also an essential token of Peace and happiness.

Mme Elin APPEL (Denmark), professor, Member of the World Council of Peace, then dealt with the creation of a unified, neutral, demilitarised Germany without any alliances which must become the concern of the Four Great Powers.

She was followed by **Arnold ZWEIG** (Germany), the writer, Deputy, President of the Academy of Fine Arts and Member of the World Council of Peace. He showed that German unity, if constituted democratically, will threaten neither the security of neighbouring countries, nor the Peace of the world.

Mr. Babo ZACHARESCU (Rumania), professor of political economy (an invited visitor), stressed the importance of the economic questions in the dilemma: Peace or war.

Trade relations between the countries of South-eastern Europe and Germany should be improved to the mutual advantage of these parties and in the interest of Peace. At one time these relations were very important. Ever since 1945, the economic life of the South-eastern European countries has been transformed and developed; this represents a more fertile field for trade than a backward economy. It was proved at the Moscow Conference that Rumania, for example, could buy much German merchandise and in return sell, among other things, large quantities of oil and agricultural products. On the whole, such exchange would make possible a constructive and peaceful development of the German economy. Mr. Zacharescu showed on the basis of statistics that the volume of trade is growing between the countries of South-eastern Europe and the German Democratic Republic.

Contrasted with this, and despite the mutual desire for trade, commercial exchange between these same countries and Western Germany have dropped because of the attitude of the Occupation Powers. The

division of Germany therefore becomes a deterrent both to international commerce and to the development of Germany's economy which some consider a dangerous competitor. The rulers of the United States want to hold the German economy in a state of bondage. Leading economists and businessmen of West Germany protest against this situation and consider the development of German-East-European commerce preferable to the arms' race for the maintenance of Peace.

FOURTH SESSION

(Wednesday, July 2nd, afternoon)

Presiding: Alexander FADEYEV (U.S.S.R.), writer,
Vice-President of the World Council of Peace.

Mr. Meir YAARI (Israel), Deputy, Member of the World Council of Peace, dealt with the struggle of the people of Israel against the re-militarisation of Germany, against the preparations for aggression in the Middle-East and specifically against the projected Middle-Eastern Pact.

M. Jacques DENIS (France), General Secretary of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Member of the World Council of Peace, stated that, in order to set up new German and Japanese armies, many young people are needed, and to make them accept military service, it was necessary to deceive them. The principal theme used is that of a "United Europe", and within this framework, that of a "European Youth".

He made it clear that the promoters of this idea are agents of the U.S. Information Service and army and American businessmen. Their main task consists of preparing the youth for the European army with the aid of newspapers and other publications, in a spirit of revenge against the Soviet Union. But the young people are not ready to accept these lies and M. Denis gave many examples to prove this. He stressed, however, that we must not underestimate the continual effort made to poison the minds of the youth, particularly in the schools, while national traditions are being trampled upon; this is doubly important since continuously worsening living conditions may more easily drive the youngsters into the army.

Europe's youth must again find common interests in peaceful and constructive relations by being offered a noble, beautiful and inspiring goal.

This must become not only the concern of the young people, but of the entire Peace Movement.

Herr FRENKEL (Germany), an invited visitor, showed how legally invalid the treaties of Bonn and Paris are. The only legal basis for a German settlement is the Potsdam Agreement.

Frau FASSBINDER (Germany), professor at the University of Bonn (an invited visitor), said that her remarks would centre on the neutrality or the neutralisation of Germany. Being a member of the "Emergency Organisation for European Peace" and working in close collaboration with Pastor Niemöller and other personalities, her contribution would reflect their conceptions, generally identical with her own.

Frau Fassbinder dealt with the roots of the idea of neutrality: the example of Switzerland and Sweden; the fear that Germany might again become a battlefield; the knowledge that her military strength does not correspond to the demands of today's weapons, and so on. How did political figures like Pastor Niemöller, Dr. Heinemann and Frau Helene Wessel envisage this neutrality?

Not a unified Germany tied to Russia, but not a unified Germany tied to the Atlantic Pact, as envisaged in the Contractual Agreements, either.

What remains to be decided is whether this should be an armed, unarmed, or slightly armed neutrality.

She thought that it would be appropriate to safeguard the borders within the framework of a United Nations force to maintain order, since Germany would be a member of the United Nations.

She made it clear that what she had just said represented possibilities, and not present conditions. In such a neutral Germany, the much feared Nazi ideas would have little chance to develop.

In conclusion she affirmed that the road of fruitful neutrality for Germany can be found only in Peace.

Sig. Giuseppe NITTI (Italy), Deputy (an invited visitor), took the floor in the name of the delegation from the Odense Conference and was attending the Council meeting as an observer.

He gave a brief account of this Conference, emphasizing its independent character and the diversity of membership it had obtained, and then showed that the peaceful solution of the German problem could not prevail while the country remained divided; it could only regain its sovereignty through a genuine Peace Treaty. The Contractual Agreements which are an open violation of the Potsdam Agreement, aggravate the division between the two parts of the world. The Odense Conference showed that the chances of Peace depend on the recognition of the rights of the German people and on valid guarantees for the neighbouring countries. In the absence of the German delegates the Conference was unable to deal with all these problems. A Conference for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem will take place in the near future.

M. Abderrhaman BOUCHAMA (Algeria), architect, Member of the World Council of Peace, then described the danger which the rebirth of a militaristic and revanchist Germany would represent for the peoples of North Africa.

Dr. Jean-Pierre MAY (France), Member of the World Council of Peace, emphasized the aggressive nature of the Bonn and Paris treaties which carry with them dangers of which ever larger sections of the French population are becoming conscious.

FIFTH SESSION

(Wednesday, July 2nd, night session)

Presiding: KUO MO-JO (China), writer, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace.

Frau Charlotte FLEISCHMANN (Germany), District President of the Christian-Socialist Union (an invited visitor).

The speaker conveyed greetings and a message from Dr. Josef WIRTH, former Chancellor of the Reich, from Wilhelm ELFES and Frau von KARDORFF-OHEIMB, a member of the "Congress For Mutual German Understanding and an Equitable Peace Treaty", who were unable to obtain their interzonal passes to participate in the Session.

First she said that the "Work Circle for German Understanding" to which she belongs, has recently had very satisfactory contacts with all groups in Western Germany. She continued:

"We are wholeheartedly opposed to the General Treaty and to all agreements attached thereto. Not only do they run counter to the national interest of the German people, but they also create a threatening state of affairs which corresponds neither to the Hague Convention nor to the right of sovereignty, nor to any other right commonly accepted among nations.

"This general treaty would mean for Germany a permanent state of division and would be instrumental in keeping our people forever deprived of their legitimate rights."

In conclusion, Frau Fleischmann demanded the constitution of a united and strong Germany, a guarantee for a democratic regime, a guarantee for Peace in Europe.

Professor Felix IVERSEN (Finland), President of the Pacifist Council, Member of the World Council of Peace, exposed the dangers threatening Peace through the attempts of the Western Powers to bring about German unity by the use of military power on the part of Western Germany.

Herr TAFFERT (Germany), a farmer (an invited visitor), then told why the farmers of the German Democratic Republic want a united, peaceful Germany.

Wanda WASSILIEVSKA (U.S.S.R.), the writer, Member of the World Council of Peace, stated that the General Treaty is a war treaty, and no effort is being made to conceal it. The provisions of the treaty envisage the possibility of intervention—under various pretexts—of American-Anglo-French troops stationed in Germany. This, in fact, deprives the Bonn State of all sovereignty. These provisions bear a grave danger for Peace. Certain modifications in form do not change at all the fact that Western Germany will be kept under the control of the occupation troops.

Mme Wassilievska, quoting examples from history, declared that a restored German imperialism would not content itself in trying to reconquer the Eastern territories, but would also menace the West. She then spoke of how the former Nazi generals are put back into the saddle, how Western Germany is being oriented towards war production, including the manufacture of bacteriological weapons. This policy has for its purpose, according to Herr Adenauer, the setting up of "a new order in Eastern Europe". Furthermore, one article of the Bonn treaty provides that these provisions would eventually be extended to all of Germany. Moreover, it becomes clear that this treaty is to play the same role as the treaty with Japan.

The demands of hundreds of millions of men and women the world over are expressed in the following terms:

—Conclusion of a Peace Treaty with Germany;

—A chance for the German people to lead a normal life in a normal state;

—Germany to cease being a threat to Peace and to become a truly democratic State.

—Such a Germany to enjoy full sovereignty which, among other things, would imply her right to have an army for defence.

We have faith, the speaker went on, in the possibility of a peaceful solution of the German problem because we have faith in the struggle of the peoples, in whose front ranks stand the German people. She closed by supporting the proposal of President Joliot-Curie, and by asking that the World Council of Peace appeal to the Four Great Powers to meet with the aim of discussing free elections and the formation of a Government for all of Germany, the prompt conclusion of a Peace treaty and the withdrawal of all occupation troops from Germany.

Walter DIEHL (Germany), a student, Member of the World Council of Peace, then showed that the peaceful unification of Germany would be the starting point for a general peaceful solution in Europe.

Frau Anna SEGHERS (Germany), the writer, Member of the World Council of Peace.

Frau Seghers made several suggestions:

"'The White Book'—how are we to present such a book based on authentic material which we know so well here in Germany? I will give you just one passage which might well appear in such a book and which would open the eyes of a lot people who are still far from us.

"Before 2,000 Bonn students, the War Minister of the Federal Republic, declared recently:

'French public opinion believed that they were on the side of the victors and that France had won the war.' The report states that there was prolonged laughter. When this had subsided, Herr Blanc added:

'I think I must have made an unintentional joke.'"

Frau Seghers continued:

"I consider that we, the German Defenders of Peace, must consider it an honour to be given the task of making this 'White Book' which should demonstrate not only the level of militarisation in Western Germany, but also the important changes which are coming about in the heart of the German people. The German people have learned how to distinguish between their old and their new friends. And at this point I come to what Herr Hermlin said yesterday:

'The different groups from Germany who are partially represented here, the different parties, philosophical conceptions... must make contact, without hesitation, with the corresponding groups amongst other peoples.'

"We promise the greatest response from a meeting of the mothers of the entire world for the defence of their sons. There is no woman, be she black, white or yellow, be she a Soviet woman, an American, a French, English or German woman, who would want to give up what she holds most dear as cannon fodder. That is why the idea of this conference, which is as simple as it is powerful, must find an extensive and deep response."

Colonel MANHES (France), President of the International Resistance Federation (an invited visitor).

Col. Manhes spoke in the name of the International Resistance Federation. It was useless, he said, to try to make the resistance fighters believe that a divided Germany constitutes less of a danger than a unified Germany: the lesson of Korea has not been lost. The fight of the German people for unity is just. Since certain groups do not believe in the possibility of a peaceful solution of the German problem, it becomes necessary to carry on intensified activities to clarify public thinking on the development of the German people. In the face of a campaign of lies, we must bring about an understanding that the peaceful solution of the German problem is to be found in the signing of a just Peace Treaty with a unified, democratic and peaceful Germany and a refusal to become involved in any bloc or coalitions directed against a former Allied State.

Professor HROMADKA (Czechoslovakia), Member of the Central Committee of the Council of Churches, Member of the World Council of Peace, spoke of the bonds of friendship which unite the German people and those of her neighbours.

Vaino MELTTI (Finland), a civil administrator, Member of the World Council of Peace, then spoke of the opposition of the Finnish people to the reviving of the German military forces, as well as to any participation in the Atlantic Pact.

SIXTH SESSION

(Thursday, July 3rd, morning)

Presiding: Gabriel d'ARBOUSSIER (North Africa), Vice-President of the World Council of Peace.

The first speaker, **Mr. Desmond BUCKLE** (Union of South Africa), a Member of the World Council of Peace, spoke of the struggle of the South African peoples against racism and fascism, a struggle which is an integral part of the fight for World Peace.

Sr. José Luis MASSERA (Uruguay), a mathematician, Member of the World Council of Peace.

Sr. Massera stressed the close connection between the war preparations in Germany and Japan on the one hand, and in Latin-America on the other. They are the same kinds of military pacts, the same plans to utilize the economic potential, the same attacks against democratic freedoms and the Defenders of Peace. Consequently, it becomes impossible to separate the struggle of the German, Japanese, Korean, French and Italian peoples from the great struggle for national independence of the peoples of Latin America.

The Latin Americans understand that if war broke out in Europe, their countries would be immediately involved through the bilateral treaties. For this reason they have a deep interest in the German problem.

Mme Aneska HODINOVA-SPURNA (Czechoslovakia), Vice-President of the National Assembly, Member of the World Council of Peace.

Recalling the pact of Munich which opened the way to World War II, Mme Hodinova-Spurna commented that also today war treaties are being signed, while the talk is hypocritically of Peace. The Czechoslovak people are all the more opposed to these treaties since they see themselves directly threatened by war preparations which are setting up a German army on their borders with former nazi generals under Ridgway's command. The recent agreements signed by the Western Powers with Adenauer are intended

to nullify the Potsdam Agreement, against the interests of Peace and against the wishes of the German people. The plans of the imperialists, Mme Hodinova-Spurna warned, are bound to fail. The peoples of the world fight for Peace. The Czechoslovak people are ready to lend all their aid to the German people for the building of a peaceful State. Peace will be assured if all peoples unite and join forces.

Mr. Arild HAALAND of Norway (an invited visitor) spoke of the opposition of the Scandinavian peoples to Germany's rearmament, and expressed himself for a unified and neutral Germany.

With the speech of Mr. KAWAMURA (Japan) the discussion on the Japanese problem, which was included the first point on the agenda, commenced.

Mr. KAWAMURA (an invited visitor) demonstrated that Japan is today the biggest war base of the United States in Asia. But her rearmament is being hampered by the will for Peace of the Japanese people. The struggle of the Japanese workers was well demonstrated by the four general strikes in defence of their liberties and democratic rights. The events of May 1, 1952, were the high point of these manifestations. On that day, 4,000,000 workers were gathered in 400 organised meetings throughout the country. The workers know that the suppression of their freedoms opens the road to war. Because the struggle and the people's happiness are constantly blocked by the war policy, it will not be easy to make the latter succeed. Rearmament crushes the economic life, the young people fight against conscription and the peasants rise against the confiscation of their land for military purposes. Manufacturers and businessmen demand the re-opening of trade with China and the USSR. This shows the possibility of developing a very broad national movement, encompassing all sections of the population. This movement cannot be stopped by the intensification of the war policy of the Yoshida Government; on the contrary, this can only lead to an intensification of the struggle for national liberation.

Mr. Kawamura stated that the establishment of a People's China was considered a profound historical lesson by the Japanese people, themselves engaged in a national liberation struggle. He pointed out that the spirit of internationalism, demonstrated by the Chinese in coming to the aid of Korea in defence of Peace in Asia, showed the Japanese people that solidarity with all Asian peoples was the road to follow. Furthermore, the revelations about bacteriological warfare and the murder of prisoners-of-war have increased the hatred of the Japanese towards the American occupiers and have stirred them to intensify their fight against war, for the immediate withdrawal of the occupation forces and for national independence. The speaker added: "The national liberation movements of the South-Asiatic countries such as Viet-Nam, the Philippines, Malaya and Burma are bound to be more closely linked with the struggle of the Japanese people. The Yoshida Government, upon orders from the Americans, pursues a so-called plan of South Asian development with regard to these countries which, in reality, is nothing but a disguised method of robbing them of their strategic raw materials, and of building military bases on their territories. The Japanese and South Asian peoples must join hands in order to doom these policies to failure."

Mr. MEI JOU AO (China), a lawyer, Member of the World Council of Peace.

The signing of the San Francisco "Peace Treaty" with Japan, without the participation of India, Burma, the USSR and the People's Republic of China, the conclusion of a "Security Pact" between the United States and Japan, the signing of the "Administrative Agreements", the dissolving of the Far Eastern Commission and the Allied Council for Japan, the treaty signed between the Yoshida Government and Chiang Kai-Shek, all these are measures which violate international agreements with the aim of re-militarising Japan and of turning her into a centre for war in the Far East, a base and dependency of the United States.

United States troops will continue to be stationed in Japan and will continue to establish numerous air and naval bases there under different forms and names. Japanese military groups are being set up, comprising hundreds of thousands of men, with heavy equipment and a U.S. officer's corps. A Japanese air force is in the process of being formed, the production of weapons is being taken up on a large scale and the Japanese war criminals have been freed.

A heavy burden weighs on the Japanese economy; 70 per cent of the budget is designated for war, more than 10,000,000 workers are unemployed, the people are undernourished and there are no freedoms.

Such a situation menaces the Peace of Asia and the world. But the Japanese people, despite overwhelming difficulties, carry on an incessant, courageous struggle which is constantly growing. All Asian peoples consider the struggle of the Japanese people their own. The great success achieved by the preparatory Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Countries, recently held at Peking, is an example.

Mr. U. HLA (Burma), a writer, Member of the World Council of Peace, in the first part of his speech showed that for nearly five years there had been no

Peace in Burma. Profiting from the worsening of Burma's economic situation—which the imperialists themselves had provoked—they were extending their domination and turning Burma into an aggressive base within the framework of their general plan for war. But they clashed with the peaceful desires of the Burmese people who were struggling against the re-armament of Japan, against the war in Korea and the bacteriological bombardments. This struggle of the Burmese people linked up with the world struggle for Peace. In order that this struggle should be victorious and the general war plans of the imperialists be put in check, unity was an essential condition.

Señor Eduardo MORA VALVERDE (Costa-Rica), (an invited visitor), explained how the people of Central America fight against the San Francisco Treaty and against imperialism.

Señor Manuel CRUZ from the Philippines (an invited visitor), then painted a picture of the struggle of the Philippine national liberation movement against the transformation of its country into a base of aggression for the United States.

Mr. SURJONOGORO (Indonesia), an industrialist, (an invited visitor) observed that by her geographical position and natural wealth, Indonesia was in the front rank as a producer of strategic raw materials. She has also been called upon to furnish manpower for the next war. As a result of war preparations, misery and famine reign in the country. Fifty per cent of the population suffers from tuberculosis. In Indonesia, democracy has been destroyed, fascist laws have been created to break the resistance of the people. The Indonesian people demand:

—Withdrawal of foreign troops from Japan;
—Non-intervention in the internal affairs of Japan;
—Full freedom for the Japanese people to make their own unfettered choice;
—Sentencing of war criminals recently cleared;
—Prohibition of the use of bacteriological weapons and other weapons of mass destruction;
—A new Peace Treaty with Japan and annulment of the San Francisco Treaty;
—A peaceful solution of the Korean problem and the conflicts in Viet-Nam, Malaya, Laos and Cambodia;
—The conclusion of a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers.

Sra. Mireya LAFUENTE (Chili), an artist, (an invited visitor), said that the revival of Japanese militarism and its alliance with the United States constitutes a threat to Peace, and to the security and sovereignty of the countries bordering the Pacific. The people of Latin America know that Peace in Asia means Peace for them as well as respect for their sovereignty.

The San Francisco Treaties and the continuation of the Korean war, together with the use of bacterial weapons, is a threat to the Chilean people.

Sra. Lafuente then referred to the military pact between Chile and the United States, which means in fact the total surrender of the country into the hands of the United States. With united forces the people are waging an energetic struggle against the Pact, in the interests of the country and for Peace in the Pacific.

Mrs. Jessie STREET (Australia), was a member of the Australian delegation to the Conference on International Organisation (San Francisco 1945) at which the United Nations was constituted; Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

Mrs. Street recalled the treaties signed last year between the United States and the different countries of the Pacific (the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand and Japan). All of them had features in common, and in common with the Atlantic Pact, and all referred back to the United Nations Charter. They were all, however, in contradiction to many clauses of the Charter, particularly those giving the Security Council the chief responsibility for the maintenance of Peace in the world.

The "threats of aggression", moreover, invoked to justify these Pacts were nothing but pretexts, since the word "aggression" was used for all the efforts made towards social and national liberation by the peoples of the world. Furthermore, the authors of these pacts did not hide the fact that these Pacts were designed to "liberate" those countries which had adopted a new social order.

These two aims were condemned by the United Nations Charter, which stipulated the rights to independence of all countries, and no interference in the affairs of other countries.

Mr. Mulk RAJ ANAND (India), the writer, Member of the World Council of Peace, recalling the history of Japanese imperialism, remarked that the current attitude of the United States towards Japan shows that the lesson of Pearl Harbour has been forgotten. The San Francisco Treaty seriously affects the peoples of South-east Asia. China who did so much to conquer Japanese imperialism, was not consulted, the USSR was ignored. The reason for this is that the treaty seems designed to prepare war against these countries. Concluded, as it was, without taking into consideration the treaties of Yalta and Potsdam, it cannot be considered valid.

The plans which now are to be realised in Europe have already been put in practice in Asia.

The peoples must wage a united struggle to obtain a just Peace Treaty with Japan, an end to the war in Korea, the representation of China in the United Nations and the return of Taiwan to China. The treaties with Japan and Germany are imperialist plots to subject the world. The peoples must transform the fight for Peace into a fight for truth. If those who know the truth remain silent, they act like criminals. The Indian people were well aware of the crimes committed in Korea and were also conscious of the responsibility they bore humanity.

Hon. Ivor MONTAGU (Great Britain), publicist, Secretary of the World Council of Peace, drew a parallel between the current situation in Germany and that of Japan and showed that both fit into the "global policy" of the United States.

AN IMMEDIATE END TO THE WAR IN KOREA

SEVENTH SESSION

(Thursday, July 3rd, afternoon)

Presiding: Leopold INFELD (Poland), scientist,
Vice-President of the World Council of Peace.

Report by Mr. KUO MO-JO (China)
the writer, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace,
on The Cessation Of The War In Korea

Mr. Kuo MO-JO proposed to limit himself to a few general remarks on the Korean problem.

He recalled that the war has been in process for two years, and the armistice talks for almost one year. The unreasonable demands and provocations of the Americans, he said, have hindered the success of the negotiations. Under the circumstances, the Chinese and Korean peoples have shown great patience and extreme firmness.

There remains only one problem to be settled; that of repatriation of prisoners-of-war, and discussions on this problem have lasted since last November. Mr. Kuo MO-JO went on:

"In reality there is no problem. According to historical precedents, and particularly on the basis of the Geneva Convention of 1949, the two parties must repatriate their war prisoners as soon as fighting has ceased. War prisoners cannot give up their privilege to return home to a life of Peace. However, the United States are not inclined to observe the Geneva Convention and instead demand the right to continue to hold more than 100,000 Korean and Chinese prisoners-of-war. This, ladies and gentlemen, is how the armistice talks have been stopped."

The U.S. representatives use different means and pretexts to suspend and delay the negotiations. Yet, the Chinese and Koreans, according to Mr. Kuo MO-JO, have made important concessions; in particular they have agreed not to send the repatriated prisoners back into combat.

The speaker then examined the general attitude of the Americans which shows their intention to undermine the negotiations.

First of all the large-scale use of bacteriological weapons while the negotiations were going on.

Furthermore, the huge massacre of Korean and Chinese war prisoners on the isle of Koje. What was the reason for this action? The refusal of the prisoners to submit to the pressure put on them by the Americans so that they would refuse to be repatriated. This has been admitted by the U.S. camp commandant.

Finally, on top of all this, the hydro-electric stations of the Yalu river have been bombed. These are the common property of the Chinese and Koreans.

We appeal to the peoples of the world to help realise the following objectives:

(1)—To put an immediate end to the use of bacteriological weapons and to ask the peoples of all countries to request their respective Governments to ratify and observe the Geneva Protocol of June 17, 1925 on the prohibition of the use of bacteriological weapons.

(2)—To put an immediate end to the murder of peaceful civilians and the blind destruction of quiet cities and peaceful construction work.

(3)—To put an immediate end to the ill-treatment and massacre of prisoners-of-war which is contrary to International Law.

(4)—To arrive at an immediate agreement in the armistice negotiations so that the two parties will be able to repatriate their war prisoners unconditionally, in accordance with the Geneva agreement of 1949 on prisoners of war.

(5)—To bring about immediately a settlement of the Korean problem on a reasonable basis of equality, after the conditions of the armistice have been agreed upon.

In conclusion, Mr. Kuo MO-JO maintained that the peoples who are masters of their destiny cannot be subdued, and he closed with this serious advice:

"Let the people of the world arise and put an end to the serious threat of this war crisis. The people of the United States of America have a special responsibility to save the world from this calamity which could cause tragedy beyond all imagination.

"Scientists, and particularly American scientists, have the moral responsibility of putting science in the service of humanity and of preventing its use as a weapon of massacre."

Mr. HAN SER YA (Korea), writer, Member of the World Council of Peace.

The speaker emphasized that if the negotiations in Korea fail it is because the U.S. Government does not want Peace, as was proved by the unleashing of the bacteriological war while the negotiations were in progress.

The Korean people have countered these barbarous methods very effectively. Furthermore, a great wave of protest has arisen in all countries of the world and has made it impossible for the Americans to hide their crime any longer. The desire for war on the part of the U.S. Government has equally been proved by the obstacles placed in the path of the armistice negotiations in regard to the prisoners-of-war issue, in violation of the Geneva Convention of 1949; by the indescribable cruelties inflicted upon the prisoners in connection with the so-called "voluntary choice" at Camp Koje. The speaker then related that the imperialists have intensified their barbaric attacks on non-military objectives and against the population. They have proceeded with heavy bombing of the hydroelectric stations on the Yalu river in trying to provoke a renewed total outbreak of the war in Korea and its transformation into a third world war.

Report by M. Yves FARGE (France)

President of the French Peace Movement, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace,

on "Bacteriological Warfare, the War in Korea and its International Consequences"

After explaining the circumstances in which he went to Korea with the writer Claude Roy as delegates of the French Peace Committee, M. Farge showed how all the evidence which had been placed before him concerning bacterial warfare had been diligently sifted and whenever there was the slightest doubt as to whether certain phenomena may or may not have been caused by natural circumstances, the Korean authorities themselves had asked him not to take them into consideration.

Because he did not claim any scientific training, M. Farge had surrounded himself with scientists and doctors, many of whom had received part of their training in Western Universities and institutes such as in the Universities of New York, Harvard, Paris, the Institute of Tropical Medicine in Liverpool, and so on.

As a result of his investigation, M. Farge had reached the following conclusions:

"There is in existence a concerted and studied plan controlling the development of the bacterial war, and this plan has become apparent during its course;

—The essential aspects of the unfolding of the attack coincide with the military and scientific data published in the United States in books, periodicals, newspapers and reports;

—The laboratory findings in Korea and China corroborate the admissions of prisoners, even though these admissions contain scientific heresies;

—Biological war as now being waged must be looked on as a stage in a sequence of atrocities, a stage which may lead to the use of atomic devices whose presence near the theatre of operations is known...

"A study of the whole of the files made it possible to show that the aggressor set out from the first to solve the problem of widest possible artificial dispersal of pathogenic agents, by wind or by man; hence, for the former method, the use of leaves, feathers and paper, for the latter, the scattering of insignificant objects that a passer-by might put in his pocket without thinking twice about it. But it was very soon understood that this was, if I may put it so, simply the professional craft aspect of bacteriological warfare, and that thorough collation and comparison of facts was necessary on a much deeper scale.

"From this moment, certain facts which had been obscure became plain. The question had arisen: what was the significance of the meat and dead animals dropped by aircraft but not carrying bacilli? From the cases examined and collated it became clear that the meat and carcasses had been disseminated. It was obvious, therefore, that the flesh was intended to create favourable conditions for the breeding and survival of the flies bearing pathological agents of intestinal infections."

And M. Farge continued:

"Another question had arisen: what was the significance of the tree-leaves dropped by aircraft. What was their target and what were they for? It was necessary to collate and compare the observations made in Korea and in China to notice that these leaves were generally scattered in regions where silkworms are reared or cotton grown. The solution of the problem did not belong any longer to the microbiologists, but to the Institute of Agricultural Research in Peking, whose job it became to isolate a parasite on the leaves dropped on silkworm-rearing areas, and a pathogenic fungus on the similar leaves dropped on cotton fields.

"The first example I have taken from the sphere of epidemiology, which affects man directly, the second from the sphere of agriculture, where the evidence discloses a plan to starve mankind of produce; the third I shall take from the industrial sphere and cite it as illustration of intent simultaneously to harm economic life and human life.

"It concerns attempts to poison sea water. These attempts have been made in the areas that restock the fisheries of the Gulf of Pechili and on the North coast of the Yellow Sea. Insects carrying typhoid bacilli—particularly a kind of cockchafer—were scattered broadcast off the seacoasts around the ports of Dairen and Tsingtao; these two ports are separated from one another by some 200 miles as the crow flies. This naval operation against the coasts of China constitutes a direct act of aggression against that country."

M. Farge was told by microbiologists that the cholera bacteria dispersed in or near reservoirs by U.S. aircraft are—like the plague bacilli—of exceptional virulence.

"In one of the laboratories I visited there was a map of Korea on which were marked 340 red dots. The dots were scattered over the whole area of North Korea, they were particularly dense round towns and villages, traffic junctions, sheets of water and springs.

These 340 spots each represented bacteriological warfare attacks carried out by one or more aircraft. Do not conclude from consideration of this map that there had been only 340 bacteriological attacks on Korea: I must make clear that the 340 were attacks which had been investigated and clarified, having been made the subject of check and cross-check.

A first survey of this map and of the files on which it was based disclosed the following three plain features:

(1) The intestinal epidemic diseases spread by insects and objects have been dropped on or near reservoirs, springs, streams and rivers;

(2) Diseases of the respiratory system, particularly plague, have been spread by insects or objects dropped on the ruins of towns and villages and on the places where troops or civilians have congregated in conditions of precarious shelter;

(3) At traffic junctions and on lines of communication there has been a special air drive utilising appropriate methods, among them spraying of aerosols by jet aircraft."

Summing up this section of his speech, M. Farge concluded:

"Whichever way you look at it, the Korean dossier is impressive: it shows that in its plan of bacteriological aggression the American General Staff took into consideration the geographical, climatic and demographical conditions of the country, and this study must have required long premeditation and minute preparation."

M. Farge then showed how the bacterial phase of the Korean war could be explained. In a country that is absolutely destroyed by "ordinary means" of warfare, but in which the people do not admit defeat, these "ordinary means" no longer paid. It is at this point that bacterial warfare appeared and it was intended to reach the people among the ruins.

Dealing with bacterial attacks against North China, M. Farge stated that, since the liberation, a great effort has been made to educate the population in sanitary precautions.

"...The protective steps adopted as soon as bacteriological warfare started have been thorough to the last detail. Thus in every village, town and city, watch towers have been erected; competent inhabitants ensure round-the-clock observation by taking watch in turn; with the aid of loud speakers or gongs, they give the alarm to the population, who scrutinise the sky as soon as the noise of an aeroplane engine is heard.

"In these conditions, the dropping of bacteriological containers can scarcely escape the vigilance of the population and anti-epidemic services are quickly on the move.

"So it was that in old Manchuria, organised in this way to meet the menace, the following was observed: on April 4th, 1952, a large number of voles, dead, half-dead, and in a small proportion still living, were dropped on the roofs, courtyards and ponds of 31 villages and townships of a district that had just been flown over by U.S. aircraft. Seven hundred of these voles were picked up: they carried plague. Plague had never been known in this district, either amongst men or animals.

"The Mukden zoologists, like those of Peking, say these voles do not correspond to any of the 15 known kinds of small rodent in Manchuria. I have one of these voles in my possession, together with other incriminating evidence brought back from my journey, including a variety of spider of which the country of origin should be determined. Similarly I have also brought back, so that our own scientists can associate themselves with the research, a very complete file of documents dealing with the cases of encephalitis which have appeared in the regions flown over by U.S. planes; for in certain regions of North-East China, in circumstances exactly established, an unknown infectious disease has made its appearance; its clinical symptoms coincide with those of acute encephalitis, but at post-mortem some cases show pathological changes characteristic of pneumonia. Its character as an induced disease is not open to doubt."

M. Farge then dealt with the allegation in the West that plague has been introduced into Korea by the Chinese volunteers. The futility of this suggestion is exposed by the fact that simultaneous operations on men, cattle and crops have taken place (using the same pathogenic agents) in areas often very far from each other. He said:

"...It is difficult to imagine how, naturally, on the same territory and at the same time of year, could spread:

(1) Microbes intended for man, which, consistent with the means of diffusion we have outlined, use all the agents and means of locomotion given by the geographical, demographical and climatic conditions of the country and season;

(2) Microbes affecting animals, dropped on the places and at the time most likely to result

in the most serious epizootics, such as the bacillus Pasteurella multicida borne by wolf-spiders and the anthrax bacillus borne by feathers.

(3) Agents carrying pathogenes capable of destroying, or in any event spoiling, crops. We quote, for example, maize dropped on maize-fields in leaf (carrying bacilli of maize anthrax); ripe soya pods and stems dropped on fields where soya shoots are just beginning to come up (carrying the cercosporiosis virus of soya); dry leaves—such as we have already described—carrying agents of diseases capable of attacking mulberry trees, that is to say, centres of silkworm culture, and also agents capable of infecting cotton plantations.

"Can reason accept simultaneity as a natural circumstance when it takes this character: the same objects and the same insects carrying the same pathogenes appearing at the same time in Korea and in North-East China? The black springtail, the big house-fly and the chironomid midge carrying typhoid bacillus; spiders and small fish carrying dysentery bacillus, the stable fly and wisps of cotton carrying paratyphoid bacillus; spiders and feathers carrying anthrax bacillus?"

After describing his interview with the prisoners-of-war, Lieutenant John Quinn and Lieutenant Kenneth Enoch who had confessed to taking part in germ raids and given a good deal of other detailed information, M. Farge had this to say:

"Quinn and Enoch give the names of two civilians who came to instruct their groups and squadrons on bacteriological warfare; they give another 18 names of officers who received these instructions with them.

"A first and vital question must be put to Mr. Acheson: do these two civilians and 18 air officers exist? And if, as I believe to be the case, there are religious leaders in the United States whose moral authority is unchallenged, could they not be asked to come together, and call upon these 18 air officers to take an oath upon the Bible that Enoch and Quinn have either spoken, or violated, truth?"

M. Farge added that:

"John Quinn is a Catholic, he knows the value of example, and that is why he has launched the following appeal. 'I appeal not only to Christians, but to whomsoever is able to help outlaw bacteriological warfare, with such urgency, that it may never again be used. I have never heard of a religion that would not forbid employment of a weapon whose nature renders it particularly effective against women and children.'

"Because I asked him how he reconciled his obligations as an officer with his duty as a civilised man, he replied: 'My duty is to the people—and not only to the people of the United States—but to the peoples of all the world'."

Refering to those whose repugnance of the very idea of bacterial warfare prevents them from examining the evidence which goes to prove that it is in fact being waged against Korea and China, M. Farge warned:

"If the Korean war is a testing ground for the war that may be waged tomorrow, it is also a testing ground for every man who claims to think, judge and act. The razed towns, the massacred civil population, the burning napalm which turns human beings into torches and pulp, the poison gases of which too little has been said; today the viruses, the vibrios and the microbes, tomorrow the atomic weapons. Beware, the depth of horror felt may become the extent of horror realised!"

M. Farge also asked:

"But I ask all the defenders of Peace in the World, all those of courage and feeling, to keep clear before their eyes this other picture that I bring back from Korea.

"In the evening, when the guns are silent, talks take place from trench to trench, on the horrors of the slaughter, on the bloody trickery that is all this war amounts to for the Americans, on inhuman bacteriological warfare. Chinese volunteers and Korean soldiers start discussions with the soldiers opposite.

"Meetings have already taken place between the lines; soldiers have lost their lives coming out of the trenches to talk to their enemies.

"Is this not a great lesson for the Peace Movement?"

And added:

"The things I have so recently seen have made me realise that, while events are growing graver, duty demands that we should be ever more patient, more obstinate, more all-inclusive, in seeking ever broadening bases of agreement and action."

In conclusion he posed three questions "to all who are disturbed, uneasy or anxious". They were:

"—Biological warfare began in those same first six months of 1952 during which the Government in Washington has been giving back their arms to the Nazi and Japanese war criminals. Does not this bacteriological warfare amount to resumption—on the scale of an experiment on the entire human race—of the cruelties of Nazism and fascism?

—We have known wars that were undeclared. With biological warfare are we not entering an era when war need no longer be admitted?

—If it be so—and this is my third question—have we done all we should have done that, one day, we may not be forced to admit that the Third World War began in fact on the territory of Korea with experiments in methods and arms of mass destruction?"

And finally:

"All these evils, all these miseries, all these tragedies I have described, we must ceaselessly tell to those about us: Take care! Indifference and inaction are, even now, the faults that conscience will never forgive!"

Mr. H. C. A. LASSEN (Denmark), a professor (an invited visitor), then suggested that negotiations between leaders from East and West was the only means of settling the germ war.

M. Pierre BICQUARD (France), a physicist, (an invited visitor), then demonstrated how bacterial warfare was being waged and how it had been prepared in the United States over a period of years.

EIGHTH SESSION

(Thursday, July 3rd, night session)

Presiding: M. Louis SAILLANT (France), General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

Mr. Nazim HIKMET (Turkey), the poet, Member of the World Council of Peace.

The strikes of dockers in the port of Alexandretta, supported by merchants, workers and peasants, was an expression of the will of the Turkish people resolutely to oppose the sending of soldiers to Korea and the unloading of American weapons. Out of 18,000 Turkish soldiers who were sent to Korea, 12,000 are already dead or wounded or have been made prisoners. On returning to their country these soldiers speak about the atrocities of the Korean war, in the cities and villages. In this way, with the return of these soldiers from Korea (who in turn are being hunted arrested, and tortured by the police), there grows the condemnation of and action against the Government and its policies. Some of these ex-Servicemen are even hiding in the mountains and fighting the police, arms in hand. Mr. Hikmet then read a series of news items published in the Turkish Press which show the intensity of the struggle of the Turkish people against the war in Korea and for Peace. This struggle links soldiers, peasants and workers closely, and despite tortures, despite the arrest of 1,300 Defenders of Peace, the Peace Movement in Turkey is growing.

Professor Louis HIRSCHFELD (Poland), bacteriologist, (an invited visitor), then called upon all the scientists of the world, especially those of America, to take a stand against bacteriological warfare.

Mr. DUONG BACK IEN from Viet Nam, (an invited visitor), brought the Session and the German Defenders of Peace the warmest greetings of his people, engaged in struggle for their national independence and World Peace.

He branded as barbaric and inhuman the acts committeed in his country against old people, women and children, and showed the heroic resistance of the civilian population. The army of aggression also tries to starve the Vietnamese people by systematically destroying the crops and burning and massacring everywhere. The aggressors want to drag the young Vietnamese into a puppet army against their compatriots in the People's Army, but they are not willing to accept this shameful slavery. Mass desertions are spreading in the army of Bao Dai, units of which are joining the People's army, sometimes in whole companies.

This struggle is an integral part of the struggle in defence of World Peace. The people of Viet Nam are aware of their great responsibility before the entire world. While engaged in armed struggle with the French colonial aggressor, the Vietnamese fully realise that the peaceloving French people are their closest comrades in the struggle and enthusiastically follow the activities carried on in France against the "dirty war". They are equally closely bound to the peoples of North Africa who are fighting to win their national independence.

Mrs. Mary JENNISON (Canada), Secretary of the Canadian Peace Congress, (an invited visitor), brought greetings from the Rev. James ENDICOTT and then showed how a broad movement for an end to the war in Korea has developed in Canada.

Metropolitan NICOLAI (USSR), Member of the World Council of Peace.

After discussing the problem of germ warfare unleashed in Korea, as well as the crimes committed on the prisoners-of-war and the recent provocations perpetrated by the bombing of the Yalu river power stations, the speaker then appealed to the dignity and honour of the American people. American Christians, he stressed, among their own people, owe it to themselves to induce their Government to end the germ war and to ratify the Geneva Convention. Moreover, the American people would save their honour and their dignity in punishing the criminals of the bacteriological war.

This appeal to the American people, the majority of whom are Christian, would win the support of all honest men.

Metropolitan Nicolai then recalled the important Conference of churches and religious associations of the USSR, held recently, which showed that the basis for a general agreement finds its broadest expression in seeking and defending Peace. This Conference launched an appeal to believers everywhere in the world, calling upon them to support the decisions of the World Council of Peace. He concluded by calling for the unity of all who hate war.

NINTH SESSION

(Friday, July 4th, morning)

Presiding: Mr. MUKAROVSKY (Czechoslovakia), Rector of the Charles University, Prague, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

Mrs. Rose KOSKY of Great Britain, (an invited visitor), spoke of the struggle of British women against the Korean war; she also mentioned that the latter demand the immediate exchange and repatriation of war prisoners.

Mr. FANG CHIH CHAU (China), doctor of medicine, (invited visitor), acquainted the audience with the facts and evidence regarding germ warfare which he had personally witnessed as a member of the medical corps.

Mr. Felix IVERSEN (Finland), President of the Pacifist Council of Finland, Member of the World Council of Peace, then indicated that the duty of the United Nations was to arrive at a quick settlement of the Korean conflict, rather than continue it.

Mr. John Adams KINGSBURY (United States), former adviser on the Social Security programme in the Roosevelt administration, (an invited visitor).

Mr. Kingsbury expressed his confidence in the power of the Peace forces and remarked that the reason for his belief, among others, was that he had just returned from China where he had seen the extraordinary confidence in the ultimate victory of Peace on the part of the Chinese people. According to him, the Chinese people are not fighting against the American people but for their own basic interests.

He was convinced that, some day, the American people will understand how much they owe the Chinese and Korean martyrs. If the American people knew the truth, they would be horrified over the use of bacteriological weapons, just as are all other peoples. Mr. Kingsbury pledged to bring that truth to the American people, on the basis of his findings.

Professor Heinrich BRANDWEINER (Austria), professor of Canon law, Member of the World Council of Peace, dealt in a short speech with the violations of International Law committed by the U.N. troops in Korea.

Mr. H. C. CROWTHER (Great Britain), scientist, Member of the World Council of Peace, made it clear that in order to advance the fight for Peace among the peoples of Western Europe, the war-makers had to be denounced.

Sr. Diego MONTANA CUELLAR (Colombia), professor of law, (an invited visitor), described the struggle of the Colombian people against the sending of troops to Korea.

Report by M. Jean LAFFITTE (France)
General Secretary of the World Council of Peace,
on the Armaments Race and the Fight for a Peace Pact

M. Laffitte proposed to deal with the campaign for a Peace Pact and the possibilities of broadening it.

The idea of a Peace Pact is not only our own, he said; it is supported by public opinion outside of the Peace Movement which at first hopes for and then demands the same solutions as we do. He developed the basic reasons why we are asking for a Peace Pact.

First of all, because there is no other way of avoiding war apart from an understanding between the Great Powers, and then, because the Pact is precisely the most important action for ensuring that the spirit of negotiation prevails over resort to force. In other words, because the Pact can become the symbol of peaceful co-existence which would be recognised and accepted first by the parties involved, and then by the entire world.

M. Laffitte reviewed the considerable progress made in the world by this idea of peaceful co-existence. He quoted in this respect certain stands taken by individuals, particularly in connection with the last session of U.N. and recently by the Methodist Church of the United States.

He remarked that if today statesmen, heads of Governments, organisations and the most diverse movements are forced to mention co-existence more and more frequently, it is because the desires of the peoples on that issue are a known fact.

Any assurance of a possible and desirable co-existence is first, and above all, the reflection of the peoples' wishes.

Nearly one-third of the world's population, had so far pronounced itself in favour of a Peace Pact, although no more than half has been reached. Never before in the world has there been a will expressed with such power.

M. Laffitte then posed the problem of broadening out as a permanent and fundamental necessity on which depends the success of all past and future activities of the World Council. Peace cannot be saved by one single country, nor by a single people, but only by the united efforts of all the peoples. For example, it would be just as nonsensical to pretend that Peace could be achieved without China, as it would be to think that it could be done without the United States.

The World Council of Peace has set itself the task of making representations to the United Nations and of reminding it of duties of its mission. During the last General Session of U.N., the repercussions of the

peaceful aspirations of the people were already greater than they had ever been before. M. Laffitte then analysed the progress made through meetings with international organisations, such as the World Council of Churches, the International Red Cross, Quakers and others; through the constant broadening out of the World Council itself; through the holding of important regional conferences in the preparations for which the Council had helped and encouraged; through the great success of the International Economic Conference of Moscow; through the preparation of an International Conference of Doctors, supported by the World Council, and through international meetings of scientists, educationalists, film technicians, town-planners, and so on...

Without wanting to play a monopoly role in such undertakings, M. Laffitte stressed, the World Council encourages them and calls upon the Peace Movement to support any gesture or activity, from wherever it may emanate, which on a given issue contributes to an exchange of views and mutual understanding. In closing, M. Laffitte emphasized that: "If it is true today that international tension has increased, it is also true that the chances for unity to save Peace have never been greater. Never before has the Peace Movement had so many known and unknown defenders."

Mr. Leopold INFELD (Poland), scientist, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace, emphasized that the American people must be convinced that in fighting for Peace we are fighting also for their happiness. We cannot hold the American people responsible for the acts of their Government, and we must understand that "these men and women have been crushed by an avalanche of lies and deceits, poured out by the most ingenious advertising agents the world has ever known". They have been convinced that when we speak of Peace we mean to weaken America with a view to attacking the "Free World". Mr. Infeld thought that this had to be taken seriously and an answer given to it.

Speaking as a Polish citizen, Mr. Infeld declared:

"I would like to tell them more dramatically than I can do here that 6,000,000 Poles perished during the last war. I would tell them what it means to rebuild Warsaw, what it means to rebuild Poland, my country, that the war almost completely destroyed physically and economically...

"...Neither my own Government, nor any Government of the countries we proudly call the Peace-loving nations has ever attacked anyone because he or she spoke or worked for Peace...

"If these Governments to which Poland is bound by ties of friendship did not yearn for Peace and if they believed that talk for Peace is a softening-up process then they too would fear talk of it..."

The most important job is to convince the American people that when we speak of Peace we really mean Peace. The rest will be easy, because from the moment that this conviction will have taken roots, the post-war political events will become easily comprehensible and appear in their true light.

Mme Eugénie COTTON (France), President of the International Federation of Democratic Women, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace, recalled that the recent Conference in Defence of Children in Vienna led people of very different opinions to undertake the fight for Peace. The sensitive feelings of women and all people who have a heart leads them to that consciousness of Peace. That is the spirit of Peace and tolerance.

In addition Mme Cotton noted that since the signing of the Bonn Treaty, the analogy between the war in Korea and that now being prepared in the heart of Europe becomes more and more evident.

She asked for a tremendous campaign of explanation allied with positive action against German re-armament. She demanded that an appeal be made to the American people directly and quoted an example of French women who sent a letter to American soldiers in France; she suggested a meeting with American women. Mme Cotton closed in expressing her conviction that in the fight for Peace, the women will be able to carry with them all those as yet undecided because they do not know that they can win Peace, as well as those who are hostile because they do not know the facts.

TENTH SESSION

(Friday, July 4th, afternoon)

Presiding: Professor J. D. BERNAL (Great Britain), Member of the Royal Society, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace.

Report of Professor J. D. BERNAL on Disarmament

Professor Bernal began by saying that current international problems were open manifestations of a deeper problem—re-armament and disarmament—and that it was the duty of the Peace Movement to show that the way out of the steadily worsening situation was through negotiation and disarmament.

Previously the World Council had re-affirmed its beliefs in a policy of comprehensive, fair, rapid and practicable disarmament, in the general proposals in Warsaw in 1950 and, more precisely, in the Vienna resolution in 1951.

"But we have done more than that," he declared.

"The activity of the Peace Movement has turned what were blind fears and vague aspirations of the peoples throughout the world (and not least in countries most active in waging the cold war) into a clear demand for disarmament. This popular demand proved its effectiveness in forcing the issue of disarmament in the United Nations. The Sixth Session of the General Assembly set up a Disarmament Commission which for the first time was charged with considering together as one single problem the reduction of armaments and the elimination of weapons of mass destruction. It thus had in its power the achievement of a genuine disarmament."

But this was not to be, said the Professor, because of the attitude of certain Powers "who make no secret of their policy of accelerated re-armament."

Re-armament was the genuine policy of these Governments—"the Realpolitik in which they are following the footsteps of ill-fated militarists of the past. **Disarmament** is merely a polite gesture which they have no intention of turning into action but which they perform to quieten the fears of their own people and to make them believe that the hard sacrifices which they are called upon to bear are only temporary. **Re-armament** is serious policy; **disarmament** is not.

"It is our main task in the World Peace Movement, and especially in the Peace Movements in the countries of the Atlantic Pact, to reverse this attitude. We have to see to it that Governments take disarmament seriously and abjure re-armament altogether.

"This is by no means an impossible task, or even one that need take very long to perform. If our movement lives up to its responsibilities it should be able to gain enormous support from the spontaneous reaction to the universal and ever-growing experience of misery and frustration that the policy of re-armament is imposing on the peoples throughout the world . . .

"People are beginning to see that this policy of Peace through strength is only another name for an armaments race and to realise that it conceals an intention to launch, when the time is ripe, a new Holy War to liberate the countries of Europe as far as the Urals, and to restore to China the 'free' Government of Chiang Kai-Shek and the open door to American enterprise."

Professor Bernal then showed how in Britain advocacy for war has to be disguised as "liberation" without making it clear that this would mean aggressive war, because of popular resistance to this policy—a resistance which is increasing.

He went on to show how the re-armament programme everywhere was getting into serious difficulties—partly political, partly economic. He mentioned specifically the resistance of the German and Japanese peoples. In spite of all attempts to restore reaction, owing to the resistance of the peoples, "the timetable has gone seriously wrong".

"The overwhelming force anticipated in 1952 is now delayed to 1954 or 1955 and that delay is of the utmost importance for it gives the possibility for the forces of Peace to rally and by their united action to bring the whole process of re-armament to a stop."

As far as the economic factors are concerned, mass unemployment and economic slump is being added to the lowering of the standard of living of the peoples of the Atlantic Pact countries.

"Partly due to the violent price fluctuations produced by the starting and stopping of United States stockpiling, but even more to the diminution of the purchasing power of the workers, consumption goods, particularly textiles, cannot find buyers and the classical symptoms of a slump appearing even in America despite the gigantic sums spent on re-armament.

"In Britain the long period of full employment is over, and nearly half-a-million people are unemployed. These effects are made worse by concurrent dollar crisis so that the whole economy is threatened. The Government is desperately trying to maintain its re-armament policy in these unfavourable circumstances, but it has been forced to delay its execution and opposition to it grows from day to day. The Labour Party can no longer be counted on to support American policies regardless of the consequences. Important sections of it have already voiced their opposition and there is no doubt that these are supported by an enormous majority of British workers and by a substantial proportion of other sections.

"Analogous developments, but of an even sharper political character, have occurred in France and other European countries. Even in the United States itself the great oil and steel strikes show that the economic effects of re-armament are making themselves felt there as well. People, not only workers but businessmen, are looking for some escape from the intolerable economic situation where, not only any hope of improvement, but even an expectation of maintaining their situation, is rapidly vanishing.

"Here, despite all the determination of the directors of policy in Washington to resist, it will be impossible to shelve for much longer a genuine move towards disarmament. What form this should take is a question which our movement should examine and re-examine with the greatest care . . ."

The Disarmament Commission at the United Nations had done nothing to clarify this question, continued Professor Bernal. From the outset there was a contradiction between a plan—essentially American—which was merely concerned with specifying the stages of revealing information on armaments (leaving atomic and bacteriological weapons to the last) after which any discussion of reduction or limitation might occur; and the plan of the Soviet Union in which an agreement for a one-third reduction and abolition of weapons of mass destruction under strict control should come first, to be followed immediately by a full declaration at one time of all forces and armaments, including atomic armaments. No effective approach between these two standpoints had been made. Although by May, "it was becoming painfully apparent, even to well-intentioned supporters of American policies, that the disarmament conference was leading nowhere", nevertheless, a serious examination should be made of the Three Power proposals to place upper limits on the armed forces of the Five Powers—the U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and China to be allowed from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 men and Britain and France to be allowed 700,000 to 800,000 each. There was nothing in the proposal about limitation of armaments or the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

"In the first place, for all their apparent precision, the proposals are remarkably vague," commented Professor Bernal. "It is not at all clear what 'armed forces' mean. A trained infantryman forms a count-

able unit, but armed forces can include or exclude almost any type of man, particularly in the technical services. The plain intention of this vagueness is to limit severely infantry formations while leaving the door open for an inflation of nominally civilian workers in scientific weapons radar, atomic bombs, as well as auxiliary naval ratings, staff of bases, etc. Even if such evasion were rigourously excluded, the arrangements still operate enormously in favour of the Atlantic Forces with their high proportion, especially in their air and naval services of mechanised equipment to manpower.

"Nothing whatever is said in the proposals regarding limits for armaments... Limiting manpower alone would inevitably lead to a greater development relatively or even absolutely of mechanical equipment, using highly trained cadres. It would put a premium on the use of 'scientific weapons'.

"The figures presented are clearly there for propaganda purposes; they bear no relation to military or economic realities. France and Britain together are allowed armed forces equal to those of the Soviet Union with nearly twice the population. 'China' is given only as much as the United States with hardly more than a third of the population. No mention at all is made of Japan or Germany. Such proposals can hardly be treated as serious and it is not surprising that Mr. Malik would not consider them as a basis for discussion. They can hardly have been considered as such by their proposers. If armed forces mean what they say, it would imply the reduction of United States forces by more than half. If the U.S. Government are apparently willing to reduce their armed forces by more than half, it seems very strange that for months on end they have refused the Soviet Union's proposals for a reduction by a third..."

Professor Bernal then dealt with the futility of discussing disarmament in a commission of the United Nations as at present constituted, that is without the People's Republic of China being represented. In fact any real attempt to discuss disarmament must include China "and this in itself in a decisive argument in favour of immediate Five Power negotiation," he said.

Another important aspect of the discussion at the Disarmament Commission was the consistent rejection of any attempt to prohibit atomic or bacteriological warfare.

"...the American representatives revealed very clearly what they understood by atomic energy control. It was for them a matter of directing—preferably by purchase—all atomic material to the uses that the Atomic Development Agency should decide. Such a policy is clearly incompatible with the plan of any nation to use atomic energy in its own way for constructive purposes but perfectly compatible with the ultimate retention of stocks of atomic bombs."

The same strong resistance was shown to all attempts to control biological warfare and "it was painfully clear that the retention of both atomic and biological weapons was being defended at all costs..."

Professor Bernal continued:

"If we are to succeed, and we **must** succeed, in bringing about disarmament while there is yet time, we can expect nothing from Governments overtly committed to re-armament and ever more rapid preparations for war.

"The Disarmament Commissions and the proposed Disarmament Conferences will not succeed in achieving disarmament unless they are backed by public opinion more powerful and more vocal than anything we have ever seen up till now.

"Yet we have today, more than ever before, a reasonable hope of achieving this result. As time goes on, the policy of re-armament is creating by its economic and social consequences a powerful opposition which is only beginning to learn its strength.

"People of all occupations... need, and need desperately, a reasonable hope of some way out of the fate that hangs over them. That lies, as we know, in negotiation and disarmament, but it is not sufficient for us to know it. It is not sufficient for us to be able to produce, as we produced in Warsaw and Vienna, a reasoned plan along which re-armament can be reached. We have to present this plan in a way that the people can adopt it and press for it as their own. We do not claim that we have the precise formula for Peace. We do not or should not demand that people accept our solution. What we ought rather to create is the feeling that there is an alternative to the cold war and let people look for what it is themselves. They will inevitably be drawn to our solution because it is the only one that is honest, fair and practicable.

"We have failed—I have failed myself in the past—by presenting the question of disarmament as some kind of academic themes, some ultimate solution that lay on a plane above the awkward and urgent questions of the day. Taught by experience, we should now know that disarmament means nothing unless it arises of itself out of current problems. It should come from discussions about the war in Korea with its napalm bombs and bacterial warfare, about the German question with the re-establishment of the Nazi generals, about the rise in the cost of living, about unemployment in the textile industry.

"We need to preach disarmament not for and by itself but as a practical solution to particular problems."

In conclusion, Professor Bernal said:

"In forming our movement we had first of all to agree to a unity built around specific actions—the abolition of the atom bomb in the Stockholm Appeal and the demand for a Five Power Pact launched at Berlin. The enormous impression made by those two initiatives carried out among hundreds of millions of people in identical terms, had an indispensable value in expressing a sentiment of unbreakable unity.

"But now while preserving that unity and rich in the experience of working together, we need to pay ever more attention to the particular anxieties and needs of different groups of people at different times. Our movement must more and more come from the people and not merely go to them.

"It is not only by passing resolution or attending congresses, essential as they are, that the movement for Peace will grow, but even more by finding the way to express forcibly and effectively the will of the people for Peace."

Mr. Alexander KORNEICHUK (U.S.S.R.), the writer, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

Mr. KORNEICHUK observed that the American proposals on the reduction of armaments are beginning to lose popularity even in the United States. The representatives of that country presented to the U.N. Disarmament Commission a new project for the "maximum level of armed forces." He analysed this proposal and noted that the projected number of U.S. ground forces would, as a result, be reduced from 1,580,000 men to 1,500,000. However, no maximum was being contemplated for either air or naval forces (2,300,000 men in the U.S.). Yet, the known strategy of the United States is based essentially on these two branches of the Armed forces. The same is true for Britain and the allies of the Atlantic Pact.

Furthermore, the plan presumes to set a maximum for the Chinese armed forces, regardless of the fact that its authors refuse China's participation in that Commission. The speaker thought that this indicated the desire not to arrive at any reduction of armaments. He showed also that in this plan there is no question of reducing or eliminating the 400 U.S. bases throughout the world; on the contrary, additional appropriations have been made for their strengthening under the pretext of assuring world security. Mr. Korneichuk commented on the many people, particularly in France and Italy, who have come to understand the true meaning of the Atlantic Pact and who realise what the loss of national independence means.

Instead of collective security, U.N. brings the world a colective menace. The aggressor is using U.N. to have allies for his aggression. Only a Peace Pact can assure the security of all. It can also allow for the settlement of the armaments' problem. Mr. Korneichuk called for a strengthening of the fight for the conclusion of a Peace Pact and formulated the people's demands:

—Reduction from one-third to one-half of all military, naval, air and land forces, police and semi-military groups.

—Reduction from one-third to one-half of all types of armaments, heavy and light.

—Prohibition of all atomic weapons and weapons of mass destruction.

—Establishment of strict control on the basis of equality.

M. Emmanuel d'ASTIER de la VIGERIE (France), Deputé, former Minister, Member of the World Council of Peace, recalled the circumstances in which the French Peace Movement called upon the French people to demonstrate against the coming of General Ridgway. These circumstances are part of the policy carried out by the French Government and are characterised by:

—the desire of the United States to intensify its occupation of a recalcitrant France and to tame it to its requirements;

—the desire to re-arm Germany more quickly against the wishes of the French and German peoples;

—the desire to introduce into Europe the methods of provocation and destruction employed in Korea.

Those were the circumstances under which the demonstrations of the people of Paris against the coming of General Ridgway took place on May the 28th.

M. d'Astier then examined the question of neutrality. He remarked that in France, Italy and Great Britain the groups who dream of a neutral policy are particularly important and comprise many people outside of our Movement. The Peace Movement must give a constant accounting of its activities to these people: first of all we must repeat over and over that the Peace which we are seeking must benefit all people, whatever their way of life, and that we do not conceive of it as something which can be imposed by one part of the world upon the other; furthermore, we must make clear that the concept of peaceful co-existence must include "the freedom of the peoples of the world to control their own destiny and choose their own Governments themselves". The important part already being played by the neutral elements in the fight for Peace must stir us to make many more contacts and to engage in joint action with them, that they may have special ideas. M. d'Astier then recalled the hopes which the idea of Germany's neutralisation had aroused, a neutralisation which might perhaps be extended to all of Western Europe and particularly to France. However, we must not lose sight of our overall objective, a disarmament convention and a Peace Pact. M. d'Astier concluded:

"But the chances of Peace will not be assured until the American people (who have a right to security like all the others) talk about these essential objectives together with the other peoples, until there is discussion on peaceful trade, disarmament and prohibition of weapons of mass destruction. In short, a Peace Pact must make it possible to find once again the true criteria of collective security which today have been so seriously distorted.

Such an effort at enlightenment in Western Europe, this discussion with the American people, will be the chief task of the World Movement for Peace."

Mr. Ilya EHRENBURG (U.S.S.R.), writer, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

Mr. Ilya EHRENBURG began "not only is the war of which a handful of criminals dream dreadful—dreadful likewise are the fever of waiting, the mutual mistrust, the lies, the hatred, the blank walls cutting off one people from another, the clash of arms, the younger generation growing up haphazard, the deathdealing inventions ranged against the increasing defencelessness of man."

And Mr. Ehrenburg stated that everywhere in the world the common people think that "This can't go on".

It was not enough to know that we are supported by a half of humanity. We must win the American people to our cause.

The American people have been made to believe that the Communists want to destroy the "American Way Of Life" and want to invade the United States. Mr. Ehrenburg went on to show that if a certain way of life suits the American people, everyone has the right to like or not to like it, but quite definitely, nobody has the right to interfere with it.

"It is time the plain American should understand that the Russians are not massing to deprive him of

his little Ford, that the Chinese have no intention of meddling with television programmes in the U.S.A., that the Koreans do not lust after Mr. Smith's refrigerator, that the Poles are unconcerned whether the aforesaid Mr. Smith does or does not shake the hand of Dulles or even Truman, and into the bargain dreams of making not only millions but billions... But if the handful of criminals decides to propagate the "American Way of Life" by force of arms, that way of life will collapse like a house of cards."

One might discuss the merits of this or that way of life, but it is impermissible, in the name of freedom, to suppress the freedoms of others. There is in the United States a 'Society for the Liberation of Russia', but in the Soviet Union there does not and could not exist a 'Society for the Liberation of America'. Much as the Soviet people would like to see the abolition of racial discrimination they know that this is dependent solely on the heightening of American consciousness.

If American soldiers occupying France or Italy are received with outbursts of hostility, this is not the result of Communist intrigues aimed at the 'American Way Of Life' for which they are not reproached, but rather because the people of these countries see in the American soldier the shadow of that war which their leaders want, a war for which they hold them responsible. The Soviet people, do not hate the Americans, but on the contrary, appreciate their qualities, their science and their technical accomplishments.

"No one in the Soviet Union has ever encroached upon nor ever will encroach upon the American way of life. Let every people live according to its lights, let every people find the path to Peace, whereby the ideals, interests and tastes of one people shall not interfere with any other people's living, thinking, creating."

It is impossible to try to impose a certain way of life upon the Chinese people with the help of a vote in U.N.

"To avoid the peril of war, one must sit together at one table and come to terms. The Soviet people wants Peace with any America, the America of the Progressives and the Republicans and the Democrats. It wants Peace with the American workers and with the American capitalists, it wants Peace not only with its friends but with its enemies."

Many times the U.S.S.R. has proposed discussions but the U.S. Government has always rejected the invitation. Surely there are differences. But in an atmosphere of mutual understanding it is possible to get together.

In concluding, Mr. Ehrenburg appealed to the American people:

"Today is the national day of the United States. On the 4th of July, 1776, the American people overcame those who held them in thrall and established the independence of their Republic. It is on this day that I call to you, citizens of America! Remember the ideals that inspired the first of your forefathers, tell your responsible leaders to give up 'bragging and threatening', to sit down round a table with Soviet representatives, with the representatives of the other great powers and honestly try to reach agreement. Thereby you will save your country, your children, your future too. I believe in the head and the heart of the American people. Later this year will be held a great Peace Congress, high hope of all the peoples. Let the people of America realise the importance of this Congress and send there a delegation that shall voice the will of every class and every party. I desire only to say that in the persons of the Soviet delegates they will find friends, able to appreciate the distinct path of every people, and desiring not to enforce on others their way of life, but to save the life, culture and future of all humanity."

Mr. Howard FAST (United States), writer, Member of the World Council of Peace.

(This speech was recorded and brought from the U.S.)

Mr. Fast explained that he was unable to come to the Session since he has been made a prisoner inside his own country like so many other Americans who speak for Peace.

"Since I have only a little time to talk to you I will try to say a few things of great importance to all of us. I speak about my own people for I know them best. The great majority of them are good people and they want to live their lives in peace and give no hurt to others. This may sound strange in the light of the unspeakable horror that is happening in Korea. It is not my intention to deny the facts of that horror. The world has seen over the past two decades people of many nations turned into beasts under Fascist leadership and playing the role of beasts. The world has also seen noble and great resistance to fascism. It must be understood that both of these qualities are present in America...

"Therefore you may ask, if this is the case, why such a broad sentiment for Peace is not reflected in a powerful Peace movement. Well, firstly there were many errors that the leaders of the Peace Movement have made. We lacked boldness and again and again we underestimated the mood of the people. We failed to build a united front in a bold and confident way and we held back again and again because we did not believe that the people were ready when they were.

"Yet, on the other hand there is much that we did do and the Peace Movement in America, whilst small and not united, is nevertheless a factor which must be considered. Nor can one overlook the confusions that exist in America. Never in history was any people so subjected to a bombardment of lies and powerful propaganda as they are. News itself is one of the most monopolised products in America and truly it may be said that the people do not know...

"No effort has been spared to decry the ability of progressive America to fight back, yet the progressive forces have not been destroyed, nor have they given up the struggle. The forces for Peace grow stronger...

"Today as I speak, 600,000 steelworkers are on strike. They do not as yet see the connection between their misery and the war drive of the Truman Government. Much depends on whether and when they and the millions like them see this connection and turn their great will for struggle into the fight for Peace.

"Thereby much depends on those of us who lead the Peace Movement in America. We bear a most grave responsibility. We will attempt to fulfil it out of devotion to mankind and to our own beautiful and fruitful native land."

M. Jean Jules RICHARD (Canada), writer (an invited visitor), then dealt with the possibility of peaceful co-existence between countries of different regimes.

Mr. Petros KOKKALIS (Greece), professor, Member of the World Council of Peace, followed and showed the struggle of the Greek people against the transformation of their country into a base of aggression for a war in the Balkans.

Mr. Bernard BEREANU (Rumania), Secretary of the International Union of Students (an invited visitor), showed how students, in the desire to improve their life and studies, participate in the movement for World Peace.

Mr. Georgi PIRINSKI (Bulgaria), Vice-President of the Bulgarian Peace Committee (an invited visitor), devoted the main part of his speech to demonstrating how it was possible to create a broad Peace Movement in the United States.

ELEVENTH SESSION

(Friday, July 4th, night session)

Presiding: Sra. Branca FIALHO (Brazil), President, Brazilian Federation of Women, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

Mr. J. C. KUMARAPPA (India), economist, a disciple of Gandhi (an invited visitor).

Mr. KUMARAPPA showed that the history of mankind during the last period has seen a development of the technical production of weapons to the detriment of the well-being of populations; this trend must be reversed in order to put mankind on the road to Peace and progress. The so-called "underdeveloped" countries have become the prey of the industrialised countries who acquire their raw materials cheaply. The wealth of natural resources of a country, in this manner, may become the cause of its misfortune. Mr. KUMARAPPA foresaw a development of the economy of each country making each of them self-sufficient. Such an economy should be in the hands of the State. Foreign trade would concern itself only with surpluses. Only in this manner, Mr. Kumarappa concluded, would greed and violence disappear and the underdeveloped countries progress.

Signor Ricardo LOMBARDI (Italy), Deputy, former Minister, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

The struggle waged by the peoples of certain West European countries, Sig. Lombardi explained, mingled with the struggle of the colonial peoples oppressed by their Governments and ranges the peoples of the world on the side of the colonised countries. The process of colonisation, gradual subjection of the West European ruling classes—an economy of loot—is becoming a reality for the West European countries. Sig. Lombardi then showed how the economy of the Western European countries is passing into the hands of American capital: in a direct manner (as exemplified by the coal-steel pool); indirectly by the elimination of these countries from certain markets (for example, Morocco and Iran). The gradual sapping of the independence of these countries is being achieved by the unilateral limitation of commercial exchanges, by the unbalanced finances of these exchanges which cause deficits for Europe. The United States attempt, in this manner, to export their own crisis. The West European countries, unable to make up these deficits, are renouncing all economic independence and are being reduced to the state of a protectorate.

M. Gabriel d'ARBOUSSIER (North Africa), Member of the Conseil de l'Union Française, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace, demonstrated that the Western Powers, in order to make war, need raw material and particularly man-power from Africa. Specifically, France and England no longer conceal their strategic plans on that Continent. But in order for these plans to succeed it would be necessary for Africa to be completely tied to the policy of the West. However, the Africa of 1952, is no longer the Africa of 1914, nor even that of 1939. She will not become a strategic base since the war plans run up against two facts:

—the peoples of Africa have learned by bitter experience that the partnership they were offered was that of the horse and the rider;

—a tremendous feeling of resistance has been developing among the African peoples who no longer want to live the lives of slaves, as in the past. They have begun the great battle against oppression and colonial servitude. An uninterrupted chain of bloody incidents has been taking place: but the dead of today are proof that the African peoples no longer want to live on their knees and demand the right to govern their country themselves and to exploit its natural riches themselves. Science shows that there is an ancient Negro civilisation which is today striving for revival on a higher level. This was the message of brotherhood, confidence and asurance which M. d'Arboussier wanted to bring in the name of the peoples of Black Africa who want freedom because they know it is inseparable from Peace.

M. Antoine TABET (Lebanon), architect, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace, then showed how the struggles of the peoples of the Middle East and of North Africa for their national independence and against the Middle Eastern Pact are part of the struggle for Peace.

M. Ahmed EL KASSAR from Syria (an invited visitor), explained how the peaceful solution of the German and Japanese problem and an end to the war in Korea would be of great assistance to the struggle of the Syrian people for their independence.

Mr. Emile HABIBI (Israel), Deputy (an invited visitor), showed how, in the fight for Peace, the Israeli people and those of the Arab countries are righting the wrong that was done them in dividing them artificially.

M. Ben SLIMAN (Tunisia), doctor of medicine, Member of the World Council of Peace.

(M. ALLEMAN of France read M. Sliman's speech at the latter's request.)

M. Ben SLIMAN recalled the events which took place some months ago in Tunisia—brutal arrests of the leaders of the National Movement, of the Peace Movement, of which he was one, and of Communists. These arbitrary arrests provoked a mass uprising of the people, a signal in turn for a savage onslaught on them. But this repression did not break the Tunisian people. On the contrary, it opened the eyes of those who still had illusions and taught them to count only on themselves to obtain their independence. M. Sliman stated that in fighting for their independence the Tunisian people are undermining an important jumping-off point for aggression. The head of the French Government admitted, in effect, that the continued presence of the French in Tunisia was a question of strategy. Tunisia has become transformed into a base of aggression: fourteen air bases are in the process of being constructed, munitions depots have been installed and extended manœuvres take place on its territory.

In fighting to be masters in their own country, the Tunisian people are quite naturally fighting for Peace. They understand that their fight for independence is not an isolated one, and they are conscious that war is the greatest hope of the imperialists. The events of the last months also taught the Tunisian people to know their enemies and their friends: the attitude of the United States in the U.N. has enlightened them on its hypocritical claim to anti-colonialism.

M. Vassos LYSSARIDES (Cyprus), doctor of medicine, Member of the World Council of Peace, then showed why, in the face of the grave war danger in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, it is imperative that the Peace Conference of the peoples from these countries be convoked.

Mrs. CHAN SUAT HONG from Malaya (an invited visitor), demonstrated that the struggle of the Malayan people, linked to the struggle of all the peoples of Asia and to that of the British people, can make it possible for the war now being fought on their soil, to be brought to an end on the basis of negotiations which respect the principle of the rights of all peoples to self-determination.

Mr. Mahmoud HORMOZ (Iran), a magistrate, Secretary of the Iranian Peace Committee, Member of the World Council of Peace.

With each intensification of the war preparations, Mr. Hormoz declared, the conditions of life for the people of the Middle East become more difficult. It is therefore not astonishing that these peoples choose the road to Peace. The Conference of Ottawa and Washington in 1951 envisaged ways and means of seizing the natural ressources of these countries, of recruiting their sons and of setting up a Middle Eastern Command. But the protests of the people who saw no need for being defended against the Soviet Union, were such that until now not a single Government has agreed to become part of the proposed pact. Then terror methods were tried, at the instigation of envoys from the United States such as dictatorial coups d'état and arrests of Peace defenders.

Mr. Hormoz illustrated these claims by showing that 1,200 U.S. advisers hold considerable power in Iran; arms abound, strategic plants are being constructed, although the economic situation of the country is catastrophic. Close to 50 airports have been installed, many more than are necessary for Iran's defence; high officers of the U.S. army visit Iran and the countries of the Middle East periodically; their interests range from oil in Iran to the Suez Canal. The peoples of the Middle East are also linking their struggle for liberty to the struggle for Peace; they are demanding disarmament, a peaceful solution of the Korean, Japanese and German problems, the conclusion of a Peace Pact. In concluding, Mr. Hormoz showed that despite all difficulties the peoples of the Middle East are firmly determined to hold their regional Peace Conference in the near future.

TWELFTH SESSION

(Saturday, July 5th, Morning)

Presiding: Mme Eugénie COTTON (France), President of the World Federation of Democratic Women, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace; **later: M. Antoine TABET** (Lebanon), an architect, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

Mr. Prasert SUPSOONTHORN from Thaïland (an invited visitor), spoke of the struggle of his people against the transformation of their country into a jumping-off point for provocations on the borders of China and Viet-Nam.

Mrs. Sucheta KRIPALANI (India), leader of the Socialist Praja Party in the Indian Parliament, Member for New Delhi (an invited visitor).

The Indian people, said Mrs. KRIPALANI, aim

for the end of imperialism and believe in peaceful co-existence. India has not known war directly, but she has suffered from the consequences of war: Famine, in 1943, killed 3,000,000 people in the state of Bengal alone. She thought that, unlike the League of Nations and the United Nations, the World Council of Peace can prevent war because it represents the peoples, and it is they who suffer from war.

Some countries behave as if war were inevitable and arm accordingly. The Indian people have welcomed the proposals of the World Council of Peace for disarmament because they know that it was non-violence which made it possible for them to be victorious over Britain which, in terms of violence, was superior to them. Non-violence is superior to violence, just as negotiations are superior to war. We are for disarmament. Our sympathy goes out to the peoples of Korea, Viet Nam and Malaya. The Indian people greet the coming Conference of Peace of the Asian and Pacific countries. The Indian people must use all their weight to achieve the conclusion of a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers (we are asking that it be signed at New-Delhi), the withdrawal of all occupation troops from foreign territories, for the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

M. Paul RODI (France), a journalist, Member of the World Council of Peace, then showed how, as a result of the havoc created by the Atlantic policy, it has become possible to rally a large portion of the public in the West European countries to the Peace Movement.

Mr. Kristinn ANDRESSON of Iceland (an invited visitor), gave the example of how a small, peaceful country, which has never known war or military service, fights for Peace.

MR. WIRTANEN from Finland, (an invited visitor), underlined that it is necessary to explain to Social-Democrats, Liberals, and Catholics what we mean by peaceful co-existence, in order to enlarge our Movement considerably.

Mr. Joseph R. SANDY (Great Britain), Member of the World Council of Peace.

Mr. SANDY, a member of the Society of Friends (Quakers) said he knows that Peace is in the hearts of men. Never before has the need been so imperative to combine faith and action; Christians must get together with all their brothers and struggle alongside them. In the present situation the choice is not between different nations, but between life and death. We are against war and for negotiations. This, then, is our idea of a common basis. We set up no barriers either between ourselves, or between us and others.

Sra. Branca FIALHO (Brazil), President of the Brazilian Federation of Women, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

Sra. FIALHO said that since 1947 World War III has been in preparation in Latin America (the Rio de Janeiro and Bogota Treaties). Under the terms of these Treaties, the countries of Latin America would be forced to participate in the war if the United States considers it has been attacked. The right to interfere in the internal affairs of these countries was also stipulated. A series of bilateral military pacts have served to strengthen these two Treaties with the aim of assuring the economic, military and political subjection of these countries to the United States.

Four-and-a-half-million signatures for a Peace Pact, a victorious struggle against the sending of 20,000 soldiers to Korea and the fight for the oil rights, testify to the great force for Peace in Brazil. Ten million signatures for a Peace Pact, that is Latin America's contribution to the world campaign. But the peoples are equally opposed to the preparation for war on their own soil; for this reason they fight, by different methods in each country, against the conclusion of bilateral pacts. This made necessary united action on their part, and the holding of the regional Peace Conference in May at Montevideo was the crowning success of that unity. The campaign for a Peace Pact permitted us to make the profound reasons for the fight for peace understood in our countries. Without the countries of Latin America the United States cannot make a war because they need their raw materials and their men.

Sr. Juan MARINELLO (Cuba), the writer, Member of the World Council of Peace, also showed the serious encroachments upon the national independence of the Latin American peoples caused by the war preparations and the need for unity among these peoples in the fight for Peace.

Sr. Ernesto GIUDICI (Argentine), General Secretary of the Argentine Peace Committee, (an invited visitor).

Latin America, said Sr. Giudici, has suffered at the hands of the U.S. Government real economic oppression, and he gave the following picture:

—the so-called "American aid" to underdeveloped countries is a source of profits and of oppression;

—the United States buys cheaply those raw materials which play an important part in the maintenance of its war economy;

—it is paralysing the export of manufactured goods, thereby creating an economic depression;

—it is making it impossible for Latin America to buy machinery for her industries, thereby forcing her into one-side development of agriculture;

—U.S. capital investments in Latin America are constantly increasing;

—they are forcing these countries to set aside a large part of their budgets for the purchase of war materials.

Faced with this situation, the consciousness of the Latin American peoples is growing rapidly. This is worrying the United States Government which needs these countries to an even greater extent because the other countries of the world are in opposition to its war policies.

Sga. Alessandra PIAGGIO of Italy, (an invited visitor), spoke of the great desire for Peace among all Catholics, a desire which manifests itself in the form of different movements whose actions, in her opinion, should be co-ordinated.

Sr. Manuel SANCHEZ ARCAS (Spain), an architect, Member of the World Council of Peace, brought to the World Council of Peace greetings from the Spanish Peace Council in Mexico, under the presidency of Dr. José GIRAL. He stated that Spain,

with the eager help of Franco, has become part of the U.S. aggressive system of which she is a base of prime importance. This was sealed by the tripartite Pact of Spain-Portugal and the United States, and by the Mediterranean agreement in which Spain participates.

Sr. Arcas then went on to explain the consequences of this policy which virtually sold Spain, as well as Spanish Morocco, to the great advantage of the U.S. monopolists. The intensively exploited labouring masses constitute for them a source of incalculable profit and a reserve of manpower, since Spain possesses an army of 2,800,000 soldiers which the Spanish dictator intended to integrate into the European army.

But the Spanish people oppose this policy—as was proved by the strikes in Barcelona and Madrid which for all Spanish defenders of Peace represented an invaluable sign of confidence—and are taking their place resolutely in the camp of Peace.

Rev. U. SARANANKARA (Ceylon), a Buddhist Monk, (an invited visitor), launched an appeal to all the Buddhists of the entire world to act for Peace.

Sr. Carlos Augusto LEON (Venezuela), the writer (an invited visitor), then denounced the exploitation by the United States of Pan-Americanism, a doctrine of Peace and of peaceful co-operation, for the aims of war and oppression.

THIRTEENTH SESSION

(Saturday, July 5th, afternoon)

Presiding: Mr. Jessie STREET (Australia), Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

E. E. U. COLLOCOTT (Australia), Doctor of Philosophy, (an invited visitor), expressed the peaceful feelings of the Australian people and their desire to live in friendship with all the peoples of Asia and Australia.

Sr. Eli GORTARI de GORTARI (Mexico), Professor of Philosophy, (an invited visitor), then recalled the victorious struggle of the Mexican people against the conclusion of the bi-lateral military pact with the Government of the United States.

The Polish poet, **Jaroslaw IWASZKIEWICZ,** (an invited visitor), appealed to the writers of the United States, France and Great Britain who were so alive to social realities of their countries, to participate more actively in the struggle for Peace, to which they appeared to be so indifferent.

Sr. Pablo NERUDA (Chili), the poet, Member of the World Council of Peace.

In Sr. Neruda's estimate, the proposal of the World Council of Peace to celebrate great cultural anniversaries has had tremendous repercussions for unity of world culture, despite the reaction of those who want to divide the people. These American intellectuals who refuse to march in step with Truman and who do not want to implant Western culture in Korea with Ridgway methods, are faced with a tragic situation and are treated like ordinary criminals. This policy in dealing with intellectuals extends to the entre American continent. The plan of the aggressor in the field of culture is to deprive us of freedom of speech, to isolate us and to divide us. In conclusion, Sr. Neruda ardently greeted all men of culture in Spain, Turkey, the United States and Latin America who are victims of repression.

Rev. John HARTLEY TELFER (U.S.A.), Minister, First Unitarian Church, Wichita, Kansas.

The Rev. Hartley Telfer indicated that "Peace does not mean cultural uniformity, nor the sameness of economic and political systems. Co-existence is necessary because the world is one; it is the motherland of mankind."

He thought the message by Mr. Ehrenburg would be well received by the American people. Co-existence between the United States and the USSR is necessary because each needs the other.

The Rev. Hartley Telfer then showed that the standard of living of the American people is falling because of the policy of rearmament and also because they are deprived of fruitful commercial trade with certain foreign countries against which artificial barriers have been set up.

Touching on the Korean problem, he showed that the duty of every American consists in seeking out the truth hidden from him and to let his countrymen know about it. Although there are still many Americans who are not convinced that the United States was wrong in undertaking the war in Korea, there are many more who are doubtful and are asking themselves what business we had going into that country.

The Rev. Hartley Telfer continued: The American people have never experienced total war on their own soil. Nor have they known fascist oppression' as have the peoples of Europe and Asia during the war. That is why they have not yet fully understood the words of Roosevelt about the need to wipe out fascism and of maintaining friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. But the majority of Americans do not want war. They are waiting for Peace. All they must now learn is that it is not a question of waiting for it, but of conquering it.

FOURTEENTH SESSION

(Sunday, July 6th, afternoon)

Presiding: Signor Giorgio FENOALTEA (Italy), lawyer, Secretary of the World Council of Peace.

M. Emile CAVENAILLE (Belgium), Member of the World Council of Peace, a businessman who participated in the Moscow Economic Conference, underlined the importance of trade relations for the strengthening of Peace, particularly in small and medium industries in the Western countries.

M. MEYER (France), leader of an agricultural organisation (an invited visitor), then showed that farmers, hard hit by the war and victimized by the new war preparations are taking and will take, an ever greater part in the fight for Peace.

Finally, **Sig. Giorgio FENOALTEA** informed the gathering of the letters and messages of greetings to the Session. He also said that many presents had been received, a group of which was destined for Korea. He then read a message by Mr. Youssef HELMI, President of the Egyptian Peace Committee, and Mr. Saad EL DIN KAMEL, Executive Director of the newspaper "Al Kateb", both members of the World Council of Peace, now interned in a concentration camp.

FIFTEENTH SESSION

(Sunday, July 6th, afternoon)

Presiding: Signor Pietro NENNI (Italy), General Secretary of the Socialist Party of Italy, Deputy, former Vice-President of the Italian Council, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace.

Before Sign. Nenni's speech with which the Session closed, Mr. Roy GORE (Great Britain), Secretary of the World Council of Peace, read the names of new candidates to the World Council of Peace, which had been approved. Mme Isabelle BLUME read the "Address to the Governments of the Four Great Powers And To All The Peoples On The German Problem" which was unanimously adopted. Mr. Mulk RAJ ANAND read the Resolution On The Struggle Against Japanese Remilitarisation And For A Democratic Japan, which was unanimously adopted; M. Yves FARGE read the Resolution On The Cessation Of The Korean War, which was adopted unanimously; Sign. NENNI asked the World Council of Peace to ratify the text of the Appeal Against Bacteriological Warfare, drawn up by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace (April 1, 1952) in Oslo. The text was unanimously adopted. Finally, Sign. NENNI read the text of the Call for a Congress of The Peoples for Peace which was unanimously adopted.

Closing speech by Sig. Pietro NENNI (Italy)

Vice-President of the World Council of Peace

Sig. Nenni first drew attention to certain general features of the international situation:

Three stages have been passed in the course of these last months by aggressive militarism:

—The San Francisco Treaty and the Administrative Agreements signed between Japan and the United States of America and coming into force on April 28, 1952.

—The General Treaty and the Contractual Agreements of Germany with the United States, Great Britain and France, signed in Bonn on May 26th of this year and ratified at express speed by the American senate.

—The Agreement on the "European Defence Community" (European Army) signed in Paris on May 27th, 1952.

At the same time the Korean war is being carried on and has even become aggravated; in spite of the cease-fire talks, while the bombing of the Yalu by U.S. aircraft has given new proof that the Pentagon has not given up the plan of provocation which was also that of General MacArthur.

The other conclusion to be drawn is that the objective deterioration of international relations has brought about a change in world public opinion, a broadening of the Peace Front, a heightened militancy of the masses and also an intensification of persecution.

Under these circumstances, Sig. Nenni said, "an immense effort has become necessary, and to bring it about we have just called for a Congress of the Peoples for Peace."

"A Congress is neither a parade, nor a fair, but the opportunity for fundamental work. The coming Vienna Congress will be worth what its preparatory work has been worth. The fate of the Congress will not be decided on December 5th at Vienna, by the number and quality of the delegates who attend it from all over the world. The fate of the Congress will be decided by the quality of our work between now and the time it convenes: it will be decided in the depths of Black Africa, in the Middle and Far East, India, the United States and Latin America. It will be decided in Western Europe, the USSR, China, Korea, the Eastern People's Democracies, to the exact degree that we shall find the means and the words to get in contact with that part of public opinion which has misunderstood our activities or participated in the slander which was constantly used to break the force of our propaganda."

Noting that the Bonn Agreement is of concern to all mankind, he asked that a campaign against its ratification be undertaken. This will not be an easy job, but the Peace Movement will be aided by a growing spirit, particularly in the United States, Great Britain, France and Germany:

"I will give only a few examples. The day after the bombing of the Yalu, Bevan, of the British Labour Party, turned to his Government and said: 'Tell the Americans that the British people will not make war against China'. He is already taking a polemical position as advanced as ours, and even more advanced than many members of our World Council of Peace.

"He is not obliged to come to us. But we should go to him and say: 'Mr. Bevan, we agree with you'. However, it is not only a question of saying things, but of doing them. And to do them there must be joint activity, or at least activity on parallel lines. Because it is very clear that in order not to be dragged into a war against China there are steps to be taken and things to be done which will not do themselves.

"The case of the Social Democrats of West Germany on the question of the ratification of the Bonn Agreement is even more striking...

"The day has come when Herr Schumacher was forced to take a position against the Contractual Agreements signed by Chancellor Adenauer. The moment has come when the German Social Democrats felt obliged to proclaim as a "Day of National Mourning" the day of the signing of the General Treaty of Bonn, May 26th...

"The problem of ratification will present itself in a very similar way in France and Great Britain.

"A large French Socialist, Radical-Socialist and even de Gaulliste sector opposes with much vehemence and emotion the Contractual Agreements and the Paris agreements, although they are themselves responsible for them. Be it the honorable M. Herriot or the old Socialist, Grumbach, their speeches sound alike and the firmness which seems to inspire them gives reason for the belief in the possibility of creating a rather large opposition front in Parliament and in the country.

"I know there can be many a slip twixt the cup and the lip. I know that in certain cases we must expect the classic move from the gentleman who, at the last minute, will vote for ratification while still talking against it and beating his breast in depair.

"But others will be drawn into an opposition against the Atlantic policy which is becoming more and more coherent. But the man in the street is less complicated and less warped than the wily experienced politician and, in the final count, it is he, the man in the street, who forms public opinion and without whose support politics are but a house of cards which will collapse at the slightest breath.

"This is the direction in which we must pursue the broadening of our Movement, in which this session has shown marked progress..."

Sig. Nenni thought that the preparations for the Congress and the Congress itself will be the opportunity for the Peace Movement to seek "new friendships". He concluded in drawing from the world struggle for Peace, just as from the spectacle of Berlin rising from its ruins "a great lesson of confidence and optimism".

GREETINGS AND PRESENTS SENT TO THE SESSION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Two thousand letters, telegrams and messages of greeting were sent to the Session of the World Council of Peace, of which 1,400 came from factories, schools and administrative bodies in Germany.

An exhibition of presents from the German people to the World Council, to its President and to the Korean delegation was set up in the hall where the Session was held.

The many messages included those from the "National Council of the National Front of Democratic Germany", the "Democratic Peasant Party of Germany", the "Christian-Democratic Union of Germany", the workers from the "Neptune" naval shipbuilding yard in Rostock; the "Lowa" rolling-stock construction works in Görlitz, the "Zeiss Ikon" plant in Dresden, the chemical combine of Leuna, the steel plants of Brandenburg, Hennigsdorf, etc...

A worker from the E.M.W. plant at Eisenach, Walter Euccarius, wrote:

"Having been a regular soldier, I experienced the last world war, with all its horrors, from the first to the last day. A new world war would be conducted with still more horrible weapons and would bring untold misery to mankind...

"We Germans do not need a war and want to live in Peace with all peoples. In my capacity as member of the Peace Committee of the E.M.W. plant at Eisenach, I personally pledge to make an even greater effort to safeguard world Peace."

From Düsseldorf, Frau Kathinka von Kardorf-Oheimb wrote:

"As President of a circle working for an understanding among Germans and for an equitable Peace, I am awaiting with impatience the resolutions of the World Council of Peace. Let us hope that it will bring us Germans re-unification which in turn will make possible a peaceful life in mutual respect."

Numerous messages also arrived from peoples' organisations in Korea; from the state of Bahia in Brazil (in the name of 310,000 signatories of the Appeal for a Pact of Peace); from Pernambuco (Brazil); from Rio de Janeiro, a telegram from the Brazilian Peace Movement said:

"The Movement of the Brazilian Fighters for Peace greets the meeting of the World Council. We are informing you that 4,500,000 signatures have been gathered for the Appeal for a Peace Pact. In the name of the millions of Brazilian Peace fighters, we express all good wishes for the success of your deliberations which will strengthen the position of the Brazilian people in the defence of Peace and for national liberation."

From Springs, Transvaal (Union of South-Africa); from Rumania and Czechoslovakia; from Mufti Ifhan Babahon Ibne Abdoul Magid Han (Kazakhstan) in the name of the clergy of Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

A letter from the Peace Council of Lapland (Finland) was particularly interesting. It said:

"We, the inhabitants of Lapland, suffered very much from the fury of the Nazis who destroyed the homes of our province during the war.

"The conviction that the chances of maintaining Peace are as real as the chances of war is gaining ground among ever larger groups. In our province, 59,600 inhabitants have signed the Appeal for a Peace Pact."

A telegram also arrived from Youssef Helmy and Saad El Din Kamel, Egyptian members of the World Council, greeting the Session of the World Council from inside their internment camp, and pledging their "determination to fight for Peace until victory"; also a telegram from M. André Bonnard, Swiss member of the World Council of Peace:

"Detained in Switzerland by police interference, I send fraternal greetings to the World Council and express the desire for Peace of the Swiss people."

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[World Peace Council]

APPEAL FOR THE CALLING OF A CONGRESS OF PEOPLES FOR PEACE

The war still going on in Korea, the use of arms of extermination, the revival of German and Japanese militarism, the concern of every human being, even those who have not realised the danger of war until now.

The peoples of many countries are becoming aware of the danger that they may be drawn step by step into a new world war, regardless of their wishes.

Hundreds of millions of men and women have called for the banning of weapons of mass destruction, for strictly controlled reduction of all armaments, and for a Pact of Peace.

In parliaments, in trade unions, in political, social and religious bodies, new currents of opinion in favour of safeguarding Peace are rising. Collaboration between all these forces is necessary so that the course of events may be changed and Peace saved.

On the 5th of December, 1952 the Congress of Peoples for Peace will begin in Vienna. This Congress should be prepared for in every country by discussions on the widest possible scale.

Men and women of all views and faiths, come together, discuss and seek out solutions! Choose your representatives for this great gathering!

The Congress of Peoples for Peace will bring together, on the basis of aims arrived at in common, persons of every opinion and groups or organisations of every kind, who desire disarmament, security and national independence, free choice of their way of life, and the relaxation of international tension.

The Congress of Peoples for Peace will bring together all those who wish to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over solutions of force.

Peace can be saved !

Peace must be saved !

Unanimously adopted at the
Extraordinary Session of the World
Council of Peace
Berlin, July 6th, 1952.

[World Peace Council 1953]

RESOLUTION ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST JAPANESE REMILITARIZATION AND FOR A DEMOCRATIC JAPAN

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The San Francisco Treaty which was signed under pressure of the United States, and the Japanese-American Security Treaty have provoked, only two months after their being declared effective (April 28th, 1952), the strong opposition of the Japanese people who consider that these acts have been forced on them in violation of their vital interests and their desire for peaceful development.

Millions of people throughout the world support the Japanese people in their opposition to these Treaties and the Administrative Agreement following them, because they constitute a danger to the peace, not only of the Japanese people and the people of Asia and of the Pacific, but also those in the rest of the world.

Events have confirmed the view expressed in the resolution of the World Council of Peace passed at its Vienna meeting, November 1st-6th, 1951. The rapid expansion of Japanese rearmament, the maintenance of U.S. occupation troops and of numerous war bases on Japanese territory, the signing of a so-called Peace treaty with the puppet regime of Chiang Kai Chek accompanied by the American support of aggressive groups in other parts of Asia, can only point to Japan as a base of aggression.

Faced with this threat of the extension of the war in Asia, the World Council of Peace is of the opinion that :

- the San Francisco Treaty and the dependent agreements are not valid because of their disregard of international agreements;and must be replaced by a genuine treaty, signed by all interested States.

That treaty should provide:

a) for the withdrawal of all occupation troops and prohibit the establishment of foreign military bases in Japan ;

b) for the full sovereignty of the Japanese people and the necessity for their democratic and peaceful development.

The World Council of Peace salutes the heroic struggle of the Japanese people for Peace, independence and democracy against the forces of militarism and war, and appeals to all other peoples of Asia and the Pacific to give them the maximum support in this struggle thereby helping to ensure their own peaceful and democratic development. It further

appeals to peaceloving peoples in all countries whose Governments signed the San Francisco Treaty to struggle for its replacement by a genuine Peace Treaty.

Towards this end, the World Council of Peace calls on the peoples of Asia and the Pacific to make the greatest effort to mobilise the forces of Peace and democracy for the Asia and Pacific Peace Conference to be held in Peking in the Autumn 1952, which will help to find a satisfactory solution to the Japanese problem and other problems concerning Peace in the regions of Asia and the Pacific.

Unanimously adopted
at the Extraordinary Session
of the World Council of Peace

Berlin, July 6th 1952

[World Peace Council]

RESOLUTION ON THE CESSATION OF THE KOREAN WAR

For more than two years there has been conducted an atrocious war in Korea, characterised by massacres of the population, bad treatment and killing of prisoners-of-war, mass bombing of open towns, the use of napalm and poison gases.

The World Council, after having examined all the documents that have been submitted to it, is also convinced that bacteriological arms have been employed.

The American armed forces have repeatedly committed acts of aggression against China entailing the risk of a generalisation of the conflict : after the bombing of several Chinese towns, after the use of biological weapons on Chinese territory, after repeated threats of recourse to the atomic weapon, the recent aerial attacks on the electrical installations of the Yalu which supply industry of north-east China, constitutes a deliberate provocation designed to render more difficult the conclusion of an armistice.

The methods of war used by the American military command in Korea and the obstacles constantly put in the way of the successful concluding of the armistice negotiations, involves not only the responsibility of the United States, but that of all the governments who approved the illegal intervention of the United Nations into the internal conflict in Korea, and which have placed their armed forces under the authority of the American High Command, whose action, conducted in the name of the United Nations Organisation, is incompatible with the peaceful aims proclaimed by its Charter.

In order to put an end to the martyrdom of the Korean people and to safeguard Peace, the World Council of Peace calls on all peoples to demand :

1. The immediate cessation of hostilities by the conclusion of an armistice respecting international laws and customs, the signing of which will no longer rest, as it does today, waiting for the American delegation to abandon its unjust demands concerning the repatriation of prisoners-of-war.

2. The ratification and the respecting by all States of the Geneva Protocol of 17th June, 1925, which prohibits the use of bacteriological warfare.

The realisation of these immediate objectives will permit the re-establishment of a lasting peace in Korea, by a peaceful and fair solution respecting the freely expressed desires of the Korean people and by the evacuation of foreign troops from their territory.

The war in Korea, with the atrocities which are accompanying it, and the use of weapons of mass destruction, constitutes a grave warning to all the peoples of the world.

Unanimously adopted at the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace
B e r l i n - July 6th, 1952.

[World Peace Council]

APPEAL TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FOUR GREAT POWERS AND TO ALL PEOPLES ON THE GERMAN PROBLEM

Seven years after the crushing of the Hitlerite regime the Peace Treaty with Germany has still not been concluded.

The World Council of Peace interpreting the aspirations of millions of men and women throughout the world, addresses itself to the Governments of the Four Great Powers, the U.S.A., France, Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., which, by the Postdam agreement , assumed a special responsibility for the peaceful solution of the German problem.

It says to them that the time has come to assume their responsibility fully and collectively.

In fundamental contradiction to such a duty the separate agreements concluded in Bonn and Paris on the 26th and 27th May aim at a one-sided settlement. The agreements carry within themselves the rebirth of militarism and of fascism, deepen the division of Germany and of Europe, and are an obstacle to all practical efforts to promote general disarmament.

The peoples know well that unless there is a negotiated solution based on a firm determination to succeed, there is the real danger of there being no other outcome but war.

The World Council considers the best solution to be the immediate convening of a Four-Power conference, the object of which will be to take all decisions with a view to the peaceful solution of the German problem.

It considers as the best solution, that the German people themselves, through free elections, achieve their unity and give themselves the Government which will conclude a Peace Treaty with all the states against which Hitlerite Germany made war.

This Treaty will have to recognise the right to sovereignty of a unified, democratic, independent and peaceful Germany.

This Treaty, in which Germany will agree not to enter into any military coalition, will fix the methods and times of evacuation of the foreign armies of occupation. It will thus help restore to the Nations of Europe the choice of their destiny in security, co-operation and respect for their independence.

The World Council of Peace, at the same time as it calls upon the Governments of the Four Great Powers, also calls on the peoples of all countries.

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It salutes the great movement of public opinion and the different actions which are developing, unhindered by frontiers and beyond divergencies of ideas or beliefs, against the danger which the ratification and carrying out of the Bonn and Paris agreements will involve.

It assures of its support those vigilant and courageous men and women who in all countries, and especially in Germany, are demonstrating their determination to join forces against this peril and who demand an explanation of the members of their governments, leaders or members of Parliament who bear the responsibility of supporting the realisation of these agreements.

The World Council of Peace solemnly declares that the co-operation of all men of good will is indispensible to the development of effective action without delay.

It calls upon the trade unions, political parties, organisations, and churches, particularly upon those of Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, the Scandinavian countries and all the nations neighbouring on Germany. It appeals to the rising generation whose future would be ruined for ever by war. It appeals to all those who are conscious of the threat which is hanging over the homes of the world, to all those who believe that disaster is not inevitable and that the gravity of the hour demands the greatest confidence in the capacity of the peoples to listen to one another and to find a common path of action.

With all their assembled strength the peoples can, in the months facing us prevent the ratification of the separate agreements, impose the holding of a meeting of the Four Powers and make it reach a peaceful solution that corresponds to their own security as well as to the national interests of the German people.

Unanimously adopted at the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace.
BERLIN, July 6th, 1952.

25-52.37

[World Peace Council]

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
CONSEJO MUNDIAL DE LA PAZ
世界和平理事會

SECRÉTARIAT GÉNÉRAL
PALAIS S. I. A.
JANSKA 100
PRAHA (TCHÉCOSLOVAQUIE)
TÉLÉPHONE: PRAHA 615-90
ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE:
PAIXMONDE PRAGUE

Prague, July 15th, 1952.

JG/GL

Dear Friend

We enclose herewith the correct text of the "Appeal Calling for a Congress of the Peoples for Peace".

We regret that a typographical mistake was made in the text sent to you on July 11th. The third line of the first paragraph was omitted, and therefore this text must be considered invalid.

We are sorry for any inconvenience that this may have caused you.

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace,

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

APPEAL FOR THE CALLING OF A CONGRESS OF PEOPLES FOR PEACE.

The war still going on in Korea, the use of arms of extermination, the revival of German and Japanese militarism, the use of violence against the independence of nations, rouse the concern of every human being, even those who have not realised the danger of war until now.

The peoples of many countries are becoming aware of the danger that they may be drawn step by step into a new world war, regardless of their wishes.

Hundreds of millions of men and women have called for the banning of weapons of mass destruction, for strictly controlled reduction of all armaments, and for a Pact of Peace.

In parliaments, in trade unions, in political, social and religious bodies, new currents of opinion in favour of safeguarding Peace are rising. Collaboration between all these forces is necessary so that the course of events may be changed and Peace saved.

On the 5th of December, 1952 the Congress of Peoples for Peace will begin in Vienna. This Congress should be prepared for in every country by discussions on the widest possible scale.

Men and women of all views and faiths, come together, discuss and seek out solutions! Chose your representatives for this great gathering!

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Berlin, July 6th, 1952

[World Peace Council]

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

SECRETARIAT

PALAIS SIA PRAGUE

Prague August 5th, 1952

BC.

Prof. W.E.B. DU BOIS
U.S.A.

Dear Friend,

Just before the recent Session of the World Council of Peace began in Berlin, our President, M.Joliot-Curie, was informed by telegram of certain serious measures which had been taken at Zurich against Professor Bonnard the eminent S wiss Hellenist, President of the Swiss Peace Council and member of the World Council of Peace, which had prevented him from continuing his journey.

Now, more precise information has come to hand. It appears that after arresting and searching Professor Bonnard, papers which he had intended using for a speech at the Session were confiscated. Furthermore, certain material which he had collected from newspapers and reviews as well as extracts from bulletins dealing with the general activities of the International Committee of the Red Cross, were also seized.

The S wiss Federal Council, on the pretext that material of this nature relating to the Red Cross endangered the prestige and security of Switzerland, threatened to charge Professor Bonnard with espionage.

We are sending you herewith some of the principal extracts from the communiqué issued by the Swiss Federal Government indicating the articles in the penal code which could be used as pretext for taking action against our distinguished friend.

We are sure that these measures will be deplored by people of all shades of opinion and that they will want to join in ensuring that these despicable charges, against

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a man who held in high esteem both for his scholastic and literary work as well as for his part in the safeguarding of Peace, will be withdrawn.

No doubt you will also want to support Professor Bonnard, thereby helping to defend the right of the most elementary principles of democracy to be respected. A protest to the Swiss Federal authorities would, at the same time, be an effective contribution to the cause of Peace.

Furthermore we are confident that all messages of support and sympathy addressed directly to:

Professor A. Bonnard
39, Chemin du Levant
L a u s a n n e
S witzerland,

would be welcomed as a valuable source of encouragement and strength.

Yours very sincerely,

For the World Council of Peace

[signature]

[signature] Gore
Secretary

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

Enclosures: 1.- Short biography of Professor Bonnard
2.- Extracts from the communiqué of the Swiss Federal Government
3.- Copy of the communiqué of the Swiss Peace Movement and a copy of the communiqué of the Swiss League for the rights of Man
4.- Press statement by Professor Bonnard

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ANNEX I

PROFESSOR ANDRE BONNARD - SWITZERLAND

Member of the World Council of Peace

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André BONNARD was born on 16th April, 1888 at Lausanne; he studied there and also in Paris.

He was made Professor of Greek in the Vaud Secondary Teaching Establishment (1915-1928), then Professor in Greek Language and Literature at the University of Lausanne since 1928.

His principal publications include :

Several French editions of Greek tragedies :

"Le Prométhée enchaîné", "Antigone", "Alceste"
"Oedipe Roi", "Iphigénie en Aulide".

All these versions were enacted in French-speaking countries, in French-Switzerland, in France, in the Union Française and in Belgium. Antigone was acted primarily in Orange, Paris and Arles : Oedipe Roi in Arles, Lyons and Brussels; Promethée enchaîné in the ancient theatre of Avenches (music by Arthur Honegger and decor by Hans Erni).

Other publications :

- Les Dieux de la Grèce	- 1944 et 1946	- Mermod	Lausanne
-Socrate selon Platon	- 1945	"	"
- La Poésie de Sapho	- 1948	"	"
- Vers un Humanisme nouveau			
- Réflexions sur la littérature soviétique	- 1948		
- Les intellectuels et la Révolution d'octobre	- 1948		

Professor André BONNARD is a member of the Committee of Honour of the Encyclopaedia of the French Renaissance.

He headed the Swiss delegation at the World Congress of Partisans of Peace in Paris. He is at present President of the Swiss National Committee of Defenders of Peace, and a member of the World Council of Peace.

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ANNEX II.

PRINCIPAL EXTRACTS FROM
A COMMUNIQUE PUBLISHED TUESDAY, 8th JULY
AT THE END OF A MEETING OF THE SWISS
FEDERAL COUNCIL AT BERNE.

The public has already been informed that Professor Bonnard of Lausanne was arrested, and searched at Zurich on the evening of 30th June, by warrant of the Attorney-General of the Confederation. Professor Bonnard was going to Berlin via Prague, to take part in the session of "The World Council of Peace".

... The greater part of the papers seized were concerned with the International Committee of the Red Cross and its leaders.

... This documentation having been seized Bonnard decided not to continue his journey to Berlin and returned to Lausanne.

... Further, the documents found in the possession of Bonnard were of such a nature to provoke a serious political villifying campaign against Switzerland, the International Committee of the Red Cross having its headquarters in our country, which does as much as possible to encourage its efforts.

... Consequently André Bonnard is accused of giving political information in the interests of a foreign organisation, prejudicing the interests of Switzerland (article 272 of the Swiss Penal Code). It is further to be examined whether he has contravened article 266a of the same code, an article which has as its aim the punishment of those who carry out and uphold foreign actions or initiatives against the security of Switzerland.

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ANNEX III

The news of the charge against Professor BONNARD has had a very strong reaction and has provoked many protests from influential circles in Switzerland. Immediately the Secretariat of the Swiss National Peace Movement issued the following communiqué :

PROTEST OF THE SWISS PEACE MOVEMENT

"The Secretariat of the Swiss National Peace Movement states :

"The undersigned, members of the National Committee of the Swiss Peace Movement, have learned with indignation that on the 30th June last, at Zurich, Professor André Bonnard, their President, was subjected to outrageous police interference.

"They express strongly their solidarity with this great Peace-fighter, who has not hesitated to sacrifice his ease and comfort to put all his strength into the struggle for Peace, thus giving inestimable help to the good name of Switzerland among Peace-loving peoples throughout the entire world.

"They protest very forcefully against the decision of the Federal Council to indict Professor Bonnard a decision which they consider as an attempt to silence any effective movement for Peace in our country.

"They invite all honest people whatever their faith or political opinion, to join with them in the defence of Peace and democratic rights, and to demand the immediate suspension of all charges against Professor Bonnard.

"Robert Tuscher, National Secretary.
A. Boss, Berne; V. Gilardoni, Locarno; H. von Fischer, Zurich; A. Muret, Lausanne; H. Stebler, Basle, member of the National Bureau; G. Baer, Vevey; G. Bourquin, Le Locle; A. Bron, Secretary of Swiss-Soviet Union, Geneva; G. Chassot, Fribourg; G. Colomb, Geneva; R. de Coulon, Bienne; M. Fahrny, Geneva; R. Frei, St. Gall; R. Gilomon, Berne; M. Hardegger, Locarno; E. Henriod, Lausanne; P. Hirsch, la Chaux-de-Fond; U. Kaegi, Secretary of Free Youth, Zurich; G. Leuba, Neuchatel; A. Magnin, Geneva; M. Th. Massot, Geneva; J. Mayorat, Yverdon; Dr. A. Miéville, Vevey; Dr. J. Moser, Basle; Soeur M. Pfirter, Muttens; Dr. P. Thillot, Lausanne."

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The Swiss League for the Rights of Man

AN APPEAL FOR THE DEFENCE OF LIBERTIES

"The Swiss League for the Defence of the Rights of Man has been greatly shocked by the police action of which Professor Bonnard has fallen a victim : a citizen whose sincerity and loyalty in upholding his own personal opinions in his activity for Peace, cannot be doubted.

Considering the actions which have been taken over several years in a series of restrictive measures which are tending to diminish in an alarming way the elementary rights contained in our Constitution, the League deems it necessary to make an Appeal to the Press, and by means of it to express the opinion of all free men in order to help to oppose these pratices which can only result in a grave compromise of the defence of our democratic regime.

"It considers intolerable that such shocking and arbitrary methods should be employed in our country, no matter under what pretext, to the detriment of our time-honoured liberties.

The Swiss League for the Rights of Man

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And each day brings resolutions, letters of support, etc. from popular meetings, from localities or from organisations called upon by the Peace Movement and from democratic organisations protesting against the arbitrary measures of which Professor Bonnard is today a victim.

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ANNEX IV

PRESS STATEMENT BY PROFESSOR ANDRE BONNARD

"I wish to submit for your appreciation and that of your readers the following facts :

"On last Monday, June 30th, I was leaving for the Session of the World Council of Peace which was held in Berlin. The Council is composed of some 250 representatives from all countries, men and women of very varied political and religious ideas. I have the honour to represent Switzerland.

"I carried with me a documentation on the subjects on which I could speak, a harmless documentation composed of articles from newspapers, of letters and of notes which can be gathered from libraries.

"Arriving at Zurich about 9 o'clock in the evening I was arrested by the police, who presented me with a warrant, signed by the Attorney-General of the Confederation, which based itself on Article 266a of the Penal Code concerning foreign activities against Switzerland; authorising the searching of Professor Bonnard and the confiscation of the documents which he was "seriously suspected" of carrying to a foreign organisation. (I am unable to quote the exact terms employed because, in spite of my request to be given a copy of this warrant, my request was refused). Thereupon, the greater part of my documentation was confiscated and photostat copies made of the rest.

"This business lasted more than two-and-a-half hours. What most intrigued me was the tone employed, a mixture of affected politeness and provocation. Indeed they took care not to formally forbid me from continuing my voyage. (Rather they encouraged me to go there!) However, my arrest, the search and the confiscation, as well as the interrogation to which they would have submitted me (which I refused) constituted a series of provocations which were sufficient to prohibit me to continuing my voyage.

"I feel that it is my duty to make known these facts to the public. Coming after similar (and more serious) attempts on the liberty of Swiss citizens and those abroad, we must strengthen our vigilance and safeguard democracy and Peace. Such

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police methods are abhorrent to the Swiss people : we will not permit that they shall be employed here. Today a man who thinks to give his services to humanity and to Peace is hounded and suspect. Tomorrow it will be all honest citizens who will be more seriously menaced and struck at. The repeated insults and growing attacks which are directed against the defenders of Peace, no matter in what country they occur, tend to prepare a favourable path for fascism and for war. In the face of such attacks must arise in unity all those who believe in the prime necessity of defending Peace in our country as well as throughout the world.

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25-32-61

DES INTELLECTUELS DE SUISSE

EN APPELLENT A L'OPINION PUBLIQUE

A PROPOS

DU PROFESSEUR ANDRE BONNARD

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L E S F A I T S

Comme on le sait M. André Bonnard, Professeur à l'Université de Lausanne, et Président du "Mouvement suisse de La Paix" adressa la lettre suivante aux journaux :

"Je désire soumettre à votre appréciation et à celle de vos lecteurs les faits suivants.

Lundi dernier 30 juin, je partais pour la session du Conseil Mondial de la Paix, qui se tenait à Berlin. Ce Conseil comprend 250 représentants environ de tous les peuples, hommes et femmes de tendances politiques et religieuses très diverses. J'ai l'honneur d'y représenter la Suisse.

J'emportais avec moi une documentation sur les sujets que je pouvais être amené à traiter, documentation fort anodine, faite d'articles de journaux, de lettres, ainsi que de notes qu'on peut recueillir dans les bibliothèques.

Débarquant à Zurich, vers 9 heures du soir, j'y suis appréhendé par des policiers qui me présentent une "ordonnance" signée du procureur général de la Confédération et qui, se fondant sur l'article 266 bis du Code pénal concernant les menées de l'étranger contre la Suisse, prescrivait de fouiller le professeur Bonnard et de séquestrer tous les documents qu'il était "gravement suspecté" de porter à une organisation de l'étranger. (Je ne puis citer exactement les termes employés, parce que, malgré ma demande de recevoir une copie de cette ordonnance, cette copie me fut refusée). Là-dessus, la plus grande partie de ma documentation fut confisquée, le reste passa à la photocopie.

Cette affaire dura plus de deux heures et demie. Ce qui m'intrigua le plus, ce fut le ton qu'on employa, mélange de politesse affectée et de provocation. Certes on s'est gardé de me défendre formellement de poursuivre mon voyage. (On m'y aurait plutôt encouragé!). Cependant, l'arrestation la fouille, la confiscation, ainsi que l'interrogatoire auquel on prétendait me soumettre (je m'y suis refusé) constituaient une série de provocations qui suffisaient à m'interdire ce voyage.

J'estime de mon devoir de faire connaître de tels faits à l'opinion publique. Venant après d'autres atteintes analogues (et plus graves) à la liberté des citoyens en Suisse et à l'étranger, ils doivent renforcer notre vigilance à défendre la démocratie et la paix. De telles méthodes policières offensent le peuple suisse : nous ne permettrons pas qu'elles s'implantent chez nous. Aujourd'hui on suspecte et on inquiète une homme qui pense pouvoir dire qu'il a mis ses forces au service de l'humanisme et de la paix. Demain ce seront tous les honnêtes citoyens qui seront bien plus gravement menacés et frappés. Les insultes répétées et les attaques multipliées qu'on dirige contre les défenseurs de la paix, dans quelque pays que ce soit, tendent à former ce climat de fascisme favorable à la préparation de la guerre. De telles atteintes doivent rallier dans l'unité tous ceux qui pensent que la paix est le premier bien à défendre dans notre pays comme dans l'ensemble du monde."

En même temps le Ministère public fédéral faisait paraître le communiqué suivant :

"Lors de son passage à Zurich, le 30 juin, le professeur André Bonnard, de Lausanne, a été soumis à une fouille sur mandat du procureur général de la Confédération, décerné en application des articles 65 et ss. de la loi fédérale sur la procédure pénale. Bonnard, qui se rendait à Berlin-Est, en passant par Prague, pour assister au congrès du Conseil communiste mondial de la paix, était soupçonné de porter par devers lui des papiers dont le contenu justifiait le séquestre, eu égard aux dispositions sur le service de renseignements politiques et les entreprises et menées de l'étranger contre la sécurité de la Suisse. Le séquestre fut ordonné. Les papiers séquestrés sont actuellement soumis à un examen approfondi de la part du ministère public fédéral. Les infractions entrant en ligne de compte sont celles des art. 266 bis et 272 du Code pénal suisse."

Le 15 juillet 1952, paraissait un communiqué, publié en fin de séance du Conseil fédéral, disant :

"Le public a déjà été informé que le professeur Bonnard, de Lausanne, a été appréhendé, puis fouillé, à Zurich, le soir du 30 juin, sur mandat du procureur général de la Confédération. Le professeur Bonnard se rendait à Berlin via Prague, pour assister aux séances du "Conseil mondial de la paix" (communiste).

L'examen des pièces saisies à cette occasion a révélé ce qui suit :

"Au cours du mois de mai 1952, le professeur Joliot-Curie, de Paris, président du "Conseil mondial de la paix", pria son collègue Bonnard, qui représente, au sein de cet organisme, le mouvement suisse des "partisans de la paix" de lui fournir des renseignements sur le Comité international de la Croix-Rouge et les personnalités qui le composent Bonnard accepta cette mission, qu'il entreprit aussitôt d'exécuter, avec l'aide de tiers auxquels il fit appel. Il rassembla de la sorte toute une documentation à l'intention du "Conseil mondial de la paix" et de son président. Il la détenait au moment ou il fut appréhendé et fouillé à Zurich, avant son départ pour Prague et Berlin.

La plupart des écrits saisis ont trait au C.I.C.R. et à ses dirigeants qu'ils dépeignent comme les représentants du gros capital occidental et de son industrie de guerre. Ils contiennent des affirmations inexactes de nature politique, destinées au surplus, à faire conclure que le C.I.C.R. ne serait en réalité qu'un instrument au service des puissances occidentales, en particulier anglo-saxonnes et, par conséquent, impropre à conduire des enquêtes impartiales sur la guerre bactériologique en Corée. Un des rapports séquestrés dépeint même le C.I.C.R. comme un instrument de politique de guerre".

Cette documentation ayant été saisie, Bonnard renonça à poursuivre son voyage pour Berlin et retourna à Lausanne.

Le but poursuivi par le professeur Bonnard au service de la propagande communiste était incontestablement de nuire à l'autorité et à la réputation internationales du C.I.C.R. et de le discréditer aux yeux du monde entier.

Les documents trouvés en possession de Bonnard étaient en outre de nature à provoquer une grave campagne de dénigrement politique de la Suisse, le C.I.C.R. ayant son siège dans notre pays qui encourage ses efforts dans la mesure du possible. Affirmer que le C.I.C.R. - dont les dirigeants sont Suisses - est un instrument de la politique de guerre constitue une grave atteinte à la politique de neutralité de la Suisse et vise par conséquent, la sûreté du pays.

André Bonnard est dès lors inculpé de service de renseignements politiques pratiqué dans l'intérêt d'une organisation de l'étranger au préjudice de la Suisse (article 272 du code pénal suisse). Il y a lieu d'examiner en outre s'il a contrevenu à l'article 266 bis du même code, disposition qui vise le fait de pratiquer ou de soutenir des entreprises ou menées de l'étranger contre la sécurité de la Suisse.

Donnant suite aux propositions du département fédéral de justice et police, le Conseil fédéral a décidé aujourd'hui d'autoriser le procureur général à requérir le juge d'instruction fédéral pour la Suisse romande d'ouvrir une instruction préparatoire."

A P P E L

L'instruction préparatoire concernant le Professeur André Bonnard est aujourd'hui en cours. Sans préjuger du fond même de la question, quelques intellectuels de Suisse - écrivains, professeurs, étudiants - s'élevent avec vigueur contre une telle manière de jeter le discrédit sur un homme dont ils reconnaissent unanimement l'honnêteté intellectuelle et la dignité morale.

Si plusieurs d'entre eux sont loin de partager toutes les idées du Professeur Bonnard ou de le suivre dans ses choix politiques, ils n'acceptent pas cependant de voir un de leurs concitoyens, à la suite de l'inculpation du Conseil fédéral, traité sans autre par la presse d'"espion", d'"agent de renseignements au service de l'étranger", quand ce n'est pas de "mouchard".

S'adressant directement à l'opinion publique, ils voudraient lui rappeler que depuis de longues années, à la chaire de l'Université de Lausanne, aimé et écouté de ses élèves, le Professeur Bonnard leur dispense un lumineux enseignement. Ce qu'il essaie en effet de communiquer à ses jeunes auditeurs, ce n'est pas seulement un savoir, mais aussi un enthousiasme et une foi dans ce qu'il considère, à travers les chefs-d'oeuvre d'un Eschyle, d'un Sophocle, d'un Euripide, comme les plus hautes valeurs humaines de justice et de liberté. La pure tragédie d'Antigone, qu'il a traduite et à laquelle son nom restera attaché pour longtemps, lui a inspiré ses plus belles pages, ses leçons les meilleures : celles où il a montré comment un être jeune, en dépit de toutes les pressions - fût-ce celle de la raison d'Etat - sacrifie son existence à ce qu'il croit juste et vrai. Aussi plus d'un ancien étudiant lui doit-il de consacrer aujourd'hui ses forces d'homme à la noble tâche de défendre ces valeurs.

C'est de la source incomparable de l'humanisme grec que s'inspirent les choix politiques du Professeur Bonnard. Nous le répétons: ces choix peuvent paraître à beaucoup discutables. On ne saurait pour autant établir une fallacieuse opposition entre la "noblesse" de leur inspiration et l'"ineptie" de l'action ou s'est engagé le Professeur Bonnard. Quoi qu'on en pense ces choix commandent en premier lieu le respect, même au fort de la controverse. Comment dès lors admettre de les voir ramener presque au niveau de l'abjection ?

Aussi considérons-nous comme une offense à l'Esprit le fait qu'un citoyen aussi honorable que le Professeur Bonnard, dans sa personne et dans l'exercice de ses fonctions, puisse être en butte à une campagne d'injures à la fois perfide et ignominieuse.
Et pourquoi cette campagne, pourquoi ces attaques ? Il faut bien le dire : simplement parce que le Professeur Bonnard défend un idéal qui n'est pas celui de nos hommes d'Etat, ni des sphères gouvernementales, ni de la majorité de la presse. La preuve en est qu'à travers lui c'est toute une conception de la paix que l'on vise.

Pour nous, persuadés que de tels procédés de dénigrement d'un honnête homme constituent une menace contre l'indépendance des individus et font partie déjà de méthodes totalitaires, nous protestons avec énergie et nous en appelons à l'opinion publique suisse pour lui demander de comprendre le sens de notre protestation et de nous aider à défendre vec vigilance le bien commun de la liberté.

Georges HALDAS
Henri DEBLUE, professeur, directeur de la revue RENCONTRE.
Michel DENTAN, professeur,
Jeanlouis CORNUZ, professeur

Jean MESSMER, étudiant

Edmond GILLIARD, écrivain
Maurice CHAPPAZ, écrivain
Jean BOUDRY
Elisabeth BLASER
Gisèle REALE
René BOVARD, secrétaire

Jean VERNAUD, professeur
Richard BERNARD, metteur en scène
Jean-Samuel CURTET, étudiant
Rodolphe HEGETSCHWEILER, violoniste
Alexandre CHEVALLEY, instituteur
Melle. PROCHASKA, étudiante
Willy BORGEAUD, professeur
Charles MOUCHET, professeur
Jacques URBAIN
André GUR, étudiant, Président du Groupe ESPRIT, de Genève.
Hubert FRIEDRICH, secrétaire
Jacques GLASSON
Anne PERRIER

DOCUMENTS

Au cours de l'instruction préparatoire le Professeur Bonnard a fait le 3o juillet 1952 devant le juge d'instruction la déclaration suivante :

DECLARATION FAITE DEVANT M. LE JUGE D'INSTRUCTION LE 3o JUILLET 1952

Je déclare, comme je l'ai déjà déclaré à Zurich, le 3o juin qu'aucune des pièces saisies dans ma valise, ce jour-là, n'était destinée à être remise à quiconque à Berlin ou ailleurs. Ces dossiers constituaient ma documentation personnelle, dont j'avais l'intention d'user avec objectivité lors d'une intervention, qui restait tout éventuelle, devant le Conseil Mondial de la Paix.

Je déclare d'autre part que j'ai adressé, à Paris, à M. Roger Mayer, secrétaire de M. Joliot-Curie, des notes destinées à établir si le Comité international de la Croix-Rouge est, par sa composition et son activité, apte à conduire une enquête impartiale sur la guerre bactériologique. Ces notes, qui n'avaient aucun caractère secret, avaient été recueillies dans des documents publics.

Sur les 55 pièces saisies à Zurich, 7 seulement faisaient partie de la documentation adressée à Paris. Encore celles de Paris portaient-elles des retouches manuscrites de ma main.

C'est donc sur une base matérielle inexacte et sur une simple supposition gratuite, à laquelle j'avais opposé le démenti le plus formel, que le Conseil fédéral, en accord avec le Procureur général de la Confédération, a décidé mon inculpation. Inculpation qu'un communiqué officiel a fait connaître à la presse (six jours avant qu'elle ne me fut notifiée) en des termes si intentionnellement agressifs et partiaux qu'ils devaient à coup sûr déchaîner contre ma personne une campagne de presse d'une basesse inouïe.

Mais qui donc visait-on par cette action ? Non pas un simple professeur de grec, ami de la paix. On visait le Conseil Mondial de la Paix lui-même. L'analyse des documents officiels et des journaux qui leur emboitèrent le pas le prouve avec évidence.

Par deux fois le Conseil Mondial est qualifié par les documents officiels de "communiste" et son action est dite "propagande communiste". Contre-vérité manifeste. Le 5o o/o à peine des membres du Conseil Mondial de la Paix appartiennent au parti communiste. Côte à côte siègent, dans ce Conseil, associés dans un même effort de paix, des savants, des prêtres, des pasteurs, des syndicalistes, etc. d'opinions politiques, de croyances religieuses, de tendances philosophiques les plus diverses. Quant à l'action pour la paix du Conseil Mondial, elle est si large que des centaines de millions d'hommes et de femmes s'y sont associés.

D'autre part, les journaux, encouragés par la violente partialité des communiqués annonçant ma fouille puis mon inculpation, n'ont pas craint de présenter le Mouvement Mondial de la Paix comme une "grande entreprise d'escroquerie morale" (1) ou comme un "simple instrument de la dictature communiste". (2) L'un d'eux écrit : "Le Conseil fédéral, quelles que puissent être sur ce point les arguties juridiques, a raison en fait et son opinion correspond à l'exacte réalité lorsqu'il considère le "conseil mondial de la paix" comme une organisation communiste au service de l'étranger. (3) Un autre journal encore prétend prendre M. Joliot-Curie et moi-même "en flagrant délit de complot contre la Suisse" (!) (4) Citons encore ce texte qui nous parle du "fallacieux congrès de Berlin, destiné à promouvoir une prétendue paix, dont nous savons tous qu'elle est une monumentale imposture et que son avènement menacerait directement notre indépendance et nos libertés". (5) Et ainsi de suite.

(1) Journal de Genève, 16 juillet 1952
(2) Nouvelle Revue de Lausanne, 16 juillet 1952
(3) Ibidem
(4) La Tat, citée par la Gazette de Lausanne du 19/2o juillet 1952
(5) Tribune de Genève, 8 juillet 1952

Ces textes révèlent en toute clarté le sens véritable de mon inculpation. Il s'agit en fait de discréditer le Conseil Mondial, de le vilipender dans l'opinion suisse d'abord, au moment où se prépare un vaste congrès du peuple suisse "Pour la défense de la Paix".

Davantage. En feignant de voir un complot dans une enquête objectivement menée sur les garanties d'impartialité de jugement du C.I.C.R., il s'agit d'empêcher que soit dénoncée devant l'opinion mondiale la guerre biologique, sur laquelle on sait que le Conseil Mondial possède des documents irréfutables.

Cette conclusion s'imposera - au moins à titre d'hypothese très vraisemblable - à tout esprit critique qui se rappellera que deux autres membres du Conseil Mondial ont été récemment, dans leur pays, le professeur Brandweiner de l'Université de Graz, le doyen de Canterbury, Hewlett Johnson, l'objet d'attaques semblables. Or ces deux hommes savaient et voulaient faire connaître la vérité sur la guerre microbienne.

Mais à qui donc profite le silence, à qui profitent les mesures d'intimidation qui cherchent à étouffer la vérité sur cette guerre abominable ? A ceux qui l'ont déclenchée, évidemment.

Et maintenant pourquoi s'en prendre en troisième lieu à un citoyen suisse ? Tout simplement parce que le pays de l'authentique honnêteté helvétique dispose dans le monde d'une auréole qui permettrait plus aisément de faire passer le jugement, quel qu'il fût, sur la guerre bactériologique, du C.I.C.R. (institution arbitrairement confondue avec la Suisse) pour impartial et inattaquable.

Pour moi, je fais toute confiance au Conseil Mondial pour mener à bien son oeuvre de paix parce que je sais que les hommes et les femmes qui le composent sont par leurs travaux comme par leur amour de la paix les premiers de notre temps, je sais que l'action du Conseil Mondial constitue l'une des plus grandes forces de paix qui soit dans le monde, je sais que, bien loin d'être une "organisation de l'étranger" le Conseil Mondial de la Paix n'est pas autre chose que la patrie commune des peuples pacifiques.

Quant aux mesures dont j'ai été l'objet - fouille, séquestre et inculpation - elles offensent gravement la liberté de tout citoyen de mener jusqu'au bout une recherche objective - recherche qui au surplus intéresserait la paix. Je demande donc en conclusion l'arrêt immédiat de toute procédure à mon endroit.

Nous reproduisons ici à titre d'information une déclaration de MM. Léon Wagner, professeur à la Sorbonne et Maurice Lacroix, agrégé à l'Université, parue aux "LETTRES FRANCAISES" sous le titre : Antigone l'emportera toujours

"L'annonce de poursuites engagées en Suisse contre M. André Bonnard ne peut manquer de plonger dans la stupeur tous les hommes qui ont le goût des lettres et des choses de l'esprit. Le professeur de l'Université de Lausanne est un penseur et un écrivain hautement apprécié. Cet helléniste, ce traducteur d'Eschyle et de Sophocle, cet homme si soucieux de pénétrer dans l'oeuvre des maîtres grecs pour saisir ce qui en fait la permanence et la jeunesse toujours renouvelée, ne serait, en réalité, que l'agent de renseignements d'une puissance étrangère! Ce serait grotesque si ce n'était infiniment triste. La Suisse, terre de liberté, va-t-elle réclamer un rôle dans ce procès de "l'Intelligentzia" qui semblait l'apanage des régimes despotiques ?

Il ne s'agit pas ici de juger les positions que prend M. André Bonnard dans les problèmes qui divisent les partis et les nations. Ce serait rapetisser la cause que de la juger par référence à ces positions. Ce qui est mis en question, c'est le droit de tout penseur à aller jusqu'au bout de sa pensée sans qu'on lui oppose un conformisme d'Etat. Nous assistons à un nouvel épisode de la lutte du pouvoir contre l'esprit. Nous savons d'ailleurs que, dans cette lutte, c'est toujours l'esprit qui, finalement triomphe. Créon a pu faire périr Antigone ; mais c'est elle qui l'a vaincu."

MEMENTO

Toutes les personnes qui seront d'accord avec le texte de notre appel, pourront le contresigner en indiquant leur profession et titre et renvoyer le formulaire détaché à l'adresse suivante :

Revue RENCONTRE
2o, Terreaux
LAUSANNE

Les signatures n'engagent que pour le texte de l'appel publié dans ce bulletin.

Les noms des signataires seront publiés dans un prochain bulletin d'information.

J'approuve le texte de votre appel et je le contresigne :

NOM : .....

Profession et titre : .....

Domicile : .....

August 11, 1952

M. Jean Laffitte
World Council of Peace
Palais SIA
Prague, Czechoslovakia

My dear M. Laffitte:

I have heard with indignation of the treatment which Professor Bonnard of Switzerland has suffered because of his peace activities.

I can sympathize with him because of my own experience, and I trust that every effort will be made to secure his vindication and the punishment of those who have sought to insult him.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I sent to Professor Bonnard.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
enc.

25-32-30

[World Council of Peace]

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
CONSEJO MUNDIAL DE LA PAZ
世界和平理事會

SECRÉTARIAT GÉNÉRAL
PALAIS S. I. A.
JANSKA 100
PRAHA (TCHÉCOSLOVAQUIE)
TÉLÉPHONE: PRAHA 615-90
ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE:
PAIXMONDE PRAGUE

Prague, August 21st, 1952.

35-32-51

We are sending you herewith the enclosed communiqué issued by the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace on the preparation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

[ENC]

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF
THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

21 August 1952

-:-

From the preliminary information which we have received it is clear that the Appeal for the convocation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace launched on July 6th by the World Council of Peace in Berlin, has quickly been brought to the knowledge of the peoples.

The peoples have warmly welcomed the decisions of the World Council and Peace supporters are now developing intense activity for the preparation of the Congress of the Peoples.

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In many countries and in varied forms, the popular consultation in preparation for the Congress, has begun.

The Peace movements have decided to begin the "popular consultation" in India, France, Great Britain, Italy, China, Bulgaria, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Albania, Korea, Japan, Iran, Brazil and in Chile.

The forms of this activity are becoming clear in certain countries. In France and Italy, for example, thousands of small discussion assemblies are being held in houses, streets, towns, villages and factories. Every idea is discussed, the best solutions studied and delegates elected and mandated to local assemblies, which are themselves preparing departmental, provincial and national assemblies.

In some countries, workers' assemblies for Peace are organised (with the help of the trade unions) and also peasant conferences at which their contribution to the struggle for Peace will be studied in connection with the

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[ENC]

particular interests of these sections of the population.

In Belgium, the Peace Movement favours the setting up of numerous delegations to go to the town and county concillors as well as to Members of Parliament with the aim of expressing to them the people's desire for peace.

In Transvaal (South Africa), it has been decided to hold a "Peace Week" to mark the memorable date of December 5th when the Congress of the Peoples will be held.

All this campaign of intense activity will also enable the National Peace Movements to strengthen their organisation and to consolidate or create local Peace Committees.

25-32-53

At the same time, by the selling of post cards or by collections, the money is collected to finance the preparation of the Congress and the delegates' journey.

National Conventions of the Defenders of Peace will take place before December, in Japan, France, Rumania, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Thailand and in many other countries.

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Thus the preparation of the Congress will enable the Appeal of the World Council to be brought to the knowledge of every man and woman in the world by the spoken and the written word. It will lay the conditions for making the Congress of the Peoples for Peace the imposing demonstration which will forcefully express the will of the Peoples to safeguard Peace.

[World Peace Council]

Conseil Mondial de la Paix

Secrétariat Général

Palais Sia Prague

PO/BC

Prague, September 8th, 1952.

Prof. W.E.B. DU BOIS
Etats-Unis

Dear Friend,

We are sending you herewith the text of the letter which our President, Professor Joliot-Curie has just sent to all Peace Committees and to all friends of Peace concerning the preparation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

In this letter, the President outlines and clarifies the policy set forth in the Appeal for the Convocation of the Congress launched by the World Council of Peace at its recent Extraordinary Session in Berlin. We are convinced that this document which has been made public and printed by the press in many countries, will greatly contribute to the success of the "popular consultations on the widest possible scale", which have now been started.

We would greatly appreciate having your opinion in relation to the proposals recommended by our President in his letter. We would also ask you to let us know your possible suggestions concerning any new initiative calculated to be taken on the international level in order to ensure the success of this great undertaking.

Lastly, we would appreciate it very much if you would tell us in what way you think it possible - on the national or international level - to make your contribution to the preparation of the Congress.

In anticipation of hearing from you and with many thanks for your co-operation.

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace

Laffitte

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

85-32-49

[ENC]

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

THE PRESIDENT

August 25th 1952

To all Peace Committees
To all Friends of Peace

Dear Friends,

''On the 5th of December 1952, the Congress of the Peoples for Peace will begin in Vienna.''

The Appeal for the Convocation of this Congress was launched on July 6th at the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace. It comes at a time when millions of men and women, united in the vast World Peace Movement, are carrying on an effective struggle to prevent a new war. These millions of men and women have already gained successes as a result of day to day, persevering work.

By collecting millions of signatures for the Stockholm Appeal, we have so far prevented the use of the atomic weapon. The campaign for a Pact of Peace, the response it has called forth in the world, has shown that over 600 million men and women wish to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over resort to force.

The results of our activity for general disarmament of the Great Powers have been felt even in the United Nations.

The news of the use of the bacteriological weapon in Korea and in China roused the indignation of a large section of world public opinion.

But more must be done. Each of us is firmly convinced that Peace can be saved. Therefore we must not be satisfied by restraining those who are preparing for war. We must prevent them from doing harm.

In all countries new sections of the population are becoming aware of the danger; men and women of all backgrounds and all opinions see more clearly the necessity to struggle for Peace. By bringing them into action, we can make Peace triumph. Today our task is to convince these millions of men who are disturbed by the perpetually strained international situation and who understand that it is necessary to unite all forces for more effective action. A new rallying of forces and a new spur to action can impose the signing of a Pact between the Great Powers – vital condition for saving Peace.

The Preparation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace must be made the opportunity for taking a decisive step forward in uniting all the forces who are working or can work for Peace.

The Appeal of the World Council of Peace states that this Congress should be prepared for ''by discussions on the widest possible scale''. It recommends us to speak to all the men and women who are uneasy and uncertain. Let us go to them, let us acquaint them with the solutions proposed by the World Council of Peace:

- By the peaceful settlement of the German problem and the conclusion of a genuine Peace treaty with Japan signed by all the interested States, it will be possible to prevent the reconstitution of the armies which spread death and terror over whole continents.

- By the immediate cessation of hostilities in Korea on a fair and equitable basis, it will be possible to put an end to the martyrdom of the Korean people and remove the danger of an extension of the conflict to all Asia.
- By strictly controlled reduction of all armaments and the outlawing of atomic, chemical and biological weapons, it will be possible to devote to the well being of the people and to works of life, the considerable sums of money now being directed to works of death and which at the same time weigh so heavily on the budget of each family.
- The signing of a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers, open to all States, will free men from the constant fear of war, ensure the security of the peoples and will open up a long period of economic co-operation between the countries.

But let us also listen to the suggestions of those with whom we shall speak and without whom our efforts would be in vain. Let us discuss with them the best way to ensure general disarmament, to guarantee the security and national independence of each people, to give each the opportunity of freely choosing his way of life and to achieve a genuine relaxation of international tension.

Friends, in making known the Appeal of the World Council of Peace through the spoken and written word, let us do it in such a way that everyone, from the most remote village to the largest city, knows that the Congress of the Peoples for Peace will take place.

Let us closely unite the activity for safeguarding Peace with the interests of the peoples in each country. Let us show the men and women in every town and village that the difficulties of their daily lives and the obstacles preventing the opening out of a happier and freer life for all, result from the policy of war preparations being imposed upon them. In this way, everyone will be better able to understand the need for acting to remove the dangers of war.

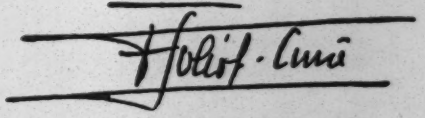
Every meeting, assembly, conference, every local or national Congress must be the occasion and the place for a broad exchange of ideas between people from organisations or associations of every kind, between men of all professions, between personalities of all opinions and all backgrounds who desire to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over resort to force. There, they will learn to know one another, to understand one another and to gather together in order to achieve solutions defined in common and answering the needs of all.

Thus will these men and these women, these organisations strive with all their force to help in developing a vast campaign in favour of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, because the Congress of the Peoples will be their own Congress. They will elect their representatives and will collect the material means to send their delegates to the Congress.

I am confident that your work, your persevering efforts and your resolute action will give exceptional scope to the preparation of this Congress. The Congress of the Peoples for Peace must be an imposing demonstration which will forcefully express the determination of the peoples to safeguard Peace.

With warmest wishes for success in the carrying out of your great task.

President of the World Council
of Peace



F. JOLIOT-CURIE

32-18-38

No 4 — OCTOBER 12th, 1952 — PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

"Every meeting. assembly, conference, every local or national Congress must be the occasion and the place for a broad exchange of ideas between people from organisations or associations of every kind, between men of all professions, between personalities of all opinions and all backgrounds who desire to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over resort to force. There, they will learn to know one another, to understand one another and to gather together in order to achieve solutions defined in common and answering the needs of all."

"In this way, will these men and women and these organisations strive with all their force to help in developing a vast campaign in favour of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, because the Congress of the Peoples will be their own Congress. They will elect their representatives and will collect the material means to send their delegates to the Congress."

Extract from Professor Joliot-Curie's letter to all Peace Committees and to all friends of Peace.

32-18-39

"Our work must be carried out in such a way as to bring to the Congress, representatives of those sections of the population who have not and who will not in the future have any organisational contact with the Movement of the Defenders of Peace, whether they find the solutions which we propose to be correct or whether they have personal solutions to propose."

From the Statement of Sig. Pietro Nenni, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace.

"... In order to make this Congress a Congress of the peoples, all must participate in it, either directly or by sending delegates. All movements, all organisations — trade unions, religious, political or others — can be represented at Vienna. We hold out the hand of friendship to all who honestly wish to work for Peace — all except those who seek trouble.

"If there are among these countless men and women of good will, some who argee with the World Council of Peace on only one or a few of the points — such as, for instance, the need to stop existing wars; the condemnation of bacteriological warfare or opposition to the rearmament of Germany and Japan and the arms drive to be replaced by an international agreement and a Pact of Peace, or again, the necessity for international trade without political discrimination — then they will be able at the Congress of the Peoples to freely express their opinions, formulate their suggestions and even their reservations on the other points on the agenda. Thus contacts will be established and the basis for the necessary co-operation to defend Peace will be laid by the peoples themselves."

Extract from an article by M. Pierre Cot in the October issue of the review, "In Defence of Peace".

OUR COMMON OBJECTIVE

We are printing below the article by Frédéric Joliot-Curie, Nobel Prize Winner and President of the World Council of Peace, which was published in issue No. 17, April, 1952, of the review, "In Defence of Peace".

"It is important that the representatives of all the peoples of the world take part in this Congress in large numbers and express themselves with complete freedom and frankness. For these wars must be ended, the cold war which through propaganda and misrepresentation is creating conditions conducive to an appalling world conflagration, must be called off.

"We can rest assured that such a meeting of the peoples will greatly help to ease international tension and promote Peace.

"The peoples, and especially the American people, who are subjected to a frenzied propaganda and from this fact risk more and more being divorced from the realities of the world, must send many representatives to this Congress.

"Especially, the American people — who have shown proof of so many qualities and whose magnificent productive work could be of such use to the world — must by the presence of many delegates show its true face, present a picture of its scientists working for the benefit of humanity, of its writers and its workers.

"I know that the American people are led to believe that the way of life which they prefer and which they have a right to prefer are in danger and that the same holds for many peoples.

"In the so-called defence of Liberty, Humanity, Social Progress and so on, this people is asked to make heavy sacrifices in money and work and, even, in the life of its young folk.

"They are led to believe that other peoples in the world show proof of enmity or nurse hatred towards them. This is untrue.

"The Congress of the Peoples, by giving a great number of American citizens — representatives of peace-loving men, women and organisations — the opportunity to meet representatives of other people, will promote mutual understanding.

"It will show the people of the United States the true feelings of the people of other countries towards them. It will show the latter another aspect of the great nation which is the United States; the aspect of citizens of America, who, are courageously struggling to enlighten their fellow countrymen".

THINGS CAN'T GO ON LIKE THIS

We've had enough!

Enough of shortages and high prices.
Enough of mistrust and hatred.
Enough of fear.

We must stop the killing.
We must end the cold war.
We must be able to live our lives as we like,
in security and free from outside interference.

The Congress of the Peoples for Peace will be a great gathering of the representatives of all peoples —

The chance to get out of this
terrible blind alley,
The chance to restore hope to
mankind.

This Congress is everybody's business.

WHERE THE DIPLOMATS HAVE NOT
REACHED AN UNDERSTANDING,
THE PEOPLE MUST SUCCEED!

CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES
FOR PEACE
Vienna December 12th, 1952

Milions will soon be reading this poster on walls and hoardings throughout the world.

Italy Prepares for the Congress of the Peoples

It is evening. In a farm near Ferrara where the valley of the River Po broadens out — the valley which recently was devastated by floods — a group of about fifty peasants meet together in a court-yard. Opposite the stable the peasants are seated on benches or on the ground. A magic lantern projects a series of pictures: Korean children among the smoking ruins of their homes, scientists bent over their microscopes, invalids on their beds of pain. A clear voice explains in the night the meaning of these pictures. The horror of bacteriological warfare is made real by this slow-moving series of pictures which leave time for thoughts to concentrate on a reality which the hearts of these peasants refuse to admit.

One can find scenes similar to this from one end of Italy to the other these days, in farms isolated in the plain and in villages perched on top of the hills, in courtyards of houses in the suburbs and in the drawingrooms of lawyers, or doctors who have invited a group of their friends to attend a showing of the documents on the bacterial warfare. In record time 500,000 copies of the report by M. Yves Farge on bacterial warfare in Korea were distributed throughout the country; the interviews and Press conferences given in various Italian towns by Professor Olivo of Bologna University, member of the Commission of scientists which went to Korea, have now added scientific proof to the impressive evidence given by M. Farge. And the emotion which these reports have aroused has been used to very great effect by the local Peace Committees in a very simple way. Thirty photographs, linked together in tragic sequence, projected by a magic lantern in no matter what setting, achieve an effect which no pamphlet and no film can make. A projection apparatus costs 2,000 francs: even the smallest of Peace Committees has been able to obtain one and now uses it for propaganda in preparation for the Congress of the Peoples for Peace. The National Peace Committee has prepared different series of these photographs dealing with bacterial warfare, the problem of national independence, of German re-armament and of the burden of the arms race. Even in the most out-of-the-way places, the projection of these photos becomes the basis for consistent activity on the part of the local committees in preparation for the Congress of the Peoples.

The interest of everyone is aroused by these photos which epitomise for all men and women their suffering and their hopes. Other series of photographs, ten or twenty in each set, have also been issued by the local committees in preparation for the Congress and these prove to be very valuable in the preparation of wall newspapers which at places of work, in the streets or in the head offices of mass organisations illustrate the theme of the Peace struggle. In this way at each of the 25,000 festivals of the democratic press held in Italy during September, stands and special wall newspapers were able to bring home to millions of people the concrete ideas which motivated the convocation of the Congress of the Peoples.

These are only two of the types of publicity which the Italian Peace Committee uses in the preparations for the Congress of the Peoples. The use of the magic lantern for propaganda is held to be one of the most powerful methods because of its striking effect and it is a simple instrument which can be used at meetings of widely varying sections of the population. It is often in meetings of this type that representatives to the departmental conferences, called in preparation for the Congress of the Peoples, are elected. But these conferences will be made up of representatives from assemblies of a very different nature from those which we have mentioned.

In effect, what characterises the preparations for the Congress of the Peoples for Peace in Italy is the number of initiatives, independent of the Peace Movement, which aim at achieving participation in the Congress of the Peoples and in the departmental assemblies which lead up to it. These initiatives come from the widest variety of social, political and religious groups. In Genoa, for example, Catholic groups around the newspaper 'Incontri' have discussed and prepared their contribution for the Congress of the Peoples in a manner and by methods quite different from those of the Peace Movement. Similar initiatives, quite independent from those of the Peace Movement, are developing amongst many other groups. Thus the sending of representatives to the Congress of the Peoples will be discussed, for example, at the Congress of Women Journalists in which the most outstanding figures in the field of culture, journalism and the feminine world také part. As the economic consequences of the war policy are making themselves felt with special acuteness in Italy, it is natural that the different groups at present concerned with these problems, also propose to send their representatives to the Congress This is the case with various conferences of agricultural technicians, exporters, etc.... who — on a regional or a national level — are meeting to discuss the most urgent problems of Italian economy, and who hope to take advantage of the meeting in Vienna to seek on an international level the contacts and the understanding for Peace necessary for the solution of their problems. This is also the case with other groups which, in the sphere of culture, put foward the theme of freedom of scientific and cultural exchange threatened by the international tension and the war policy.

Thus it is from the most varied fields and from those far from the Peace Movement that the Italian delegates to the Congress of the Peoples in Vienna are going to be drawn. Initiatives like that of Sig. Giuseppe Nitti in calling an Italian conference for the peaceful solution of the German question have had great repercussions in circles outside the organised Peace Movement who seek the solution of problems in the struggle for Peace by methods very different from those of the Peace Movement. It must be noted that Sig. Nitti, a Liberal Deputy, was one of the founders of the Parliamentary Peace group which is comprised of more than 40 Liberal, Social Democratic and Christian Democratic Members of Parliament. As a representative from the Conference of Odense he was present at the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace in Berlin, and there for the first time he realised the points of unity in action for Peace which exist between different persons and groups. The results of the Italian Conference for the peaceful solution of the German question will certainly be put before the Congress of the Peoples and the activities of Liberal, Social Democratic and other groups will also bring to Vienna the proposals and problems of important sections of Italian public opinion.

So it can be expected that the Italian delegation to the Congress of the Peoples will be of a very mixed nature, representative of political groups, different economic, social and cultural interests and elected by various methods. But the unity of this delegation will be found in the powerful Peace drive arising from the heart of the people. For several months now the idea of "Notebooks for Peace and Reconstruction" has been in practice in Italy and this spreads well outside the limits of the Peace Movement. In every village, factory, and school, people are gathering to produce and discuss these notebooks in which actual examples of local difficulties of economic and cultural reconstruction are placed side by side with the amount of the destruction caused by the war and the burden of the arms drive. These notebooks show a wealth of initiative and technical knowledge on the part of the people. They are not merely collections of signatures on pieces of paper, they are the concrete proposals which each participant has to bring to a common job. In certain districts where the Appeals of Stockholm and Berlin have reached a high percentage of the population, the production of these notebooks has received the support of people who did not wish to associate themselves with the Appeals or with other Peace initiatives. From the permanent committees set up to produce these "Notebooks of Peace and Reconstruction" delegates will also go to the departmental conferences which are preparing the Congress of the Peoples.

"Peasant Conference for Peace"

November 22nd — 23rd, 1952

WITH THE FRENCH PEASANTS

Since June 22nd, when the Initiating Committee launched the Appeal for a "National Peasant Conference for Peace", the response with which this proposal was greeted has continued to grow.

Departmental Initiating Committees have been or are being set up in 50 departments. Everywhere there are abundant signs of the considerable interest aroused by this Conference among the widest circles of the French peasantry.

The interest felt by peasants of all categories and all opinions as well as by agricultural technicians, is explained, firstly, by reason of their deep peace-loving sentiments, and also because of the growing difficulties facing French agriculture.

The serious nature of the outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease, the drought, the crisis in wine-growing and the general reduction in purchasing power have all served to worsen an already difficult situation.

It is this concern, expressed by the National Bureau of the General Confederation of Agriculture, grouping all peasant trade union organisations in France, which is the fundamental basis of the Appeal for this National Peasant Conference:

"We observe that agriculture is even now paying very heavily for current conflicts and the arms drive, by reason of the growing discrepancy between agricultural prices and industrial prices, the ever-increasing burden of rates and taxes, the reduction of credits for agricultural equipment, the drive to take over certain rural areas for military purposes and still other restrictions which hinder the restoration of French agriculture."

The very nature of this Conference is another reason for the widespread support it is receiving.

Refering to this, a well-known person in the agricultural world, stated: "I have never taken part in the Peace Movement, but this Conference is really the affair of all of us who work the land."

The departmental committees which are already in being, have opened their campaign. Discussions are going on in the villages, hamlets and in the most isolated farms.

Several departments are proposing to send to the Conference at least one delegate per district.

This project, the success of which is mounting day by day, cannot but stimulate the peasants to join with all other people in different walks of life, in the great struggle for Peace.

This conference will be an important contribution to the Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

AN EXCHANGE OF LETTERS

between

Sig. Giuseppe Nitti and Professor Joliot-Curie

Italian Liberal Deputy — **President of the World Council of Peace**

Rome, September 25th 1952

Monsieur le Président

Dear Sir!

On my return from Berlin, where I had the pleasure of attending the session of the World Council of Peace as an observer and member of the delegation elected at the Odense Conference for a Peaceful Solution of the German Problem. I informed many of my friends and colleagues of the "Parliamentary Group for Peace" of my impressions and the results of this great meeting.

I acquainted them, in particular, with the text of the Appeal for the Convocation of a great Congress of the Peoples for Peace in Vienna, in the month of December.

All my colleagues and friends were extremely interested by what I had to tell them — I pointed out the excellent way in which the proceedings of the session took place in Berlin under your presidency — and by the idea of a Congress open to all Movements and to all who are seeking the way to lessen international tension.

You may know, Sir, that many of my friends and colleagues, including members of the Parliamentary Group for Peace, have reservations with regard to the work and activity of the World Council of Peace. They judge that the World Council of Peace is marked by the influence of specific political and social tendencies and they express doubts as to the possibility that the Congress in Vienna can be the meeting ground and free platform that each of us desires.

In these circumstances, having decided to call a meeting of personalities of the Parliamentary Group and other pacifist, neutralist, federalist, ex-service and other movements, non-adherents to the World Council of Peace, for the purpose of examining the conditions of our possible participation at the Vienna Congress, I am taking the liberty of setting down for you, certain considerations and requests which several of my friends have formulated.

The participation of different personalities representing organisations, movements and important trends of opinion in our country, would be facilitated if certain assurances could be given them.

It is not the nature of the problems proposed for examination at the Congress that preoccupies the minds of my friends. These problems, whatever the solutions envisaged by one or another person, are imposed upon us by the exigencies of the situation. But we are aware of the organised and active

(conta. P. 8)

Paris, October 1st 1952

Monsieur le Député

Dear Sir,

I would first like to thank you most sincerely for your letter which I have very carefully examined.

There is great anxiety in all countries among all who observe the preparations for war, who learn of the destructive possibilities of new weapons and who are already suffering from the moral and political consequences of this situation.

All the anguish, all the fear inherent in the words "wars in progress" and "cold war" is bringing many of our fellow citizens to the realisation that it is essential to find immediate means of putting an end to these threats.

In spite of differences of opinion, it is necessary that those who think in this way — who would like to concentrate on improving their living conditions, who would like to live in happiness and security, should be able to find together solutions for peace and the way to apply them.

It is so that there can be a common search for operative solutions that the World Council of Peace has convoked a great Congress of the Peoples for Peace to take place during the month of December.

The sole object of the Congress of the Peoples is to bring together all who sincerely desire Peace so as to avoid a new and terrible conflict.

This Congress is open to all movements all organisations and to all people who are sincerely seeking a way to lessen international tension.

The preparation for the Congress must have an exceptionally extensive character in order to provide all with an opportunity to explain and analyse the problems causing anxiety today.

In the course of these preparatory meetings, people who, until then hesitated from meeting each other, will come together to put forward their points of view.

I firmly believe that these contacts will contribute — to use your own words — to breaking down the barriers of distrust and misundestanding.

I am grateful to you for very frankly formulating the uneasiness felt by your friends. It is quite natural that those who have not yet taken part in our work should raise questions concerning the conditions under which the Congress of the Peoples will take place.

You can assure your friends that all the considerations which you have submitted to me on their

(contd. P. 8 col. 2)

(Monsieur le President contd.)

force which the World Council represents and many of my friends fear that in a Congress of the Peoples called by your organisation, this force may be instrumental in solutions to problems being found, not by common effort, but by the mechanical imposition of the points of view of your Movement. That is why my friends attach particular importance to being assured that, as soon as the preparations for the Congress begin, there will be a possibility for other forces to take initiatives to seek — as you put it — a way to understanding between the peoples. An atmosphere of frank co-operation could thus be created.

On the other hand, as far as the Session of the Congress and its proceedings are concerned, it seems to us essential that the following points should be made:

1. Within the bounds of mutual courtesy and respect, each personality present at the Vienna Congress, even in the capacity of an observer, should have the right to take the floor in the plenary sessions and to take part in the work of the commissions.

2. No person at the Congress should feel politically or morally committed by the resolutions, appeals, motions and declarations to which he has not subscribed and for which he has not clearly voted.

3. The name of an observer or of an invited visitor to the Congress will not be mentioned in any Press release without previously obtaining the consent of the person concerned.

4. It should be possible for each participant — outside the hours of the sessions — to take the opportunity of meeting people and of attending particular national or international meetings.

5. Complete translation of each speech in the official languages of the Congress and the distribution of the text to all participants, should be guaranteed.

6. Each participant should have full freedom to make statements to the Press of any country and to express any opinion, as well as freedom to write articles on the work of the Congress even during its proceedings.

Sir, I beg you not to consider these requests offensive. I personally would not have formulated them since I had occasion to follow the work of the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace.

But we have to break down a barrier of distrust, misunderstanding and misconception. That is why, in the opinion of many of my friends and in my own opinion, it is very important that everyone should have a clear idea not only as to the political aims of the Vienna Congress, but also as to the conditions of work assured to all those who would sincerely like to seek there the way to understanding for Peace.

Hoping to receive your esteemed reply in due course,

I remain,
Sincerely yours,
GIUSEPPE NITTI.

(Monsieur le Deputé contd.)

behalf, will be satisfied. They are, moreover, the constant rule followed by us in our work for Peace.

All those who, living under different systems and having different ideologies, think that:

— peaceful co-existence of different systems is possible,
— that all differences between nations can be settled by negotiation,

can freely express themselves at the tribune of the Congress of the Peoples.

The Congress of the Peoples cannot be a platform for discussing the virtues of particular systems or particular ways of life.

The question is to seek points of agreement for Peace and not to lay stress on disagreements on questions which have no relation to the maintenence of Peace. It seems to us enough to reach agreement on some of the questions uppermost today in the minds of the peoples, for a big step forward towards Peace to be made and for this we desire the broadest representation possible at this Congress.

I believe this will answer the points raised in your letter.

Only by working together for a common objective, will Peace have any real meaning.

Please accept my warmest greetings.

Frédéric Joliot-Curie.

A Message from Senora Gabriela Mistral

Nobel Prizewinner for Literature

"It costs us women nothing to decide in favour of Peace; our mouths were shaped for it, for it alone. We cannot be either the Furies or the Gorgon, we must day by day safeguard the young, the future scientists, inventors and artists, that is to say, an epoch rich in creation and happiness. Let us defend the immediate and distant future. Let all, men and women, be the faithful children of Peace—our Divine Mother."

British Sponsoring Committee for the Peoples' Congress

The preparatory work in Britain for the Congress of the Peoples has entered a new stage. "Peace Notebooks" are being circulated in over eleven hundred towns and factories. The Notebooks are being filled with suggestions for recovering from the economic consequences and the fear caused by the cold war.

A sponsoring Committee, bringing together 71 outstanding figures in cultural, scientific and industrial life in Britain, has been set up. Alongside personalities known to the British Peace Movement and representatives of all branches of British industry, the following names are included: James Aldridge, writer; Rutland Broughton, composer; P. D'Arcy Hart, member of the Royal College of Medicine; Arnold Goldsbrough, musician; Patrick Hamilton, playwright; Kenneth Ingram, writer; Miles Malleson, actor; Dr. Sidnie M. Manton, member of the Royal Society and lecturer in zoology at King's College, London; Professor A. C. Offord, member of the Royal Society and Professor of Mathematics at Dublin University; Dr. R. L. M. Synge, member of the Royal Society; Professor J. H. C. Whitehead, member of the Royal Society, Professor of pure mathematics and member of Magdalen College, Oxford; Gwyn Thomas, author; Gordon Sandison, general secretary of the British Actors Equity; Dr. H. B. Cardew, general secretary of the Medical Practitioners Union; Lady Trevelyan, wife of Sir Charles Trevelyan, former president of the Board of Education, etc.

The British Sponsoring Committee for the Congress of the Peoples has issued the following important statement:

"Today fear is widespread among the nations. Wars of unprecedented inhumanity are going on. Armaments are lowering living standards. Trade is being restricted. Unemployment and economic difficulties are increasing. Moral standards, truthfulness, respect for international law and human decency are degenerating. In consequence, more and more of us, in all walks of life, are searching earnestly for ways to lessen international tensions, remove the paralysing fear of war and open the way to fruitful co-operation between all countries in advancing the well-being of their peoples.

"These questions are too grave to be left only in the hands of diplomats and politicians. We must not let feelings of helplessness or suspicion hold us back. We must seize every opportunity of establishing goodwill between the peoples of every nationality so as to stop the downward trend in world relations. Out of constructive agreement between the peoples can grow agreement between governments.

"We ask you to discuss the problems dividing the world so that your views and proposals can be put forward at the Congress".

The Plenary Assembly of the World Federation of United Nations Associations

The Plenary Assembly of the World Federation of United Nations Associations was held in Geneva from September 1st to 7th.

One of the resolutions adopted at the end of its work, says in particular:

"Considering that the carrying into effect of disarmament involves problems not only of a military and financial, but primarily of a political and moral nature which can only be overcome in an atmosphere of mutual trust and security, calling for more sincere collaboration in the future and the peaceful co-existence of peoples having different and even opposed economic and political systems;

"Recalling that such an atmosphere can only be created if an end is put to all attemps at reaching solutions by force, to the cold war, to the conflicts now facing the great Powers and to the armaments race and if a true spirit of international co-operation were to reign;

"Requests all Member Associations of W. F. U. N. A. to carry out an effective campaign to influence public opinion and the governments of their respective countries so that these principles may prevail and, to this end, recommends them to cooperate with all organisations and associations having the same aim;

"Hopes that these efforts will further the work of the United Nations and the Disarmament Commission and will result in a general agreement, acceptable to all nations, based on adequate guarantees and that such an agreement will contribute to the lessening of the present international tension, to dispelling the fear now gripping the world and that it will enable the development of the abundant resources for the raising of the standard of living of the peoples and to prepare for a lasting Peace."

Executive of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Meets

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which represents Womens Organisations of thirteen countries, held an Executive Committee meeting in Geneva in August of this year.

At the end of the Congress, resolutions against bacterial warfare, against German rearmament and calling for an end to the war in South East Asia were adopted.

New Sections of the People are Awakening to the Danger

"In all countries ever new sections of the people are becoming aware of the danger; men and women of all backgrounds and all opinions see more clearly the necessity to struggle for Peace. By bringing them into action, we can make Peace triumph."

From Professor Joliot-Curie's letter.

IN THE UNITED STATES:

The 48th Convention of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union in New York, published a production programme based on a peacetime economy. The two basic considerations that underlie the programme are:

1) Peaceful production sufficient to keep industry and manpower fully employed can only be achieved in a peaceful economy.

2) The programme for peaceful production requires a far greater degree of international economic co-operation.

The delegates, representing 100,000 workers, gave an enthusiastic welcome to this programme.

*

At Little Rock, Arkansas, the father of an American prisoner-of-war in Korea, R. L. Caulder, a masonry contractor of 1705 N. Pierce Street, has started writing to all the parents of American prisoners-of-war.

With the letters he encloses a petition for an exchange of prisoners. The petitions, signed by neighbours, friends and relations of the prisoners, are being sent to President Truman.

Mr. Caulder's petition is having a snowball effect. He is receiving hundreds of letters daily congratulating him on his initiative.

Nearly one million Americans signed the petition in 30 days.

IN BELGIUM:

The Congress of one of the largest trade union organisations in Belgium, the General Central of Public Services, has passed a resolution which says:

"We refuse to admit that war is inevitable;

"We appeal to all working people to take part in the struggle to safeguard Peace;

"We call upon the working people of all countries to work for general, simultaneous and controlled disarmament."

THE ARAB PEOPLES WANT PEACE

Sheik Mohammed AL ACHMAR, Head of the religious community in Damascus, is one of the highest Syrian authorities. From 1925 to 1927, he was one of the leaders of the revolt against the French occupation.

Here is the statement which he made in the Review "In Defence of Peace".

The Congress in Vienna will have great repercussions and its actions and resolutions will be of great importance for all peoples. They will contribute to the preservation of world Peace and world Peace is indispensible for it is the Peace of mankind.

All Arab peoples want Peace both for religious and moral reasons. In the Koran it is written: "If the people incline towards Peace, thou also must be with them," and in another verse it is written: "We have created you, men and women, peoples and tribes, so that you should hear and understand each other." This Congress will contribute to this task.

Nations today no longer accept interference in their internal affairs. The Arab peoples lived peacefully before the occupation of their countries. They accepted great sacrifices in defence of their independence and their liberty and through this found again the Peace which they formerly knew. World Peace means the liberty of each nation and the liberty of each nation is the safeguard of Peace. We have struggled against the occupation forces so that we can live in Peace in our countries.

A STATEMENT BY DR RADHAKRISHAN

Vice-President of the Indian Government.

In a speech made in Bombay at a meeting called by the Womens Democratic League Dr. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of the Indian Government, recalled the statement made by Hitler in 'Mein Kampf' — 'The West must unite and destroy Russia'.

He then asked the question:

"Has not the West taken this 'belief' of Hitler's too much to heart and made it its own?

"Up to the present day", continued Dr Radhakrishnan, "the facts show that an end has not been put to Hitlerism."

In conclusion, after stressing the fact that Humanity was faced with the choice "To create or to destroy," he called on the women of India to redouble their efforts to bring to an end disagreements between nations.

PABLO PICASSO SPEAKS TO A YOUNG SPANISH PAINTER

. . . "Our people will triumph. There are millions of men and women in the world who defend the cause of Peace. Already today the dove of Peace is more powerful than the raven of war.

"Our place, young painter, is on the side of the people who defend liberty at the same time as they defend the artistic and cultural heritage of Spain. No other cause is as noble for the young generation of intellectuals than to contribute to the saving of Spain from fascism and war."

We publish below an article especially written for us by the author, James Aldridge, well-known for "The Diplomat", "Sea Eagle", "Signed With Their Honour" and "In Italy".

Mr Aldridge has given permission for this article to be reproduced in any newspaper or review which is willing to accept it.

In the course of the next numbers of the Bulletin, there will be articles by Anna Seghers, Aragon, Vercors and other world-renowned writers.

PEACE AND PATRIOTISM

When the sun rose this morning, it was a soft Autumn day in England, so I took my small son to the South coast to show him the tenderest rise of hills in all our Islands — the South Downs.

Though he is far too young to have taken in the view for its own sake, I deliberately put him close to our Sussex beauty to encourage nature and instincts to begin their work so that some day, he will feel deeply that this land is the most precious possession he will ever have.

Now this is unashamed patriotism, and though it is there in all of us, it is rare these days that an Englishman talks in such terms. In our respectable society love of country is assumed, never stated; and as a result it is rarely assumed and stated for us by respectable ignobles — and by the empty Press who claim to hold it in trust for us — nor needs any expression or real outlet, for true patriotism has become dead and unqualified; lost even to our poets.

But this morning I believe I saw the path back to its true meaning, because in the very revelation of England's contained beauty, in the perfection of village, town and city (all so close and so uniformly populated) one realises that our Islands are perfectly constructed for atomic destruction.

So little would be left of their beauty or of their usefulness after a few atomic explosions that now each lovely view has a kind of grim significance, a reminder that somewhere here, in the preservation of our land we must find our true loyalty; while somewhere else among the men who risk their peoples and their country, we must expose the real traitors.

This is not a unique view, nor is it a sentimental one. In all Britain, every day now, we see the notion of Peace cutting right across political boundaries so that we have in our manysided peace movement a good selection of those honest and decently patriotic men who will not betray their country into war — whatever their personal politics.

In this sense Britain is a good, direct (if not the best) example of the success of the Stockholm ideal — that a peace movement must be all-embracing if it is to be true and effective.

The ideal of Peace stands alone, but in this ideal we make no excuses for being bound to it in self-interest. We think alike on this one issue. Who but a madman wants war? Who but a self-deceiving wretch, more sick than stupid, will refuse to say Peace?

Of course the word is officially vilified as a trick, as if someone foreign is telling us to avoid war. But it was not Marshall Stalin or Ilya Ehrenburg who stood with me on that Sussex slope this morning and whispered words in my ear. It was my own son, and his small feet were planted here on his own soil.

Nor is this small temper and family emotion private. It happens many times a day in our country when someone catches a sudden illuminating glimpse of the people and the land around him, and equates them for a moment to the situation which threatens their destruction.

It is in this equation that we look around us desperately for some activity that can put us on the real way to Peace. We do not look in vain. We discover that a whole world of peoples is looking for an effective road to Peace, and in this world dimension of Peace we also discover the first real hope for our own country.

Peace wins because patriotism wins, and because humanity wins. In loving our own land, we learn to love others and to wish Peace for all. The Vienna Congress is the expression of this universal hope, and its success is assured on it.

October 6th, 1952.

James Aldridge.

At the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Countries

Mr. Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace made a report at the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference which opened in Peking on October 2nd. In his report, M. Kuo Mo-jo dealt with the following points which he invited the Conference to discuss:

"1. We demand an all-in solution to the Japanese question and the curbing of the resurgence of Japanese militarism. This means that a peace treaty with Japan be concluded in accordance with the principles laid down in the United Nations Charter, the Cairo Declaration, the Yalta Agreement and the Potsdam Declaration and Agreement; that all foreign occupation troops stationed in Japan be withdrawn; that support be given to the Japanese people in their struggle for independence, peace and democratic rights; and that, under these conditions, we shall agree to the Japanese people enjoying the right to possess armed forces for self-defence.

"2. We demand that the necessary steps be taken to bring to an end the war in Korea and elsewhere, on a just and reasonable basis. That means in accordance with all the provisions that have been agreed upon in the truce negotiations in Korea and the various pacts signed at Geneva, unconditional repatriation of all prisoners-of-war and the realisation of a cease-fire in Korea; the cessation of the wanton bombing of peaceful cities, peaceful installations and peaceful inhabitants; the withdrawal of all foreign troops, including the Chinese people's volunteers from Korea in order that the Korean people may settle their own internal affairs. The hostilities in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia and Malaya and the unrest that is seething in the Middle East and elsewhere, are problems which must also be peacefully solved on a just and reasonable basis. No foreign Power should be allowed to intervene in their internal affairs. The national independence of these countries must be respected and they must be allowed to settle their own domestic problems.

"3. We demand the conclusion of a Five-Power Peace Pact between the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Soviet Union and China, the enforcement of international disarmament, the banning of atomic, bacteriological, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction; the ratification and effective implementation by all nations of 'the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare', as agreed upon at Geneva on June 17, 1925, and the condemnation of the criminal acts of maltreatment and massacre of war prisoners and civilians.

"4. We demand that the national independence of the peoples of all countries be safeguarded and that no country be allowed to infringe on the sovereign rights of the territorial waters or air space of any other country, or build military bases on its soil; that the people of all countries should have the freedom to choose the political system and the way of life they prefer and should be able to expand fully equitable trade and cultural exchange between the peoples of different countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Countries with differing social systems can co-exist peacefully and should respect each other. We demand immediate cessation of the execution of the policy of international blockade, embargo and monopoly.

"5. We demand the banning of the clamour for war and propaganda inciting racial hatred; the elimination of discrimination against the coloured peoples, and the ending of every form of repression of the Peace Movement. The people of all countries should have freedom to participate in the Peace Movement. Those who have been persecuted on account of their participation in the Peace Movement should have their right to open appeal and enjoyment of freedom guaranteed.

"Once these aspirations are realised, a just, lasting peace in the Asian and Pacific regions and eventually a just and lasting Peace throughout the world will be assured."

Peace Needs No Visa

At the opening of the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference in Peking on October 2nd the 500 delegates gave an enthusiastic welcome to the delegates from Japan and the United States.

Thus, neither threats nor the refusal to grant visas for China was able to prevent the representatives of the American and the Japanese people from taking part in the great meeting in Peking.

One-and-a-half times round the world

The Chilean delegates to the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference will have travelled almost this far when they report back to their people the work of the Conference. They will have crossed the Andes, the broad Pampas and the Atlantic, seen the Alps and the towers of the Kremlin, travelled across the Tundra to Peking. They will return the same way.

International Conference for the Peaceful Solution of the German problem

Stockholm — October 18th—21st, 1952

The International Initiating Committee for the Conference for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem, met in Paris on September 21st and decided to hold this International Conference in Stockholm on October 18th to 21st, 1952.

This Conference will have the tasks of "seeking the way to general agreement on the principles of a peaceful solution to the German problem and to determine the means whereby this solution will be applied.

"The Initiating Committee appeals to all movements, organisations or associations, churches, trade unions, parties and all persons to join in the preparations for this Conference, to make known its aims widely, to carry out full discussion on its agenda and to elect their representatives.

"It calls upon the peoples to redouble their vigilance and efforts so that methods of negotiation and understanding, on which depend the conclusion of a Peace treaty with a united, democratic, independent and peaceful Germany, be made to prevail."

Everywhere Voices are Being Raised Against the Bonn Agreement:

IN GERMANY:

Thirty Churchmen and Protestant personalities in Stuttgart, including Herr Gustave Heinemann, President of the Synod of the Evangelical Church and former Federal Minister, have called upon all followers of the German Evangelical Church to protest against the re-armament of Germany.

At the Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Western Germany, several delegates spoke against the Bonn agrement.

Peter Blachstein, Hamburg Deputy, declared:

"You must realise that the bourgeois Parties are following a road similar to the one taken in 1933 which led to fascism."

Deputy Erwin Schottle, assistant director of the "Stuttgarter Nachrichten", made a strong protest against the self-styled European policy of Bonn and of the Social-Democratic Party leadership. "American efforts." he said, "are attempting to deprive the national Parliaments of all genuine rights to manage their affairs" .

The Deputies Korn and Riegel from Lubeck, called for the continuation of conversations between the delegation from the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Parliament.

"The sole objective of the Congress of the Peoples is to bring together all those sincerely desiring Peace so as to avoid a new and terrible conflict.

"The Congress of the Peoples cannot be a tribune for discussing the merits of particular regimes; it will be a tribune where men and women from different walks of life and holding different beliefs, will freely seek, together, the most effective solutions for an easing of international tension."

Frederic Joliot-Curie

IN GREAT BRITAIN:

A Committee composed of representatives from 40 peace organisations in Great Britain has sent a manifesto to the President of the French Republic, M. Vincent Auriol, and to the President of Western Germany, Herr Heuss, protesting against the agreements on the remilitarisation of Germany and its inclusion into the European Defence Community. The letter was signed by H. N. Brailsford, Vera Brittain and Naomi Mitchison, the writers; G. D. H. Cole, President of the Fabian Society; Donald Soper, Methodist leader and others.

IN ITALY:

New personalities are joining the Initiating Committee whose President is Sr. Nitti. They include: the Marquis Sacripante; Senator Zanardi, member of the Saragat Social-Democratic Party; Perrone Capano, Deputy and well-known Liberal leader, and the Rabbi Dante Lattes, one of the most outstanding figures in the Italian Jewish Community.

At the Labour Party Conference

Mr. W. Padley M. P., President of the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers was the proposer of a resolution which called for a reduction in the re-armament programme and obtained some 2,288,000 votes.

The resolution emphasised that re-armament threatens to to render it impossible for Britain to achieve economic stability through increasing exports and ensuring satisfactory minimum standards of life and adequate social services."

It went on to state that financial aid from America for re-armament provided no solution and involved the risk of sacrificing Britain's right to an independent policy.

Mr Vic Beamish, a miner, was applauded when he said:

"I am a miner and I put this to those people who are not prepared to examine the re-armament programme. How can we in the trade union field ask for increases in wages, and at the same time be prepared to use the wealth that we produce by frittering it away in an armament programme that is crippling our economy?

"I do say to those who advocate no re-examination of this programme, come to the pits and take a democratic referendum vote of the rank-and-file members.

"Ask those who are sweating their guts out in the pits, are they prepared to do with a reduced standard of life?

"Ask the womenfolk to whom they take home their wages, are they prepared to do with a reduced purchasing value of the hard-won wages of their workmen?"

By an overwhelming majority the Congress adopted a resolution which 48 affiliated organisations had helped to frame and which in particular called for:

"The promotion and expansion of East-West trade and resistance to the use of our military strength as a means of enforcing territorial changes in Eastern Europe and elsewhere."

GO SLOW... SCHOOL AHEAD

The children have gone back to school. Mothers accompany their little ones as far as the street corner.

Go slow — School ahead.
The motorist slows down.

Hand in hand the little school children cross the roadway...

Where does all this take place?
In China, in the USA, in the USSR or in France.

It does not really matter.
Who are the school children?

Do they have black pinafores and navy blue berets, knickerbockers, or brocade dresses and black plaits?

It does not really matter.
In what language is the indicator sign written?

It does not really matter.
The warning is unanswerable.

One must slow down, no one has the right to injure little children.

No, not with lorries, not with cars, not with tanks, not with bombs.

No one.

Nordic Workers Peace Conference

House of the People of Oslo November 15—16th 1952

The delegates of workers of all opinions, professions and beliefs, of Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Iceland and Norway will hold a meeting called by the Conference Preparatory Committee in the House of the People of Oslo, which has a beautiful outlook over the fjord, on November 15th and 16th.

The agenda of the Conference will deal with:

1) The effect of re-armament and other war preparations on the workers' living standards and on the economic, social and cultural conditions of the peoples.
2) The tasks facing the working people in ensuring Peace in the Nordic countries; the importance of a lasting Peace for the lives of the peoples and peaceful cooperation between the different social systems. The importance of a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers.

Prohibition of Bacteriological Weapons

The International Scientific Commission which went to Korea and China to investigate the charges of bacteriological warfare has just published its report.

In conclusion, the report states:

"The peoples of Korea and China have indeed been the objective of bacteriological weapons. These have been employed by units of the USA armed forces, using a great variety of different methods for the purpose, some of which seem to be developments of those applied by the Japanese army during the Second World War."

The objectivity of this report, the competence of the scientists who drew it up, their indisputable impartiality leave no room for doubt. This Commission was composed of: Dr. Andrea Andreen (Sweden); Jean Malterre (France); Dr. Joseph Needham (Great Britain); Oliviero Olivo (Italy); Dr. Samuel B. Pessoa (Brazil); Dr. Zhukov-Verezhnikov (USSR).

* * *

The British Trade Union Congress has condemned the use of these weapons and has called for their prohibition as did the Seventh Plenary Assembly of the World Federation of United Nations Associations.

Mr. S. O. Davies, Labour Member of Parliament, has made known his intention of questioning the Government on this matter. In France, Dr. Robert Borel, in a letter to "Le Monde", called for the outlawing of the bacteriological weapon. In Italy, a great campaign is being carried out to demand prohibition of bacterial weapons and the ratification of the Geneva Convention by the United States.

Dr. Joseph Needham (Great Britain) gave an important Press conference on this subject on September 26th in London attended by 100 journalists. The Press made lengthy comments on Dr. Joseph Needham's statements.

* * *

Dr. Needham said in part:

"I am apprehensive about the future of biological warfare. If the mechanism of infectious diseases is to be used against man instead of the fight being waged against them, it is a fundamental destruction of moral values."

Asked by the Daily Herald what his politics were, Dr. Needham replied:

"I am a member of the Labour Party and have been so since my undergraduate days."

Where there's a Will there's a Way

M. Jacques Madaule, Mayor of Issy-les-Moulineaux (Seine), is a well-known French professor and historian. He is a member of the Peoples Republican Movement (M. R. P.), the party to which M. Schuman and M. Georges Bidault belong, and which was set up at the time of the liberation of France by Christian Democrats grouped around M. Marc Sangnier.

Here is what M. Jacques Madaule says in the Review "In Defence of Peace".

"This Congress is an excellent thing. I am convinced that none of the burning questions of the present day can be solved except in a general conference of the Four Great Powers or rather the Five Great Powers (for it would be absurd if China were not present) where the opposing Powers can discuss matters frankly. Where there is a will there is a way for the two systems into which the world is divided today to live side by side. If this Congress helps towards this will to understanding, it will be very valuable."

In reply to the question "What line do you think the Congress in Vienna should follow so that it can effectively help to reduce international tension?", M. Jacques Madaule replied:

"First of all, the Congress itself must be by its very composition, a proof of the will of the peoples for Peace. And I think that of the resolutions which it should make the following two would be particularly useful:

"First, on the necessity of holding a Conference of the Five Great Powers for the settlement of the main outstanding questions and eventually that of disarmament.

"Second, on the necessity of re-establishing and increasing exchanges of all kinds between the countries of the East and the West."

The Greatest Tribune of all Time

On December 12th, some 2,500 delegates representing all the peoples in the world will hold their Congress in the great Concert Hall in Vienna (British Sector) where some of the greatest names in the sphere of music, such as Richard Strauss and Berlioz, presented their immortal works to the world.

The Inter-American Women's Congress

The Second Inter-American Women's Congress, called by the United States Committee of Women for Peace and Liberty, which was held in Mexico, adopted resolutions dealing with the following points:

Considering that humanity cannot be considered civilised as long as there is destruction by arms:

— American women strongly condemn war, because it represents a crime against humanity with its immediate consequences (apart from physical destruction) of frigthful moral degradation as a result of hunger and desolation.

— The word PEACE is not the exclusive prerogative of political parties or certain specific groups but the right of all human beings.

— The woman, as a mother, must guard over the preservation of life.

— No woman wants war, because it is a crime against humanity.

The Congress appealed:

— to all the women of America to unite for world Peace;

— to the Assembly of the United Nations which is shortly to meet, to condemn the atomic bomb and chemical and bacteriological weapons;

— for atomic energy to be used solely for scientific and humanitarian purposes, such as the treatment of disease and improving the fertility of the land so that the peoples may no longer know the scourge of hunger and so that there may be less suffering;

— for signatures to the APPEAL FOR A PACT OF PEACE BETWEEN THE FIVE GREAT POWERS, which will be an effective means of ensuring world Peace, and for all the people of America to do so in order to help achieve Peace.

(Translated from the French.)

NEWS BRIEFS

ON THE CONGRESS PREPARATIONS

The Finnish Peace Chain

How many links will there be in the chain which the Finnish delegation will take to the tribune of the Congress of the Peoples?

No one knows yet. But everyone from the fisherman on his lonely island to the trapper of distant Lappland means to make sure that the name of his village is engraved on one of the links which will make up Finland's, Great Chain of Peace.

Peace Calendar

Many countries have fixed the date of National Assemblies which must be held before the Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

In the capital of Bolivia, La Paz, national assemblies for Peace are to be held on October 20th.

In Germany, delegates from Western Germany and the German Democratic Republics will take part in a Congress in Berlin from November 12the—16th.

The following countries: ALBANIA (November 5th), RUMANIA (November 14th), TRIESTE (November 15th), HUNGARY (November 22nd and 23rd), have already fixed the date of their Congresses.

On November 15th and 16th the "Congress of the People of Paris" will be held.

Preparations are being made for important regional and local assemblies in France, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, and Norway and also in Bulgaria, Poland, Austria and Czechoslovakia. They will be held during the months of October and November.

A Plea for Peace

In the United States a Christian plea for Peace has been specially written for Sunday October 5th, World Communion Sunday. This plea has been widely circulated and contains the following appeal to all Christians in the United States:

"'Peace' is not an unpatriotic or subversive word. Our Master is still to this tragic world the Prince of Peace, and His word for those who would make peace is 'blessed'.

"Let us join in...

"1) An appeal to both sides in the conflict to cease killing in Korea now.

"2) Request that negotiations be taken out of the hands of the military and that all remaining issues be committed to civilian representatives.

"If you want peace, check your conviction below. Your plea for peace may be brought with you to the altar and there left as an act of dedication to peace, while you kneel in this day's world-wide fellowship with God and humanity. Or you may put it into the offering plate or in the place provided when you leave the church.

"These signatures and convictions, our Christian Voice for Peace, will be gathered and presented to the President, the State Department, Senators and Congressmen, and to the candidates for the Presidency, the Senate and Congress."

Tickets for Vienna

Big campaigns are being carried out in every country to help send the representatives elected by the people to the Congress:

In Great Britain tickets are being sold which will pay 5, 10 or 20 miles of a delegate's journey to Vienna; in Germany two stamps are being produced; in France, Algeria and Belgium supporting cards are being circulated; in Austria a medal, "the shilling for Peace", has been struck; in Burma a great campaign for an "anna" for Peace is underway; in Sweden public collections are being planned for the coming weeks; in Equador, the Women's Committee is organising fêtes with the aim of collecting money to pay delegates' expenses.

[World Peace Council]

Conseil Mondial de la Paix

Secrétariat Général

Palais Sia Prague

Prague, 21st October 1952.

25-32-71

Dear Friend,

We have pleasure in forwarding you herewith the statement on the preparation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace issued by the Bureau of the World Council during its meeting in Vienna on the 14th, 15th and 16th October 1952.

In addition, we should like to confirm the fact that the Bureau has decided, in view of certain technical difficulties, to postpone the date of the Vienna Congress to 12th December, 1952.

With our best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace,

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

[ENC]

STATEMENT OF THE BUREAU OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE ON THE PREPARATION OF THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES FOR PEACE TO BE HELD IN VIENNA, DECEMBER 12th, 1952.

The Appeal for a Congress of the Peoples, issued by the World Council of Peace, is arousing great interest in all countries, and is already evoking a considerable response.

The resort to a policy of force in international relations has resulted in tension, the effects and dangers of which are daily more obvious. Faced with this situation, social groups of the most varied kinds, in particular political, trade union, religious and pacifist, agree that a way must be found to break the deadlock.

How can the wars now going on be stopped ?

How can the cold war be brought to an end ?

How can the independence of nations be safeguarded and the security of every country be guaranteed ?

The answers to these questions can only be found through genuine discussion among forces truly representative of the people's desire for Peace.

The Congress of the Peoples called by the World Council of Peace will be an international assembly bringing together men and women of different countries and devoted to different ways of life.

The participation of delegates, guests and observers will not imply their adherence to the Peace Movement.

The Congress of the Peoples will try to find, in free and effective discussion, reasonable solutions to the questions today dividing the world.

Agreement reached, even on a single point, will make easier understanding on further points and contribute to a lessening of international tension.

The peoples will find the road to Peace together.

Adopted unanimously
Vienna, October 16th, 1952

TOWARDS THE PEOPLES' CONGRESS

32-18-40

No 2 — OCTOBER 24th, 1952 — PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Many newspapers, reviews and bulletins appearing in different countries have published articles and reports taken from the first number of this bulletin.

In publicising in their respective countries the preparations throughout the world for the Congress of the Peoples for Peace they are helping to make the Congress a "discussion on the widest possible scale".

We remind everyone of the fact that all articles and information contained in this number can be reproduced and we urge all our correspondents to make known by all possible means the material which they consider useful.

STATEMENT
of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace on the preparation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace to be held in Vienna. December 12th, 1952

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Adopted unanimously.
Vienna, October 16th, 1952

The Congress of the Peoples for Peace...

Although it was built during our century (it was finished in the Autumn of 1913), this hall already has a great history.

The first concert was given on October 19th, 1913. Richard Strauss had composed the music for this concert. The audition of his "Prelude Solonnel" was directed by Ferdinand Löwe. This work had been specially composed to fit the majestic proportions of the great concert hall.

On the occasion of the centenary of the death of Beethoven, in 1927, the "Missa Solemnis" was executed in the great hall by the Philharmonic Orchestra and the choirs of the National Opera, under the direction of Franz Schalk, with Elisabeth Schuman, Rosette Anday, Hermann Gallos and Richard Mayr. Among the public were the great German scientists, Hermann Abert and Albert Einstein; the present Minister of Education in Czechoslovakia, Zdenek Nejedly, an authority on the works of Beethoven and Smetana; the composer Boris Assasieff of Leningrad; the founder of American musical science, Carl Engel of Washington and the great English musicologist, Edward Dent. Romain Rolland also came here to talk on Beethoven.

The concerts given during the Beethoven centenary and other great international musical festivals made this musical centre famous. The very history of this concert hall testifies to the fact that Peace is a necessary concomitant of the development of musical life. The "sun of universal culture", to quote Romain Rolland speaking of music, shines brightest when the theme of Peace triumphs over the fracas of war, as in the "Missa Solemnis" of Beethoven.

The great concert hall in Vienna is where this truth finds daily confirmation.

...will open on December 12th, in the Great Concert Hall in Vienna

Britain prepares...

Above the Gothic spires of the world-famous university city of Cambridge where generations of scholars from many different lands have for centuries assimilated and made contributions to world culture, a thousand balloons floated skywards trailing messages of Peace.

And so began a week, during which the citizens and scholars of Cambridge were constantly reminded that civilisation, whether it meant for them individually the pursuit of learning or a workman's pride of craftsmanship, the preservation of traditions and principles, or the maintenance of a family according to certain standards, all this is threatened with total obliteration. But they were also reminded that they themselves can help save the Peace — and the civilisation they cherish.

Across one of the main streets, there flew a huge banner bearing a Peace emblem designed by a well-known sculptress; in the city centre there was a bookstall and information bureau; a concert sponsored by the Musician's Organisation for Peace was advertised by 10,000 programmes distributed door-to-door and was well attended. There was a dedication service in a church; film shows were arranged by the local Labour Party and the Cambridge Assembly of Women, while several meetings were addressed by speakers of varying political and religious views.

A message from the United States ambassador wished the Peace Week "all success". Another, from the Soviet ambassador, read: "I wish you good success in your work for the promotion and understanding between our peoples."

This is one of the latest examples of the preparations that are being made in Britain for the great Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

Other towns and cities have also been quick to respond to the Appeal of the British Sponsoring Committee for the Peoples' Congress which includes some 60 well-known professional men and women and prominent trade-unionists, and to the new feeling of urgency amongst the people (reflected in the mood of delegates at the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party Conference which was flooded with resolutions from every part of the island demanding, in one way or another, an end to current conflicts, to re-armament and for a let-up in restrictions on international trade).

In Glasgow, for example, a Peace parade marched through the city, recently, bearing a tableau and over 100 posters drawing people's attention to the things which concern them most — the rising cost of living, pools of unemployment, lengthy conscription and so on — all of which were linked with the international tension and the way this can be eased by the peoples voicing their views at the Vienna Congress.

In the West-country city of Bristol, a conference attended by Quakers, trade union and co-operative branches, shop stewards in a local aircraft factory, the local branch of the Assembly of Women and students from the university, unanimously passed a resolution demanding immediate negotiations for the ending of hostilities in every part of the world. At the same time it drew up a list of prominent citizens who will be asked to form a panel from which delegates will be drawn to attend the Peoples' Congress.

But not only are preparations being made on a regional scale. Even more important, delegates are being chosen for Vienna from the factory floor, from the pit-head and on the docks, as well as from trade union branches, co-operative guilds and religious organisations.

At least ten delegates have already been elected in this way from London and Yorkshire alone.

In a Glasgow shipyard, the shop stewards have welcomed the Congress.

In a big engineering shop in Scotland where a decision was taken to send delegates to Vienna, it was estimated that if 3,000 workers were to pay 6d each week for a fortnight, the expenses would be found for two delegates.

Another method of overcoming the difficulty of expenses was solved by railwaymen in one depot who got in touch with their colleagues in another and decided to send a delegate to Vienna jointly.

But perhaps the medium which is winning the widest publicity and support in Britain for the Vienna Congress is the "Note-books for Peace", of which more than 7,000 are in circulation.

On the cover, under the tittle: "Your Voice For Peace", people are asked such questions as:

"How do you think the danger of war could be reduced?"

"Can anything be done to reduce the burden of armaments?"

They are then asked to contribute their views to the discussion at the Peoples' Congress by writing them down inside the 16-page notebook.

In addition, pamphlets describing the purpose of the Congress and the ways by which it can be made a success are being distributed and, together with the Notebooks for Peace are stimulating discussions in factory canteens, in house meetings over a cup-of-tea, in church halls and sewing circles, in formal discussion groups and, informally, in pubs and clubs.

Twelve of the women members of the British Sponsoring Committee including the wife of an air Vice-Marshall, a celebrated actress and an eminent zoologist, have sent an appeal to over 2,000 womens' organisations in Britain. "War settles no differences," it says. "There must be an alternative to death and destruction. The Peoples Congress will bring together all who wish to replace violence and war by negotiation and understanding."

Britain's young people — whose interests are so vitally concerned in a country where the conscription period is longer than anywhere else, are also playing a vigorous part in the preparations.

They are joining in the great international relay to Vienna, which will carry messages from young people the world over. The British team will start from Clydebank, Glasgow, on November 9th after a celebration of World Youth Day. On its way South, the team will collect votes in favour of a reduction in the two years' conscription. Meetings, socials, concerts and film shows will take place en route. By the time the relay reaches London, it is expected that thousands of votes will have been collected and will feature in London's World Youth Day Celebration on November 24th.

The theme "things can't go on as they are", is a common one in Britain today in every section of the community — among housewives contending with rising prices; among shopkeepers who see their customers dwindling and among businessmen starved of raw materials and denied overseas markets.

This is why the Congress of the Peoples is receiving widespread recognition as a timely event of supreme importance to all who gain from a world at Peace.

...for the Congress of the Peoples

AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLES CONGRESS by Henri MATISSE and Pablo PICASSO

Dear Friends who work for Peace,

We are glad to learn that men of all opinions are going to unite for a free discussion of the problems of Peace.

We are in agreement with them in the desire to see a lessening of international tension.

Disarmament must be brought about by negotiation between States and not by a display of force.

We are convinced that mutual respect between peoples and the forms of governments of their choice will advance the cause of Peace and, to maintain this thing we all hold dear — Peace — we think that discussion is better than threats.

In the profound belief that thanks to the united efforts of all, the spirit of Peace will prevail over that of war, we send you our best wishes for success in your meetings.

10th October, 1952.

Signed: Henri MATISSE
Pablo PICASSO.

AN APPEAL of Anna SEGHERS

A writer expresses what his people feel and think. The Congress of the Peoples expresses what the peoples feel and think.

It cries "Halt!" to the war-makers. It points the way to men to free themselves from the anguish of death and intolerable tension and advance towards a future of security and Peace.

To those who make profit out of war and armaments, all works of art are only things to be bought and sold. Their contacts with artists are on the basis of contempt or corruption, of slander or flattery. A work of art is sold for some base price or forgotten — or burned under fascism or during war.

At the Congress of the Peoples, the words of the writers will carry their full weight. There, they will express what their peoples feel and think.

For they are the conscience of their people. If this were not so, their words would be like a silent bell.

However great their talent, it would dry up drop by drop, like a river in a dry land, without source or mouth.

We call on artists to join us in defending their art and the art of all centuries and all peoples at the Congress of the Peoples in Vienna.

We call on writers to speak on behalf of their people and their own children in their works and at the Congress of the Peoples.

We call on them to express in loud voice, each in his own tongue, what his conscience and the conscience of his people dictates.

Result of the exchange of letters between Sig. Giuseppe NITTI and Professor Frederic JOLIOT-CURIE

We have learned that at the meeting called by Sig. Nitti in Rome after receipt of the letter from President Joliot-Curie, the personalities present decided to establish a secretariat which will be independent of the Italian Peace Movement and will ensure the participation of different well-known people and organisations at the Congress of the Peoples.

The point of view of Signor TERRANOVA Christian Democrat Deputy

Raffaele Terranova, Deputy and member of the Christian Democratic Party — the Party to which Premier De Gasperi belongs — took part in the meeting of Members of Parliament organised in Rome by Sig. Giuseppe Nitti. During this meeting a committee was formed of persons not belonging to the Peace Movement but who want to go to the Congress of the Peoples for Peace in Vienna. Sig. Terranova gave the newspaper "Paese Sera" these points of information on the intentions of this committee of Italian Members of Parliament. The following is an extract from his statement.

"The fullest and most explicit guarantees have been given to those who want to go to Vienna to find a meeting place for the exchange of opinions and suggestions on general and specific ideas for peaceful co-existence of the peoples. Professor Joliot-Curie has shown great wisdom and breadth of vision in accepting the demands put forward in Sig. Nitti's letter which asked for certain guarantees. In this way, Professor Joliot-Curie has set a good example of the way in which people can get together despite widely differing points of view.

We know that many Peace Committees are organising very broad delegations which are not solely composed of active peace workers. Nevertheless, we also know that there are many Italians, including myself, who wish to retain the fullest freedom of judgement and action with regard to the Defenders of Peace and yet wish to be present or represented in Vienna. It is not unlikely that certain Defenders of Peace may be surprised at or opposed to our proposals. If so, I believe that they would be showing an extremely partisan spirit, which has certainly not been shown by their President, Professor Joliot-Curie. No one has the monopoly of working for Peace. Others may say we are mistaken because we are ready to talk and act with the Communists, the Russians and the Chinese; but do we not have to talk with and listen to everyone if we really want to establish Peace?"

THE SPONSORING COMMITTEE FOR THE BRAZILIAN DELEGATION TO THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES

Fifty - three personalities of all backgrounds, professions and opinions, including M. P.s belonging to the Social-Democratic Party, the National Democratic Union, the Brazilian Labour Party, the Social Progressive Party, the Republican Party, the Christian-Democratic Party and the Republican Labour Party, and five independent M. P.s have just set up a Sponsoring Committee for the Brazilian Delegation to the Congress of the Peoples.

The Sponsoring Committee has launched the following appeal to the Brazilian people:

"The Congress of the Peoples for Peace will open in Vienna on December 12th. Today the peoples are much more conscious of the danger of being dragged into a war they do not want.

"We welcome the appeal for the convocation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace and we invite the Brazilian people to give every support to this document by working with it and by seeking to unite all those who wish to protect our motherland and mankind from the horrors of a new war.

"The Brazilian delegation to the Congress of the Peoples will express the traditionally peaceful feelings of our people and their desire to contribute to the safeguarding of Peace.

"Let all take to heart the words of the Convocation Appeal for the Congress."

The following people signed this appeal: Senora Branca Fialho, educationist, member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace; General Edgard Buxbaum; Monseigneur Costabile Hipolito, Catholic Priest, apostolic protonotary, Vicar of Sagé since 1892, founder of the Rosario Gymnasium at Porto-Alegre; Silvio de Campos, lawyer, former President of the State of Sao Paulo; Jorge Amado, writer, Stalin International Peace Prize winner; Santiago Americano Freire, professor at the Minas Gerais University, winner of the Gold Medal of the International Congress of Biochemistry (Paris 1952); Matias Olimpo, Senator of the Republic, member of the National Democratic Union; Julio Rocha Xavier, lawyer, Deputy, former assistant Governor of Parana, member of the Brazilian Labour Party; Campos Vergal, Social-Progressive Party, Deputy in the Federal Parliament, spiritualist leader; Henrique Fialho, judge in the Court of Appeal of the Justice Tribunal of the Federal District; Candido Portinari, artist; Janio Quadros, Christian-Democratic Party, Deputy, in the State of Sao Paulo; Bibi Ferreira, theatre and cinema artist; Father Benedito M. Cardoso, director of the Saint Francis de Sales Institute in the State of Sao Paulo; Clovis Ribeiro Cintra, Deputy from the State of Mato Grosso; Arnaldo Marques, doctor, professor at Pernambuco University; Tarcilo Vieira de Melo, Social-Democratic Party, Deputy in the Federal Parliament, former secretary of Education for the State of Bahia; Arnaldo Estrela, pianist, professor at Brazil university; Romulo Finamore, judge in the Court of Appeal of the State of Espirito Santo; Henrique Marques Lisboa, professor at Minas Gerais University; Alcides Antonio Maciel, landowner, Sao Paulo; Milton Marcondes, municipal councillor, member of the National Democratic Union, president of the Trade Union of Bank Employees of the State of Sao Paulo; Pedro de Camargo (Vinicius), advisory member of the Spiritualist Federation of the State of Sao Paulo; Graciliano Ramos, writer, president of the Association of Brazilians Writers; Radames Gnatali, composer; Milton Roberto, president of the Institute of Brazilian Architects; Moacir Fenelon, film producer and director, president of the Film Producers Union; Decio Toledo Leite, judge at the regional Working Tribunal, Sao Paulo; Adalmo Saldanha, Deputy from the State of Mato Grosso; Geraldo Simões, industrialist and cattle-breeder from Minas Gerais; Floriano Benevides Guimaraes, judge in the State of Geara; Edson Mouri Fernandes, Social-Democratic Deputy in the State of Pernambuco; Canon Antonio de G'oes Bittencourt, Catholic Priest in the State of Bahia; Oscar Niemeyer, architect; Osny Duarte Pereira, judge of the Federal District; Wilson Lins, Republican Party Deputy in the State of Bahia; Pericles Gomes Araujo, Deputy of the National Democratic Union from the State of Ceara; Benedito Vaz Figueiredo, Deputy from the State of Matto Grosso; Miguel Nicolau, Deputy from the State of Sao Paulo, member of the Brazilian Labour Party; José Carvalheira Ramos, Deputy of the National Democratic Union of Minas Gerais; José Geraldo Vieira, writer; Benedito Leite de Campos, judge in the Court of Appeal in the State of Matto Grosso; Mileto Rizzo, Deputy of the Brazilian Labour Party of the State of Ceara; Fernando de Oliveira Coutinho, judge in the Working Tribunal, Sao Paulo; Marinho Falcao, Deputy from the State of Matto Grosso; Fabricio Soares, Deputy of the National Democratic Union from the State of Minas Gerais; Evandro Lins e Silva, criminologist; Professor Maria Setla de Novais, poetess, from the State of Espirito Santo; José Morize de Andrade, Social Progressive Party, Deputy in the State of Ceara; Joao Salgadó Sobrinho, Republican Labour Party Deputy in the State of Sao Paulo; Colonel Olimpo Ferraz de Carvalho, lawyer, secretary of the Executive Committee of the Brazilian Labour Party, in the State of Minas Gerais; Vera Nunes, cinema and theatre artist.

Conference for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem

STATEMENT

The representatives of the Bureau of the International Initiating Committee for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem held a meeting in Berlin on October 19th, 1952, with representatives from the majority of participating countries.

Among those present at this meeting were: Jean-Marie DOMENACH, Michel BRUGUIER and Stephan HERMLIN, members of the Bureau of the International Initiating Committee; Mme HODINOVÁ-SPURNÁ (Czechoslovakia); Mme Isabelle BLUME (Belgium); Mrs José SOLLEY (Great Britain); M. Yves FARGE (France); Sig. Guiseppe NITTI, General GUIDOTTI, General ROVEDA, Arnoldo FRATEILI (Italy); Dr. Robert SEITSCHEK (Australia); Ostap DLUSKI (Poland); Johannes DIECKMANN, Président of the People's Chamber; Franz DAHLEM, Deputy, Professor Albert NORDEN and Alexander ABUSCH (German Democratic Republic); Pastor Martin NIEMÖLLER and other representatives from West Germany.

The following statement was published at the close of the meeting:

"The Parliaments which are being asked to ratify the Bonn and Paris Agreements will assume an overwhelming responsibility. These Agreements are endangering Peace and the national independence of the peoples.

"Men of all opinions, of all beliefs and representing all political trends in Europe and the majority of countries interested in the German problem, were to meet today in Stockholm the delegations from West Germany and East Germany, in order to seek a solution satisfactory both to the aspirations of Germany from the national point of view and the legitimate concern of other nations to guarantee their security.

"The obstacles which were designed to prevent this Conference from taking place in full strength, testify to the importance, the necessity and the urgent need of such a meeting.

"On November 8th, 9th and 10th, the 'Conference to Seek a Peaceful Solution to the German Problem' will be held in West and East Berlin.

"Conscious that we interpret the true interests of our countries, we call upon the peoples of Europe to condemn the Bonn and Paris Agreements so that the chances of a peaceful settlement are not jeopardised.

"We invite them to deliberate and to mandate national delegates who will participate in this Conference.

"We have together made a beginning to the drawing up of a peaceful solution of the German problem. In common and fraternal work we shall continue to defend Peace in Europe and to demonstrate that understanding is possible between all the countries on our Continent."

AN APPEAL
from the Synod of the Evangelical Church of Germany

The Synod of the Evangelical Church of Germany which was held in Elbingerode (German Democratic Republic) decided to address an appeal for understanding to the Four Great Powers and has decided to make known to the Government of the German Democratic Republic and the Government of the Federal Republic of Bonn their anxiety at the division of Germany.

On the item on the agenda headed: "The public responsibility of Christians", the Synod unanimously adopted a resolution which said in part:

"The Synod feels very deeply the misery which befell and which can again befall the two parts of Germany as a result of the division of our country. It sees and understands the moral distress which will afflict countless men and women, and particularly the young people, when armed forces are again constituted on the two sides and when compulsory military service is re-established. It aspires to Peace for the German people and for the whole world, and for Peace Christianity must take its stand".

FRANCE
Radical Party Congress

The Radical Party Congress has just been held in Bordeaux. Here are two items from contributions to the discussion made by two of the party leaders, M. Herriot and M. Daladier:

M. HERRIOT:

"The plan for a European Army gives Germany new advantages while demanding sacrifices of France which she cannot accept. It is contrary to our constitution and means that we lose part of our national sovereignty."

M. DALADIER:

"Do you consider that it would be dishonourable to make an effort to resolve the differences between the East and the West?"

IT CAN'T GO ON!

"I am prepared to give up War"
Lord Boyd ORR

At a public meeting of the "World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government" which was held at the beginning of October in Kingsway Hall, London, Lord Boyd Orr, former President of the U. N. Food and Agricultural Organisation, talked about the armaments race:

"It has been said that if we are going to apply science to produce food to eliminate disease from the world, we will need to give up something in the highly industrialised wealthy countries. I am prepared to give up something. I am prepared to give up war.

"If the present effort of rearmament, the terrific force which is being spent on it by practically every country in the world, were directed towards constructive ends, within 10 years there would be an abundance of food for everybody. This would be easy to do if every nation were existing alone. The trouble is that the world is now so small that the nations must agree to co-operate to do these things or they will fight."

Distinguished People support the Congress of the Peoples

"I wish the Congress of the Peoples every success", says Rabbi BAUER of Paris.

"It goes without saying that we have not forgotten the suffering of the last war during which six million Jews perished.

"I consider that all Jews cannot but want peace in view of all that they have suffered in the past.

"At this time of the year, on the occasion of the Festivals of the New Year and the Great Pardon, we ask in our prayers that peace should reign on earth. It follows that we must do all in our power to avoid a repetition of the slaughter and the torture that we have formerly known.

"I wish the Congress of the Peoples full and complete success in the tasks which it has set itself".

AN APPEAL
for the Congress of the Peoples
by M. Gustave MONOD

Honorary Director of Higher Education in France.

I wish that all teachers of France were aware how deeply the forthcoming Congress of the Peoples for Peace, due to meet in Vienna on December 12th, concerns them. They have the young people of France under their charge, but many of them work in difficulty and with an uneasy conscience. How can one face up to the future of these children. And as for the present, a system which is out of all proportion to the problems, inadequate grants, children on the street and hosts of adolescents, virtually neglected, whose leisure hours are being exploited by businessmen.

All this, because instead of responding to the fervent hopes of the peoples who demand peace, some of the World's leaders are allowing the threat of war to increase and are sacrificing the future of our children to the building of tanks and bombs.

But, here is a unique occasion: the Congress of Vienna has been called to give voice to this desire for Peace which is in all peoples. Here, there will be no party, no political obligations, only the simple desire for Peace. This desire must be expressed and imposed with such vigour that it will go down in history.

We believe that it is the duty of teachers, whose work can only be practiced under peaceful conditions, to take part in this enterprise of those who are promoting and winning the Peace. Let them establish contacts between these hosts of men and women who do not know each other, yet who all feel the curse of war weighing down upon the life of their children. Let them promote delegations for Vienna, let them do all in their power to make the vibrant appeal of the French people in favour of Childhood and Peace be heard there.

This message comes to them from men who are strangers to political action, who have devoted their lives and their efforts to the young people and who cannot accept that for the third time in less than 50 years, these children could be victims of the crimes or the incompetence of governments.

PARIS October 11th 1952

THERE MUST BE AN END TO IT!

MESSAGE FROM INDIA

Mr KARANJIA, director of the English-language review, "Blitz", has sent the following message:

"Our people know that our hopes lie in the beautiful and shining Evangel of Peace. Peace is the last thread which keeps our land and its people from drowning. Through Peace, and Peace alone, shall we survive with the rest of the world on the principles of the new ideal of co-existence, co-operation, trade and co-prosperity between the Socialist and Capitalist worlds. The solution to all our problems lies in Peace.

"Understanding the supreme necessity of Peace for our freedom, our means of existence and our survival, we are doing all in our power in order to attain that golden age. The Peace Movement in India today enjoys the support of all patriotic parties in India. The Indian National Congress — the leading party — has itself adopted the principles of our resolutions demanding a cessation to the hostilities in Korea followed by a Conference of the Great Powers in order to draw up a formula for Peace in our time. At the same time, Mr Nehru, the Prime Minister, has made his contribution to the universal movement by sending Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishna, Vice-President of the Indian Union and distinguished peace-lover, on a mission to bring light to 'that darkling plain, where ignorant armies meet and clash in the night'.

"It is in the spirit of a people thirsting for Peace, in body, in mind and in soul that we in India join with honest people throughout the world in welcoming the forthcoming Congress of the Peoples for World Peace in Vienna. May every success and glory attend your efforts."

"YOUNG MUST BE GIVEN HOPE"

author of children's books

M. Charles Vildrac is a well-known French writer. This author has written many books for children and young people, including "L'Ile Rose" which is widely known among educationists.

"I would like to lay stress on the repercussions which the Congress of the Peoples can have on the young people.

"You know that everything young people hear on the radio, everything they see in the Press, in their magazines, is nothing but armaments, experiments, weapons of destruction, fighter planes, atomic bombs, etc. That is the ideal and future being proposed to them.

"It is up to the educationists to propose something else to them and we well know that they will do so. We know that they are doing it every day. But it is necessary that the young people be informed of the vast and impressive undertaking of Peace which is developing and the importance of an event like the Congress of Vienna.

"The prospects for youth are dull and they are being made to believe in the fatality of war, in the terrible, in the infernal and constant development of machines of war, in scientific and total war.

"On the occasion of the Congress of the Peoples, as on every occasion, it is necessary to guide the minds of young people towards enlightenment, towards hope and towards the ideal of Peace within the framework of the great humane ideal. And it is up to the educationists to devote themselves to this task. We are sure that they will not fail."

Paris, October 12th, 1952.

BRITISH TRADE UNIONIST AND PEACE

The concern felt by British workers in face of the increasing dangers of war was one of the most striking facts of the Trade Union Congress which was held in Margate at the beginning of September.

This feeling was interpreted at Margate by the passing of two resolutions — one condemning bacterial warfare and the other calling for large-scale extension of East-West trading relations.

The first resolution, presented by the Association of Scientific Workers, was adopted by the majority of delegates in spite of opposition by the leadership of the T. U. C. The resolution condemns any use of bacterial weapons and demands that the British Government intervene in the United Nations in order that an international agreement outlawing the use of this weapon be signed.

As far as the problem of economic exchanges is concerned, a resolution submitted by the National Union of Mineworkers was unanimously adopted by delegates. Recommending an extension of trade with China, the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies as a means of contributing to a way out of the growing economic difficulties of Great Britain, the resolution further declared that the extension of such relations would make an effective contribution to diminishing international tension which is causing anxiety among all the peoples.

Two other resolutions advocating negotiations between the Great Powers with a view to settling international differences and a reduction of armaments, received nearly two million votes.

EPISCOPAL ADDRESS OF THE BISHOPS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH TO THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF SAN FRANCISCO, 1952

"Nothing can be more disastrous than a fatalist acceptance of the inevitability of a third world war. It is the most threatening spectre haunting the life of our generation. To envisage it is like destroying all future hope of a more Christian world."

After the Peace Conference of Asia and the Pacific Regions

THE CONFERENCE AND THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES

(Resolution)

The Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions in which the representatives of the peoples of 37 countries are taking part hereby solemnly declares:

We warmly support the call, issued by the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace held in Berlin, for a Congress of the Peoples for Peace in Vienna in December 1952.

This regional Peace Conference here in session is, in fact, an important step towards the Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

We call on all sections of the people and all political, social and religious organisations of the countries in the Asian and Pacific regions, to use their utmost efforts after the Conference to lay the groundwork for the forthcoming Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

Only two months remain before the date of the Congress. Let all delegates on their return take immediate action, side by side with the other supporters of Peace in their respective countries, to rally people of all walks of life, on the widest possible basis, to intensify the preparatory work for the Congress of the Peoples for Peace. We must bring home the paramount importance of the convocation of this Congress of the men and women in every country, in every corner, in every city and village of the regions we represent and urge them to send the most representative delegations possible to this Congress of the Peoples which is of vital significance in the struggle to defend Peace.

Peking, October 10th 1952

Statement by Saifuddin KITCHLEW

Indian Congress Party Member of Parliament

The Vienna Congress is quite indispensible. This Congress will carry forward the work which has been done in Peking. The Peking Conference is not an isolated affair. It is part of the general movement of the peoples for Peace.

We must go to Vienna. Our place is in Vienna. I hope that constructive proposals for economic and cultural exchanges and for friendship between all peoples will emerge from the Congress of the Peoples.

PEKING

The Peking Conference is significant not only because of the unanimous agreement reached between the delegates of all the countries represented, to defend the national independence of each, and also to defend Peace; it is also significant by reason of the remarkable spirit of co-operation and friendship which was aroused there.

This spirit was demonstrated in a very graphic manner. Suddenly, at the close of a speech, lively, harmonious music would begin to play and down the centre of the Conference hall would march a delegation loaded with flowers and gifts.

They were representatives of the national minorities of China in their colourful costumes not the least strange of which, to Western eyes, were those of the inhabitants of Tibet who wore their traditional glittering robes and felt hats. The Buddhist monks clothed in their yellow robes, the Mohammedans, leaders of the Catholic Church and nuns, went to the tribune and presented a banner to the President of the Conference and turning to the hall joined in the applause, testifying to the peoples will for Peace. There were so many delegations that it is difficult to remember all. But unforgettable was the delegation of women workers from Peking whose liveliness and enthusiasm, testified to the fundamental transformation in the great Chinese people where women are emancipated and have an important role to play.

There was a dramatic moment when the whole American delegation, to the sound of the same, lively, harmonious music, mounted the tribune to embrace the Korean delegates.

The representatives of India and Pakistan solemnly marched together to the tribune and in front of President Kuo Mo-jo, they exchanged gifts and garlands of flowers and signed an agreement in which the two delegations undertook to make a common effort to bring about a peaceful solution in accordance with the desire of their two peoples, to the conflict over Kashmir which has for such a long time separated and caused bloodshed between them.

This was not only a symbolic ceremony but the beginning of action. When Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew, Congress Party Member of Parliament and leader of the Indian delegation at the Conference came down from the tribune, he said:

"This agreement must now be strengthened by a great publicity campaign. India will do this."

And now delegates from Pakistan have left for India while Dr Kitchlew himself has gone to Pakistan. And so something concrete has already evolved from the expression of good intentions. A demonstration of the will for Peace can become the beginning of constructive undertaking. On a world scale, if we desire it strongly enough, international tension can and must be lessened.

Letter from the General Secretary of the "Movement of French Universities under the Threat of a New World War"

The "Movement of French Universities under the Threat of a New World War" was set up two years ago by 150 university professors in Paris and in the provinces who were alarmed by the menace of a new conflagration. Since then, it has considerably increased its influence and set up international contacts with University professors in Great Britain, the USSR and Switzerland.

To M. Yves Farge

President of the Peace Movement

(letter dated October 7th 1952)

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your invitation to participate in the Congress of the Peoples in Vienna. So far, we have declined to participate actively in the various Congresses or Conferences of your organisation in order to preserve — in conformity with the opinions of our supporters — the "non-political" and independent character of our Movement. We have, therefore, only been able to send observers to such meetings.

From the reports and documents presented by M. Dumont who was our observer at the Berlin Session of the World Council on July 1st to 6th, it seems that the Vienna Congress will present a new character.

Desirous of seizing every opportunity of contributing to the building of Peace, we would like to be enlightened as to this new character, in order that we may decide whether it is possible for us to contemplate taking part in this Congress and to ask the same of other organisations in France and abroad with whom we are in contact and to whom we shall communicate your correspondence.

In such conditions, would you be so kind as to reply to the following questions:

1) Will this Congress be of a truly different character from preceeding Congresses or will it be a Congress of the "Peace Movement"?

2) Is it a meeting place for all men and all organisations working for Peace? Will the delegates be able to put forward their opinions and take part in the discussion, in the drawing up of the agenda and the resolutions in *strict equality* and in *complete freedom*, within the confines of courtesy and mutual understanding?

3) In view of the fact that you are organising local assemblies with a view to setting up a national delegation, what will be the position of the delegates elected by independent associations with regard to this delegation?

4) Will the meeting take place in the international zone or in the Soviet zone of Vienna? We attribute considerable symbolic value to the first hypothesis.

5) Should the answers to these questions be such as to allow us to attend this Congress, we would like to have the assurance that we shall be the sole judges of the form of our participation (preparation of our motions, choice and independence of our delegates) and that we shall be able on the platform to expound the feelings of our Movement and present resolutions which will conform to it.

Very sincerely yours,

Reply from M. Yves FARGE

(dated October 10th 1952)

Dear Sir,

Your letter of October 7th was given the most careful attention by our Bureau. We understand your concern to preserve the independence of your Movement and in replying to your questions, we are happy to be able to specify the character given to the Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

The Congress of the Peoples for Peace will not be a third Congress of our Movement. Our Appeal for this Congress is an offer for an international meeting to which the Peace Movement will bring its own solutions while accepting and welcoming the broadest exchange of viewpoints.

The Congress of the Peoples is quite open — as you desire — to all people and to all organisations

working for Peace who will freely uphold their own points of view at this Congress. In these conditions, it goes without saying that your organisation will remain the sole judge of the form to be given to its participation, to the expression of its ideas and to its contribution in general.

From this it will appear clear that your delegates to the Congress of the Peoples should be direct representatives of your Movement; we can also, with regard to the point raised in your third question, examine with you how best the most effective representation can be assured to your satisfaction.

In answer to your fourth point, on which we also felt some concern, we would add that the date of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace has been postponed until December 12th, in order that the Congress could take place in the Concert Hall in Vienna, which is situated in the British sector.

We firmly believe that in the mutual respect of opinions, as in the mutual concern not to interfere in the internal affairs of States, we can aim at that objective which is common to us both — to make negotiated rather than dictated solutions prevail, to seek grounds which can assure the peaceful co-existence of systems and peoples, that is to say, the surest means of putting an end to the perilous international tension.

In this good will endeavour which should show us the way to arrive at solutions, we can contribute to dispelling distrust, that is to putting an end to the cold war which is contrary to and hinders negotiations.

Very sincerely yours.

At the I. L. C. O. P. International Conference

A resolution unanimously adopted by an international conference held at Elfinsward, Haywards Heath, England, from August 26th-31st, 1952, under the auspices of the International Liaison Committee of Organisations for Peace, begins as follows:

"That this Conference of I. L. C. O. P. desires to assert its strong belief in the possibility of the peaceful co-existence of peoples living under different ideological, political or economic systems. It asserts that war is not inevitable, nor does war resolve the underlying causes of international conflict. As the choice is between living together or dying together, the Conference urges all Governments to substitute conciliation for cold war, to make and use every opportunity for negotiations, and to display the spirit necessary for their success."

The resolution went on to urge an immediate armistice in Korea, a peaceful solution of the German problem, a general agreement on disarmament, the cessation of all antagonistic propaganda, the recognition of the right of all peoples to that form of government which they believe to be best suited to their own circumstances, and co-operation by all nations in a war on want.

PROFESSOR INFELD
(Polish Physicist)
speaks to American scientists

"We scientists have, like all other people, a great stake in preserving the Peace of the world. We scientists have, like all other people, a great stake in ending the cold war; but in working for the preservation of the Peace and for ending the cold war, we scientists have our additional, very important reasons.

"Working with a view to ending the cold war means returning to science its international character, its dignity, based on the collaboration of all scientists of all countries. We do know that by preserving Peace we avoid destruction, we avoid the use of terrible weapons that were created by using the discoveries of the scientists of the world.

"Therefore, it is specially important that the scientists who strive for Peace should come to the Congress of the Peoples and tell us how they envisage the fulfilment of our common aims. You know that our Peace movement is headed by one of the greatest living scientists — Professor Joliot-Curie. There are others, both in the World Council of Peace and in our Bureau. If you agree with us, do come to the Congress of the Peoples and join us in our work. If you don't agree with us, but agree with our ultimate aims, come to the Congress and tell us your views.

"The establishment of personal contact in an atmosphere of free discussion will serve the cause of Peace and it will serve science."

A message from Paul Robeson

"The American people are weary of wasteful wars. We can and must build — you and we together — a lasting Peace, East and West, with hands and hearts joined, working and building and singing together as we fashion man's unlimited future."

STUDENTS AND PEACE

"PAX ROMANA" writes to International Union of Students

Some time ago, letters were exchanged between the Secretariat of the International Union of Students and the Secretariat of "PAX ROMANA" (International Movement of Catholic Students) on the possibility of co-operation between the two world associations of students in the interests of easing the international tension. Because of the discussion which has arisen in broad circles by the forthcoming Congress of the Peoples, we are reproducing extracts from these letters.

In the letter from "PAX ROMANA" to the International Union of Students, signed by the General Secretary, M. Bernard Ducret, speaking of the peaceful co-existence of various economic and social systems, says:

"We are glad to see that you affirm the possibility of co-existence especially since a number of your statements, accepted as classics by you, appear to us to give the opposite impression.

"We insist, however, in making clear that such a proposition in no way signifies in our eyes, approval af all economic and social systems. But we wish to say that the present difference between these systems should not lead to war. This does not prevent us from expressing our desire that all systems safeguard the essential rights and the dignity of the human personality. Work towards this appears to us as one of the indispensible conditions of a real peace."

The letter then deals with the solution of the differences between nations by peaceful negotiation.

"It is also our dearest wish that henceforth peaceful negotiations should be used to settle the differences which might set the nations against each other. War is never a fitting way of resolving such conflicts..."

The letter from "PAX ROMANA" then goes on to compare the future ideal of an "organic community of the peoples" and the present situation.

"It seems to us that the present situation of the world is precisely such that a war setting the two existing political blocs fighting would have terrifying consequences, surpassing in horrors all the evil it might pretend to cure. This is why we affirm that a declaration of war, from whichever bloc it may come, would be today a crime against humanity. This is why we stigmatise all political action (aggression, fomentation of trouble and civil wars, refusal of negotiations, etc.) which tends by itself to aggravate the international situation. This is, finally, why we hail with joy all efforts, from whatever side they may come, which can be a step towards a real and honest understanding, towards a better comprehension among the peoples.

"Where there is a war already raging we deem it the implicit duty of the belligerents to seek to confine the conflict and to do their utmost to reach an amicable settlement as soon as possible...

"In other words, what we want is a just peace, that is to say a peace which safeguards the essential rights of the human being and ethnic minorities. That we are still far from it does not however, justify in our eyes, the resort to war..."

Thirdly, the letter deals with collaboration for Peace in which the reasons are give why "PAX ROMANA" did not sign the Stockholm Appeal.

"...Our activities are not on a political basis. This is why we cannot associate ourselves with your appeal for a pact between the Great Powers. We are speaking here, in fact, as a Movement, leaving each of our members free to decide for himself those political engagements which his conscience dictates..."

Extracts from the reply of the International Union of Students

M. Paolo Pescetti, assistant Secretary of the I. U. S. in his reply to "PAX ROMANA", wrote:

"As we already wrote to you in our previous letter, we are deeply convinced that Catholic students cherish peace and we are aware of the many actions in support of peace in which Catholic students are participating together with their colleagues of other beliefs. You undoubtedly realise that the very co-operation between students from different countries holding different religious and political beliefs is by itself an important contribution to the fostering of mutual understanding among peoples and thereby to the cause of peace. To renounce this co-operation would not only mean to confine oneself to dangercus self righteousness but in fact to work against the very principles of the necessity of peaceful co-existence and co-operation between different social systems..."

Dealing point by point with the letter from "PAX ROMANA", the assistant General Secretary of the I. U. S. writes:

"...On the basis of the principles raised in your letter on the co-existence of different economic and social systems, and of the settlement of international differences by negotiation, we believe it is possible for our organisations to co-operate on certain specific principles and actions..."

"It was not suggested that "PAX ROMANA" sign a particular document but simply that the Association of Catholic Students support the idea of such a meeting and the conclusion of a pact of peace..."

"The condemnation of bacterial and atomic warfare, in accordance with the resolution of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches in Toronto, in July, 1950.

"Because of its support for negotiations, 'PAX ROMANA' could give its support to the efforts to stop the wars in Korea and Viet Nam by negotiation.

"...This exchange of views", the letter concludes, "has strengthened our conviction that a meeting between the representatives of our two organisations would be useful...

"...We consider that, particulary in the field of activities for peace, differences of programme, nature and structure which exist between different international organisations should not be a reason for ruling out co-operation among them..."

Bacterial Warfare

BAN GERM WEAPONS!
Federation of American scientists

It may be remembered that the June issue of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists published a statement by the Federation of American Scientists which said:

"A new and clearer statement as to the extent and the aims of the American programme of bacterial warfare is absolutely essential to combat the effects of the recent Soviet accusation that the United Nations forces in Korea have employed bacterial warfare. In our opinion, the scanty, available evidence offered to support these accusations certainly do not succeed in proving it. Nevertheless we desire to state that the effects of the Soviet accusations do not entirely depend on their exactitude, and that a denial in this particular case does not entirely answer the accusation. The question raised in the minds of the whole world is not so much whether we have used bacterial warfare in Korea, but whether we are ready and disposed to use it in the future..."

The resolution continued:

"... Unfortunately, the memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki has half prepared them to believe that we are ready for it. Therefore it is not enough to answer the Soviet accusation with a denial and by claiming that the evidence offered in Korea is not conclusive. We must answer the accusations in substance as well as in fact. A statement coming from the highest level — including the President, the Minister of National Defence and the Secretary of State, as well as the Committee of Chiefs of Staff — is obviously necessary. This statement must explicitly specify the intentions of the USA with regard to bacterial warfare. The policy expounded must be based on a complete evaluation by the civil authorities of the political and military consequences. We insist that this statement clearly specify that the Government of the United States is ready and desirous to conclude with other Governments an agreement officially repudiating any use of bacterial warfare."

(re-translatend from the French)

*

The publication of the Report of the International Scientific Investigating Commission has helped to throw light on the facts of bacterial warfare.

The scientists who comprised this Commission have made known, in their respective countries the conclusions to which they arrived. In our last number we published a report of the Press Conference given by Professor Needham in London. Today we give news from Italy.

University of Bologna for Science and Peace

An outstanding proof of the devotion to duty of men of science in matters concerning truth and Peace has been shown recently by the Italian University of Bologna, which is the oldest university in the world.

It is the courageous witness of the eminent Italian scientist Professor OLIVO that has given rise to this demonstration.

Professor Oliviero Mario OLIVO, anatomy professor in the Faculty of Medicine at Bologna University, recently awarded the Italian Science Prize by the Lincei Academy, took part in the International Commission of Scientists in Korea for the investigation into bacterial warfare. On his return he held a public conference in a hall in Bologna before a qualified audience to whom he recounted the results of his investigation.

As a result of his exposure of the facts which was made in a scientific and humane manner, he was made the target of violent attacks in a Bologna daily newspaper.

A broad delegation of professors and students representing a variety of political views, recognising the scientific worthiness, the integrity and the moral standing of the eminent scientist, went to the President of the Faculty of Medicine to protest against the wanton attacks to which Professor Olivo had been subjected. Jealous of the honour of science and of the University of Bologna, the President of the Faculty and his colleagues of the Atheneum decided to issue an official invitation to Professor Olivo to make a report to the University itself for the doctors and the scientists of Bologna.

The members of the Academic Board and the most distinguished figures in Italian science took part. Among those present were Professor Chastoni, president of the Faculty of Pharmacy; Professor Bronsi of the Faculty of Medicine; Professor Tinozzi, director of the anti-tuberculosis dispensary; Professor Rosa, professor of Bacteriology; Professor Businco, lecturer in Pathological Anatomy; Professor Dina, professor of Anatomy; Professor Vecchi, professor of Zoology; Professor Arnaud; Professor Favilli, lecturer in General Pathology; Professor Scrocco, professor of Chemistry and Physics; Professor Poppi, professor of Medical Pathology; Professor Supino, of the Faculty of the Polytechnic; Professor Brunello of the Faculty of Philosophy; Professor Toni, lecturer in Histology; the school of Professor Valli, represented by assistant professors Galli, Brini, De Sabata, Rimondi, Vernonesi; Professor Manarini, president of the Faculty of Science in Bari; Professor Fortunati, lecturer in Statistics; Montaldo of the Faculty of Medicine; Doctor Balboni; Professor Rondinini of the Institute of Histology; Professor Aloisi of Modena University; Professor Bottiglioni of the Institute of Physiotherapy; Professor Longhena of the Institute of Clinical Ophthalmology, and many other eminent people in the cultural circles of Emilia.

This distinguished audience warmly applauded Professor Olivo at the close of the conference and on behalf of Italian Science condemned the abuse of freedom, human dignity and Science.

CONGRESS NEWS BRIEFS

UNITED STATES
American Peace Crusade

In one hour in Manhattan: 411 out of 414 persons say "YES" to immediate ceasefire in Korea

Thousands of workers in the clothing and furrier district in the centre of Manhattan heard the appeal asking them to vote for an immediate cease-fire in Korea.

From midday until 1. p. m., out of 414 persons questioned, 411 answered "yes" and three "no". 5,000 leaflets were distributed. Loud-speakers on lorries talked about peace to the workers going for lunch.

During the lunch hour, 702 voting bulletins with the word "yes" were collected.

INDIA
An Indian Physicist Protests Against Atomic Weapons

An eminent Indian Physicist, Professor M. M. SAHA, Director of the Institute of Nuclear Physics in Calcutta, has stated that scientists of repute should refuse to obey the "diabolical orders" of leading authorities. The Professor believes that a new method of exploding the atom bomb has just been used. If such a weapon has been developed, he said, it is terrible.

He also expressed the opinion that with a weapon of this sort atomic warfare could be carried from distant bases by pressing a button and in this case nothing could save large towns from complete destruction.

SPAIN
462,343 signatures for a Peace Pact

Spanish Peace workers living abroad, particulary those in the American Continent and Western Europe, have collected 462,343 signatures for the Appeal of the World Council of Peace for the conclusion of a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers.

IRAN
"Peace Fortnight"

In Iran a "Peace Fortnight" is being organised between October 20th and December 5th.

During these two weeks it is proposed to intensify by every possible means the great campaign in support of the Congress of the Peoples in Vienna.

ITALY
A message to journalists throughout the world

"At the Fourth National Congress of the Italian Press in Merano, the representatives of 8,072 journalists who constitute the great united family of Italian journalism, send a warm and fraternal message to journalists in every country in the world, convinced that today as in the future, they will be the guides of public opinion showing humanity the way to closer understanding among the peoples, for agreement, peaceful co-existence and peace among the men who people the earth."

The Peace Ribbon of the Women of Genoa

The delegates from Genoa will arrive in Vienna with thousands of coloured flags.

The Italian delegates will be very proud to present these symbols to the men and women who have come from all parts of the world to help in the task of building a lasting Peace. These brightly coloured flags will represent the support of thousands of Genoese families, for the women folk are collecting ribbons from house to house.

The housewife, the woman factory worker, the teacher or shop-assistant, while helping to make these flags by giving pieces of ribbon and sewing them together, know that they are also giving their support to the Congress of the Peoples.

At the Levant Fair in Bari

At the Levant Fair in Bari the local Peace Committee held discussions with the various trade representatives present on the possibilities of developing international commercial exchanges.

Dr. Hassam Sciffedin wished the Fair every success and expressed his hope that international tension be reduced by a meeting of the Four Great Powers. This would also be in the interests of the small states.

The Lebanase delegation stated that it was in full agreement with the proposal that an annual meeting of the exhibitors at the Levant Fair be held for a "frank and peaceful discussion" of the best ways of safeguarding peace and developing international trade relations.

NICARAGUA
A Peace Workers' Committee is set up in Nicaragua

In Guatemala, Central America, a Nicaraguan Peace Workers Committee has been set up. It has its headquarters in Guatemala and affiliated groups all over America wherever Nicaraguans are living.

This Committee condemns the intervention by one nation in the internal affairs of another. It will be a free association of individuals of all beliefs and opinions, the sole condition of membership being that they wish to work for the maintenance of Peace.

CEYLON
Statement of Buddhist Monk

"All men of religion must serve the cause of Peace,' says the Reverend U. SARANANKARA, Buddhist monk from Ceylon.

In a letter to the World Council of Peace a Buddhist monk from Ceylon, the Reverend U. Saranankara expressed his profound wish to make his contribution to

the maintenance of Peace.

"I consider that as a Buddhist monk it is my duty to work for World Peace. I believe that the danger of war is so serious for the whole world that all men of religion must serve the cause of Peace", he wrote.

In conclusion he said: "We can save the world from another world war. We who work for Peace must have a single determination. In the name of my country and in my own name I assure you that we shall do our very best to contribute to the success of the Vienna Congress."

COLOMBIA
The Colombian delegation to the Peking Conference

Dr. Diego Montana-Cuellar, ex-member of Paliament of Colombia, former Mayor of Bogota, former member of the national leadership of the Liberal Party, lawyer, Professor of Constitutional Law at the Free University of Bogota.

Jorge Zalamea Borda, former member of the national leadership of the Liberal Party, former Colombian Ambassador to Italy and Mexico, writer and well known scholar, greatly respected in American literary circles.

Jorge Bayona, trade union leader.

Alipio Jaramillo, artist, winner of various national exhibitions and one of the most eminent national painters.

Ventura Puentes Vanegas, trade union leader, former member of the Executive Committee of the Federation of Colombian Workers.

Victor M. Bautista, peasant leader.

José Domingo Velez, lawyer.

Nicolàs Buenaventura, engineer, businessman.

Rosalia Cruz de Buenaventura, former Director of the Conservatoire of Music of Cali, pianist.

Elias Botera Isaza, industrialist from Bucaramanga.

Mathilde Espinosa de Perez, writer.

Luis Vidales, writer and poet.

Manuel Zapata Olivera, doctor, coloured writer, exponent of folklore.

Humberto Grandos, biologist, scientist.

Jorge Gaitan Duran, young poet, art critic, contributor to several important American publications.

Guillermo Hurtado, law student.

ARGENTINA
Musicians for Peace

In the Argentine a group of Musicians for Peace has just been set up. Composers who are members of this organisation are studying ways of arranging an album of Peace songs and compositions with a view to sending them to the Congress of the peoples as a tribute from peace-loving musicians of the Argentine.

CANADA
Poster Competition

In Toronto, Canada, a competition of posters on the subject of Peace has been launched.

Many artists are preparing their entries. The poster which wins first prize will be shown at the Congress of the Peoples in Vienna.

An exhibition of all the posters entered in the competition will be opened in the middle of November. The Canadian artists hope to receive from all parts of the world posters which have been produced for the Congress of the Peoples.

GREECE

In the three villages of Vassilopoulo, Machaira, and Karaiskaki in the district of Xeromeros (Aitoloacarnanie), 150 inhabitants signed the following message which was published in the Athens newspaper "Avigi" on October 12th:

"We, the inhabitants of the villages of Vassilopoulo, Machaira and Karaiskaki in the district of Xeromeros, who have seen with our own eyes the horrors and devastation of war in our own country, raising our eyes above the blood which has been shed and the wooden crosses, above the ruins of our devastated houses see a star arise and the sound of the beating of the wings of a dove, bright and joyful, reaches our ears. It is Peace...

"...We send heartfelt greetings to the World Council of Peace which has convoked the Congress of the Peoples for Peace in Vienna and we issue a strong appeal to all and particularly to the Five Great Powers so that they may find peaceful means of solving their differences by negotiation, so that the use of atomic weapons may be prohibited, so that an end may be put to the dangerous progress down the slippery slope of re-armament..."

Things can't go on like this!

Things can't go on like this!

Leaning on his stick, he is thinking of the difficulties besetting him, of the fact that he is unable to sell his produce. Feeding stuffs are too dear. Taxes are too heavy.

These are the hard consequences of the preparations for a new conflict. This French peasant understands; he also knows the price of the blood spilt in the last two world wars and now in Korea, in Viet Nam...

And yet, men are cold - bloodedly thinking of starting a new slaughter. No! Things can't go on like this!

*

An elderly woman with her elbow resting on her knee, looks far away at the horizon.

Near her, the open face of a child, probably her grand-child, also in a pensive mood.

Yesterday, bombs killed the mother of this child; his father did not return from the camp where he had been deported.

No, it is not possible that it be his turn tomorrow.

We must stop the killing, we must prevent the arms drive.

We must ease the anguish of mothers. We must put an end to it!

*

These themes are illustrated in two posters published by the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace which will soon be attracting the attention of the man in the street who wants an end to this situation.

Colonies are the chief cause of war today, as they have been since the Industrial Revolution in the 18th century. This fact is deliberately obscured. Yet we are fighting today in Korea as part of the determination of the Western world to dominate the markets of China and the East and the unrest in Africa has the same cause. This domination may fall short of complete colonial ownership; it may function along with some local autonomy. But in the end the work and wage; the production and distribution of wealth, will be under the direction and for the advantage of the investing nations; and as a result, life, thought, literature and art will not be normal nor native.

30-9-65

To stop colonialism and partial colonialism, we must have peace. To have real peace we must abolish the colonial system and all approach to it. Therefore a world peace congress, like that proposed for Vienna next winter, is absolutely necessary. In such a congress all opinions should be represented: colonial powers and colonial peoples; capitalists and communists; socialists and liberals; and religions of every sort. All that is insisted on is good-will and the courage to face the truth.

BB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

October 29, 1952

[World Peace Congress]

GREETINGS

Paul Robeson, people's artist, and Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, president of the Pan-African Congress, to the peoples of Africa:

Peace and the stopping of war is theonly way to insure the uplift of human beings, the abolition of colonialism, and the doing away with poverty, disease and ignorance.

There is to be held in Vienna, Austria, December 12, 1952, a world peace congress attended by representatives of all the peoples on earth.

We ask that the peoples of Africa be represented; that the kings, chieftains, the elders, counsellors, andlegislators; the trade unions, churches and the schools, unite to send representatives to that meeting.

Especially do we invite representatives of His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Ethiopia; His Excellency, the President of Liberia; the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast; the Governments of Nigeria and Sierra Leone; the leaders of the Umma and Ashigga parties of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; His Highness, the Kabaka of Buganda; the African National Congresses of Tanganyika, Nyassaland, and the Union of South Africa; the Youth Movement of Somaliland; and the National Union of French Africa.

We want such envoys to let the world know of conditions in Africa and the needs of the people; and to join their voices with other peoples of the world for peace and the total abolition of war.

Such contact between Africa, Europe and America is of the highest importance today. Your friends want to meet you and know you. Join us and let us counsel together.

To this end we send our cordial and fraternal greetings.

46-9-125

October 29, 1952

M. Jean Laffitte, Secretary
World Peace Council
Palais S.I.A.
Janska 100
Prague, Czechoslovakia

My dear M. Laffitte:

I have received your circular letter of October 21 and the general statement of the president, M. Joliot-Curie.

We are doing what we can in the United States to see that a delegation attends the Vienna Peace Conference. In the case of those of us who have been prominent in the peace movement, it will probably be impossible for us to obtain visas and therefore there is small hope of my getting there.

On the other hand, we have been able to gather some new support, and it is possible that there may be a sizable delegation, at least I hope so.

With deep personal regards,

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-38-8

COPY

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois of New York, writer and President of the Pan-African Congress, to the peoples of Africa, Greeting!

There will be held in the city of Vienna, Austria, beginning December 12, 1952, a World Peace Congress, at which all nations of earth will be represented. Here we will take counsel and make plans to bring peace on earth. We know that war and violence has cursed mankind for milleniums and that instead of decreasing with growth of civilisation, it has in this century reached a degree of destruction and horror which threatens the very existence of mankind. If there is hope for the peoples of earth, faith in their religious belief, and truth for the advance of science, war must cease.

In this meeting of the nations, I am especially anxious that Africa be represented. I, myself, am of African descent. Five generations ago my forefathers were transported from West Africa by force to toil on the plantations of America. Here we have lived for three centuries, mingling our blood with that of Europe and Asia, becoming citizens, soldiers and contributors to the culture of the United States, but always loyal to the great motherland of Africa and seeking to serve its best interests. In 1919, I founded the Pan-African Congresses, designed to bring together for conference and advice Africans and descendents of Africans scattered over the earth. At the last Pan-African Congress, held in England in 1945, I was elected president. As such, I now appeal to Africa to make every effort to be represented at Vienna, to let the world know of your condition and needs and to carry home some knowledge of Europe, Asia and America.

30-9-62

I am addressing my call to the native rulers of the various African nations: to His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Ethiopia; His Majesty the Emperor of Morrocco; to His Highness the Kabaka of Buganda and other rulers of Uganda; to His Excellency, the President of Liberia; the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, British West Africa; to the members of Legislatures and Councils; the kings and chiefs of east, west and south Africa and the Protectorates; to the Union of French Africa and the leaders of Portugese, Italian and Spanish Africa. We want especially representation of the various African National Congresses in the Union of South Africa, Nyassaland and Tanganyika; the native organizations of Madagascar and Kenya; the Youth Movement of Somaliland; and the political parties of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

We want these representatives to come from the native people themselves. We want the trade unions to send envoys; cities, villages and local organizations; the black peasants of Egypt and Lybia. We know what colonial imperialism has done to Africa, and how necessary it is that Africa regain its freedom and autonomy, by means of peace and reason and in conference and understanding with the peoples of the world; and in personal knowledge of each other to increase and consolidate the unity of black folk everywhere.

We want such envoys to let the world know of conditions in Africa and the needs of the people; and to join their voices with other peoples of the world for peace and the total abolition of war. Such contact between Africa, Europe and America is of the highest importance today. Your friends want to meet you and know you. Join us and let us counsel together. Write to the World Peace Congress, Vienna, now.

To this end I send cordial and fraternal greetings, in the name of fifteen millions of black Americans resident in the United States, and ten more millions in the other Americas, on this first day of November, 1952, from New

Du Bois Nov. 3, 1952

STATEMENT

A SYMPOSIUM FROM THE UNITED STATES

We are the persons of Peace. We appeal to the world for freedom in order that we may testify for Peace, not simply among ourselves but among our neighbors.

We want Peace and Freedom. But the poor are not free, the ignorant are not free, and the sick are slaves. Freedom begins with a decent wage, the beginning of knowledge, and sound health.

Peace precedes ..... No force but study, sympathy and understanding to seek many paths to Truth.

36-9-63

November 13, 1952

M. Jean Laffitte, Secretary
World Peace Council
Palais S.I.A.
Janska 100
Prague, Czechoslovakia

My dear M. Laffitte:

As the situation develops in the United States I am sure that I will not be able to get a passport to attend the Vienna Peace Congress, and this will be true of most Americans who have been at all active in the Peace movement.

I therefore suggest that some of us make recordings to be read at some session of the Congress. It is possible that this might be accompanied by photographs or moving pictures, but I am not sure about that.

At any rate, I wish here to offer to make a recording of a speech of such length as you suggest, to be produced at one session of the Vienna Congress.

If you will let me know whether or not this is desirable I shall see that the recording is in your hands at such time as you direct.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

copy to Mann
Nov 17

25-32-29

32-18-105

No 4 – NOVEMBER 22nd, 1952 – PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The Conference for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem

has asked its delegates to place before the Congress of the Peoples the resolutions adopted on November 10th in Berlin

The Conference for the Peaceful Solution for the German Problem held its proceedings from November 8th to 10th in Berlin. At this Conference 200 people from 13 countries of Europe were present, including:

West Germany: Frau Maria-Klara Fassbinder, Professor at Bonn University; Herr Wilhelm Elfes, former Burgomaster of München-Gladbach; Pastor Martin Niemöller, president of the Evangelical Church of Hesse; Dr. Josef Wirth, former Chancellor of the Weimar Republic.

West Berlin: Frau Achelis-Bezzel.

German Democratic Republic: Herr Johannes Dieckmann, President of the Peoples Chamber; Herr Franz Dahlem, member of the Peoples Chamber; Herr Stephan Hermlin, writer, national prize winner.

Austria. Dr. Johannes Ude, Profesor of Theology at the university of Graz.

Belgium. Mme Isabelle Blume, Member of Parliament; Pastor Abel Mascaux.

France. M. Jean Baboulene, assistant-director of "Christian Witness"; M. Henri Bouret, M. R. P. Member of Parliament from Côte du Nord; M. Michel Bruguier, advocate at the Court of Appeal, Paris; M. Jean-Marie Domenach, editor of the review "Esprit", M. Yves Farge, former Minister; M. Gaston Menmouseau, secretary of the C. G. T. (French T. U. C.); M. Paul Ricoeur, Assistant professor at the Arts Faculty, Strasbourg; Pastor Troome; M. Villon, Communist Member of Parliament.

Great Britain. Mr. John Elton, Secretary of the British Initiating Committee; Mr. Stuart Morris, Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union.

Italy. Sig. Giuseppe Nitti, liberal Member of Parliament, president of the Parliamentary Peace Group; Sig. Giuliano Pajetta, Communist Member of Parliament; Sig. Pierracini, Socialist Member of Parliament; Sig. Bruno Segre, director of the newspaper "L'Incontro", Social-Democrat; Sig. Terranova, Christian-Democrat Member of Parliament.

Luxembourg. M. Fonck.

Holland. Mme Minnaert.

Poland. Professor Jan Dembowski, President of the Academy of Sciences; Abbé Eugeniusz Dombrowski, Profesor of Theology at Warsaw University; M. Ostap Dluski, Member of Parliament for Warsaw.

Scandinavian Countries. M. Olaf Forchhammer, engineer (Denmark); Profesor Felix Iversen (Finland).

Switzerland. M. Robert Tuscher, member of the Swiss Parliament of Peace.

Czechoslovakia. Mme Gusta Fučíková; Professor Hromádka, Dean of the Comenius Faculty of Theology, Prague.

*

In response to an invitation from the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace, the Conference for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem nominated a number of people to place the resolutions adopted during its sessions before the Congress of the Peoples.

Two texts were published. The first is an important statement by the delegation from the whole of Germany, united for the first time since the war, calling for:

— the unification of Germany,
— the right to a Peace Treaty,
— an all-German Government resulting from free elections prepared by a Commission with representatives from West and East Germany.
— the withdrawal of occupation forces from the whole of Germany,
— the non-ratification of the Bonn and Paris agreements.
— the undertaking that a united Germany would not take part in any coalition or any alliance which could be directed against any other nation.

We give below the full text of the resolution voted unanimously by the Conference with three abstentions.

Austrian Committee of Honour Greets Congress of Peoples

The Austrian Committee of Honour has announced that it consists of 312 members — doctors, engineers, teachers, scientists, artists, businessmen, sportsmen, shop stewards, trade unionists and agriculturalists, people from political and cultural life, including:

Frau Therese Fried, widow of Alfred H. Fried, Nobel Prize Winner, Dr. Edouard Liszt, Professor, Government adviser; Dr. Karl Bibulowios, University Professor and Professor Otto Schulhof. The following appeal has been announced:

"In December 1952, Vienna will be the meeting place of thousands of men and women from all corners of the earth. Scientists and writers, doctors and ministers of religion, active trade unionists and industrialists, politicians and businessmen will come together in a Congress of the Peoples in order to discuss freely the question which is uppermost in the minds of all of us: the maintenance of peace and the possibility of reaching an understanding on an international basis.

"By its geographic situation, its traditions and the character of its people, our country is called upon to promote a spirit of understanding and to bridge East and West, North and South. We are happy to welcome to our country the representatives of so many peoples, religious communities, ideological conceptions and social systems. Their meeting in Vienna can vitally contribute to overcoming, by reason and tolerance, the distrust and fear which is poisoning relations between States and men at the present time.

"May the Congress of the Peoples in Vienna hasten the advent of a stable Peace for humanity and a life in freedom and dignity for the Austrian people."

32-18-106

International Conference for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem

RESOLUTION

The International Conference for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem which met in Berlin from November 8th to 10th, set itself the task of examining if a solution of the German Problem was practicable and if, with common good will, people having widely-differing conceptions, could come to an understanding on the ways and means of achieving these peaceful solutions in principle.

The Conference has brought together men and women from Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, Italy, Luxemburg, Norway, the Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland und Czechoslovakia, as well as people from all parts of Germany and from its capital, Berlin. Representatives from the field of science, from working people, industrialists, peasants, craftsmen — Christians and Marxists, Liberals and Conservatives, Democrats and people of no political affiliation — agreed at this Conference that it was possible to find a peaceful solution to the German Problem and at the same time assure the security of Europe.

— I —

The Conference has carefully considered the treaties of Bonn and Paris. As a result of its considerations the Conference concludes that these treaties mean the political and military integration of the German Federal Republic into the camp of the Western Powers.

These treaties will inevitably lead to a further strengthening of the arms race, to a widening of the partition of Germany, to increasing the danger of civil war between Germans, to a worsening of the international tension. We are convinced that the ratification of these treaties would make a peaceful solution of the German Problem extremely difficult if not absolutely impossible. The division of Germany is having serious economic consequences for Germany itself and for other countries, and the dangers of war are increased because of it. Furthermore we are convinced that the ratification of these treaties would delay and even stop the peoples from coming to an understanding and from co-operating with each other. We regard it as the task of a sensible policy, which heeds the interests of the nations, to avoid these great dangers in order not to imperil Peace even more. Neither must forces and persons who have already played a fateful role for Germany and the world, be allowed to regain power. For this reason the treaties must not be ratified, but must be rejected once and for all, and they must be denounced wherever they are ratified

— II —

All our efforts must be devoted towards finding ways to guarantee a peaceful solution of the German Problem. After the war, the Four Powers at Potsdam assumed the responsibility of guaranteeing the peaceful development of a democratic and united Germany which could make an important contribution to general disarmament. In addition, the Charter of the United Nations specifically entrusts this common responsibility to the Four Powers. For this reason the efforts to obtain a Four Power Conference must be pursued with great earnestness, in order to achieve a Peace Treaty which will restore unity and sovereign independence to the German people, and which will simultaneously provide a guarantee of security for the neighbour states of Germany.

— III —

Four Power negotiations on the speedy conclusion of a Peace Treaty with Germany is the only possible way to overcome the tension between East and West, in the most dangerous point in Europe. It is our agreed opinion that the Four Powers must above all fulfil the urgent request of the German people and of the neighbouring nations that Germany should not again participate in coalitions and military alliances, and that after the conclusion of the peace treaty, no foreign Power should maintain military bases on German territory. After the ratification of the peace treaty all occupation forces must be withdrawn from Germany as quickly as possible. Finally, the development of a democratic Germany must be protected by the prohibition of any militarist propaganda or neo-Hitlerite activity.

— IV —

The German people have the right to take part in the negotiations on the Peace Treaty which is to be concluded with them.

We welcome the fact that steps have already been taken to bring about negotiations between Germans, between the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic, in order to achieve more rapidly this inalienable right of the people.

It is urgently to be desired that the internal negotiations between Germans should make such progress that an authorised mixed or all-German commission should take part in the preparation of a Peace Treaty.

In addition, it is essential that the Four Powers and the Germans themselves should make the earliest possible preparations for general, free and secret elections in Germany with the aim of establishing an all-German Government which would be empowered to conclude the Peace Treaty.

In this Conference, the delegates from West Germany and the delegates from East Germany have drawn up a joint Declaration of great practical and political significance. Conference welcomes this event as proof of the possibility of re-uniting Germany for peaceful purposes.

— V —

Conference has not reached full agreement on other questions, but it believes that the realisation of the proposals made above would produce in a short time a sound and peaceful development of Germany and would guarantee the security of her neighbours.

— VI —

We are pledged to act with all our forces in our countries, among our peoples, our Governments and our respective Parliaments, in order to prevent, by means of the proposals put forward here, the threat of a new world war, that the people of Europe may be freed from the anguish of war and to promote the peaceful solution of the German Problem.

Berlin, November 10th, 1952.

Preparations for the Congress of the Peoples in France

"Harsh realities which good Frenchmen have chosen to ignore or to deny, have suddenly been imposed on all of us." Thus writes M. Beuve-Méry, Director of "Le Monde" under the pseudonym of Sirius.

"We must be permitted today to take a stand against the immediate re-armament of Germany — bitter fruit of the Atlantic Pact — since the President of the National Assembly solemnly asserts, after consulting the President of the Council, that he can neither 'envisage nor admit' the draft European army treaty. We must be permitted to turn the spotlight on the catastrophic aspects of the war in Indochina, since the President of the Republic proclaims to the world that it has cost us — taking only the money aspect into consideration — 'almost double' the gift of the Americans..."

This article is a pointer to the state of mind of the vast majority of French people.

"The time has come to worry" — it is also the time when the supporters of Peace go untiringly from door to door from house to house, from street to street, and from village to village, telling the men and women of France that a Congress of the Peoples for Peace will open in Vienna on December 12th.

The Congress of the People of Paris

On November 22nd. and 23rd, the Congress of the Peoples of Paris for Peace will be held. At small meetings, 8,000 delegates have already been elected. Some of the most outstanding French artists have appealed for participation in the Congress which is expected to have far-reaching results.

Small discussion meetings

What is happening in Paris is happening also in the departments of France where the supporters of Peace are bent on increasing the number of small meetings.

A supporter of the Peace movement in Brignon in the Gard, attended a meeting. The meeting was publicised very simply. The hall was empty. The supporter then visited the mayor, the general councillor and a few other persons who agreed to come to the meeting. The debate was opened, a Peace committee formed.

After each meeting that is held in Gironde, a letter is composed summing up the debate. It is then sent to each Deputy for the department, signed by all the participants at the meeting and presented to the guests who were unable to attend the gathering.

At the end of a meeting in Bordeaux a businessman undertook to have a similar meeting in his house with 25 other businessmen who were ignorant of the Peace Movement.

As a result the 25 businessmen, after having a broad discussion, sent a letter to the Deputies asking them to oppose the ratification of the Bonn agreements. In addition they proposed a further debate on the problem of Peace.

The Railwaymen of Angouleme

Railwaymen of Angoulême had set up a Peace Committee some time ago, but it was never very active. When the Appeal for the Congress of the Peoples was made known, the Committee contacted personalities and leading members in the S. N. C. F. (National Society of Railways). A discussion was held and an appeal was issued to all railwaymen urging them to debate the problems of Peace, to nominate delegates from each department to the departmental conference and to distribute the card in support of the Congress.

This met with complete success. Of the 30 signatories of the Appeal, four belong to the independent trade union, including an assistant chief of the main station, three others are assistant heads of stations and another is assistant head of a first class depot. Others who signed were: the Secretary of the independent trade union, the Secretary of the Christian trade union, the Secretary of the Force Ouvrière (Workers' Force) and the local secretary of the Federation of Ex-Service Railwaymen.

Deputation to the Mayors in Dordogne

The Dordogne Peace Council has started organising systematic deputations to the mayor.

Carsac-de-Carlux has given an example of what results can be achieved from such activity. Dr. de Guiral, the mayor is a Radical. When the card supporting the Congress was presented to him he put his doctor's stamp on it and said: "I am wholeheartedly with you for Peace". When the Peace supporters asked him what he could do to help them, Dr. de Guiral proposed to bring it up at the Municipal Council. In addition, the Peace Council and the mayor together called a general meeting open to everyone in order to prepare the Congress.

*

This is how preparations for the Congress of the Peoples are going on in France. The character of the National Peasant Conference for Peace bringing together personalities representing the peasant and farming world of 52 departments has been such as to bring the problems of Peace considerably closer to these circles and on November 9th, departmental conferences were held in 11 departments during which delegates were elected for Vienna.

Preparations for the Congress of the Peoples in Czechoslovakia

On September 15th, 1952, the XIIth Plenary Session of the Committee of the Defenders of Peace took place in Prague. This marked a stage in the present campaign to popularise the Congress of the Peoples, announced at the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace in Berlin, and outlined the plan of preparation for the Congress. First of all, big demonstrations were organised and public protest meetings against the general treaty and rearmament of West Germany. These demonstrations and meetings were held in all departments, boroughs and parishes of Czechoslovakia, or in factories, etc, wherever thousands of inhabitants meet. 35,000 people attended a demonstration in Gottwaldov which was adressed by the chairman of the National Peace Committee, Mrs A. Hodinova-Spurna. In the middle of October and the beginning of November throughout Czechoslovakia, assemblies for Peace were held which were attended by members of departmental committees, representatives of parish committees, democratic political parties, factory representatives and important people in the field of politics, economics and culture.

At these assemblies delegates from each department of Czechoslovakia were elected. Czechoslovak mothers are also taking part in the preparation of the Congress of the Peoples. An outstanding feature of their activity was the General Assembly of Czechoslovak Women which was held on October 26th in Prague and which was attended by a delegation of German mothers from East and West Germany. This assembly decided to send a message to the women of Germany and the United States calling on them to take an active part in the struggle for Peace and in the preparations for the Congress of the Peoples in Vienna. The XIIth Plenary Session of the Committee of the Defenders of Peace on November 15th was of great importance in the preparations for the Congress of the Peoples because it was on the basis of the plans from the different departments that the choice of delegates for the Vienna Congress was made.

The Congress of the Peoples for Peace is of great interest to all the inhabitants of the Czechoslovak Republic. Their desire to safeguard Peace and also to work to this end is very great. This is shown in the hundreds of letters sent from factories, schools and villages to the delegates who will go to Vienna, The workers in the towns and in the country pledge themselves to fulfil their tasks, whether it be in industry or in agriculture. This is the gift of the Czechoslovak workers to the Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

The International League of Women for Peace and Freedom has just written to Professor Frédéric Joliot-Curie to inform him that it will be represented at the Congress of the Peoples by observers.

Congress Sponsoring Committees in Germany...

Preparations for the Congress of the Peoples are being carried on in the whole of Germany led, in West Germany, by the "Commitee for the Preparation of the Congress of the Peoples" and, in the German Democratic Republic, by the "German Initiating Committee".

Among the people who have joined these committees are, in West Germany, Herr Erwin Eckert, former Evangelical Pastor, Deputy in the Parliament of Wurtemberg; Herr Wilhelm Elfes, former burgomaster of Munchen-Gladbach; Baroness Katherina V. Kardoff-Oheimb of Dusseldorf; Frau Irma Loos, writer of Munich; Abbot Johannes Oberhof of Bremen; Dr. Joseph Wirth, former chancellor in the Weimar Republic.

For the German Democratic Republic, Professor Walter Friedrich, president of the Academy of Sciences; Herr Franz Dahlem, Member of the Peoples Chamber; Dr. Lothar Bolz, Vice Prime Minister, president of the German National Democratic Party (NDPD); Herr Erich Correns, National Prize Winner; Dr. Karl Hamann, president of the Democratic Liberal Party; Heinz Lippmann of the Central Council of German Youth; Frau Rosa Thalmann and Frau Elli Schmidt, president of the Union of German Democratic Women.

On November 28th the German Peace Congress will open in Berlin attended by 5,000 delegates and observers from West Germany and the German Democratic Republic.

IN DENMARK...

A sponsoring committee has been set up in Denmark which includes Otto Krabbe, chairman of an influential organisation fighting for slum clearance in Copenhagen and also of a Christian-student association; Andrea Hedegaard, chairman of the co-operating committee set up after the Fyn Peace Conference; Pastor Uffe Hansen, member of the Danish Pacifist Council; Grethe Forchammer, President of a liberal organisation of students and member (former President) of the Danish Women's National Council; Elin Appel, former Peasant Party Deputy and Mogens Fog professor of neurology at Copenhagen University and senior surgeon in the Copenhagen Military Hospital.

IN NORWAY...

A sponsoring committee for the Congress of the Peoples for Peace has been set up in Norway consisting of some 30 well-known figures including Pastor Ragnar Forbeck of Oslo Cathedral; Hans Jacob Nielsen, manager of the People's Theatre, the most modern in Oslo; Axel F. Mathieson from Aalesund, the "radio doctor" and three professors at Oslo University, Ingerid Dal, professor of German philology; Johan Vogt, docent (assistant-professor) in social-economy and Kaarl Stroem, professor of limnology.

An Appeal From the Liaison Committee of the Asian-Pacific Peace Conference

The Liaison Committee of the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions has cabled the following appeal to the Peace Committees of these Regions:

"The Congress of the Peoples for Peace, which is of tremendous significance, is to meet in Vienna on December 12th. All the delegates of the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions at its Session on October 12th, unanimously passed a resolution in support of the convocation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace. We are confident that the call for this Congress with its free and democratic discussions, will contribute a great deal towards the devising of measures for a peaceful and just settlement of the tense international situation with the alleviation of which the world's peoples are most concerned.

"Now, as the date for the opening of the Vienna Peace Congress approaches, we earnestly hope that to greet it, people of all walks of life, the Peace Committees and all political, social and religious bodies in the various countries in Asia and Australasia and along the Pacific Coast, will take unanimous action to intensify their preparations."

An Appeal to French Canadians

A poet, Louis Paul Hamel; a lawyer, Georges Larouche; a writer, Jean Jules Richard and a sculptor, Robert Roussil are the signatories of an appeal to French Canadians to support the Peoples' Congress.

"Dear Compatriots" (runs the appeal),

"Our country is pacifist by instinct and it has always disapproved of slaughter. Asia burns while Europe suffers the pangs of hunger. As a people, we must combine our efforts with those of other peoples in order to avert the danger of war and the destruction of cities and to stop the annihilation of humanity.

"A great Congress of the Peoples will be held in Vienna on December 12th. A strongly-representative French Canadian representation must be sent there if we are to remain true to our traditions..."

Delegations from Latin America

The peoples of Latin America who are very keen that their voice be heard and their hopes expressed from the tribune of the Vienna Congress have begun to elect their delegates.

Cuba announces that it is sending 33 delegates, Chile 30 and Argentina 20. Representatives of the people will come from Brazil, members of Parliament, trade union leaders, writers and artists. In the Colombian delegation of fifteen people there will be the writer and former diplomat Jorge Zalamea Borda, Nicolas Buenaventura, engineer, Ventura Puentes Vanegas, trade union leader, Dr. Rafael Mendoza Isaza, doctor and well-known leader of the Socialist movement in Colombia. Paraguay will be represented by Jose Asuncion Flores, eminent musician, composer of the "La Guarania" genre and songs which are very popular in South America.

The Bolivian delegates will be led by Hugo Mancilla, Dean of the Engineering Faculty of San Marcos de la Paz University. Venezuelans are also coming to Vienna, headed by the venerable General Gabaldon who has just celebrated his 70th birthday.

Mexico, Equador, Guatemala and other Latin American countries are also making preparations so that they may be worthily represented at the great meeting of the peoples which begins on December 12th.

Many distinguished French artistes sign this appeal:

"People of the cinema, theatre, lyrical and dramatic music, dancing, singing, radio and television appeal to all their friends:

"All you who like to hear the spirit of France expressed in our plays, our films, our melodies and our songs, all you who want French culture to continue to bring its message to the world.

"All you who want men to get to know each other better and like each other better, who want all children to grow up in a world of Peace, all you who, like us, hate war.

"Our daily lives and our whole future are threatened. Our anxiety increases but also the conviction that the people of the whole world can together prevent war is also increasing.

"Already experience proves that when this will for Peace is expressed, it achieves results. That is why, despite divergences of opinion, those who want Peace must try to find common solutions to the problems of Peace and put them into action.

"To this end, a Congress will take place in Vienna on December 12th, 1952, a Congress open to all movements, to all organisations, to all men who seek to diminish international tension, the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, whose sole aim is to bring together all men of sincere good will.

"All those who, irrespective of their beliefs and their way of life, think that all peoples of the world can live in Peace and that all international problems can be solved by negotiation, can freely express their opinions in Vienna."

Among the first to sign this appeal were Claude Autant-Lara, Bernard Blier, Raymond Bussières, Marcel Carné, Louis Daquin, Danièle Delorme, Jean Grémillon, Jean-Paul Le Chanois, Serge Lifar, Yves Montand, Noel-Noel, Gérard Philipe, Pierre Prévert, Simone Signoret and Madeleine Sologne.

The Italian National Council of World Citizens met in Rome

on November 1st, 2nd and 3rd, 1952

The Council unanimously adopted the following agenda:

"The Italian National Council, of World Citizens, having studied the question of attending the Congress of the Peoples to take place in Vienna on December 12th, has nominated Sig. Bruno Segre to participate there as an official observer."

The participation of this observer will be organised by the Committee set up by Sig. Nitti in Italy.

The Italian National Council of World Citizens decided to send an observer to Vienna.

WITH THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS...

French peasants prepare for the National Peasants' Conference

52 departmental committees, consisting of representatives from peasant life, have been formed prior to the National Peasants' Conference for Peace.

A reporter from the bulletin of the French Peace Movement ("Le Combat pour la Paix") interviewed peasants in several districts of France:

"300 kilograms of slag, 200 kilograms of superphosphate... the wheat won't pay. The fertilisers are too dear, with all these taxes. Ach! agriculture is being badly neglected though there is so much that should be done.

"So speaks the honest farmer who sees his barns dilapidating and the old house which needs repairs and the well which awaits the electric pump to supply the water to the house...

"This is why the peasants of Limousin get home a bit later in the evening; take less time about tending their animals, rush their meals and drink their soup too hot, and get together with their neighbours to give vent to their feelings that the mad expenditure on war and the arms race must be stopped so that more assistance could be given to agriculture.

In the Haute-Vienne, the great discussion among the peasants has begun.

M. Pagnoux, president of C. G. A. (French Agricultural Confederation) told us:

"Haute-Vienne will have one delegate for each parish and we have ordered 3,000 cards and more than 5,000 Vienna Congress Appeal forms."

Let us leave Haute-Vienne and its green valleys. Here we are in the South, in the sunshine of the Mediterranean coast.

In the Var department where the olive trees alternate with the vineyards and the orchards...

A friend awaits us and he begins by saying:

"You can announce that we shall have ten delegates, we shall sell 3,000 cards, and we shall distribute 10,000 appeal forms among the peasant families. On one Sunday, one friend alone won the agreement of 16 distinguished people who in turn launched an appeal to the Var peasants. They included four mayors of country parishes two deputy mayors, two trade union chairmen, a chairman and a manager of a co-operative..."

Now we visit the peasants of the Gard department. Monsieur M.... director of a co-operative tells us:

"We have great difficulties, no grants, the wine-growers have no money, fertilisers are too dear Agriculture can't be saved unless war expenditure is reduced. That is why I support wholeheartedly those who prepare the Peasants' Peace Conference..."

And now the growers of the Drôme region. In the village of Pierrelatte, on market day, the Mayor has put the village council office at our disposal. Seated around the discussion table we talk with M. Seston, parish chairman of the C. G. A. and the growers. Some of the parish councillors are present. They all agree.

"In view of the difficulties which assail agriculture resulting from the heavy war expenditure we consider the holding of a Peasants Peace Conference perfectly justified in order to seek in a broad assembly the means of putting an end to the present wars and the arms race which can only lead to unprecedented disaster.

"That is why we decided to send a delegate from Pierrelatte parish to the National Peasants' Peace Conference.

"We call on all the peasants in the Drôme department to follow our example.

"We cannot wait for Peace, we must win it..."

The peasants of France are making their contribution towards the defence of Peace.

Fifty-two departmental committees composed of people connected with the land have been set up in connection with the National Peasants Peace Conference.

The peasants in Sicily support the Congress of the Peoples

Recently in Marsala in Sicily, 1,000 peasants met. They discussed the bad state of the roads and pathways and the fact that the agrarian reform laid down by law was not being carried out. They also wrote a letter to the provincial Peace Committee in which they said:

"We know that no roads will be laid and no improvements made in country districts while the Government continues to give priority to war expenditure.

"We also know that on December 12th the Congress of the Peoples for Peace will meet in Vienna.

"We want our voices to be heard in Vienna and for that purpose we are electing delegates to the Congress."

The Electrical and Furworkers' Trade Unions of Canada Elect Delegates to the Congress of the Peoples

The Convention of the Canadian Electrical Trade Union which met in Toronto on October 28th decided to take part in the Congress of the Peoples for Peace. Mr. Jean Mare, Vice-president of the union was elected to go to Vienna. The Convention also recommended all local branches of the union to hold conferences on the question of Peace and to elect more delegates for Vienna. The Electrical Trade Union has 25,000 members most of whom work in 70 large factories.

The delegates at the fifth annual Convention of the Leather and Furworkers' Trade Union decided unanimously to ask their Winnipeg, Ontario and Quebec organisations to send one delegate for each district to Vienna.

The Reverend I. G. Perkins of the United Curch of Donlands has also warmly approved the holding of the Congress of the Peoples.

...A MONTH BEFORE THE CONGRESS

"Aye, we've had enough of wars!"

"Aye, we've had enough of wars", said the old man who used to be a boiler-maker in the Royal Naval dockyard at Rosyth, Scotland, during World War I. And as he fingered the "Notebook for Peace" handed him by a woman in the bus, he went on:

"I've suffered terribly through two world wars and I'm 67 now. All that rearmament's putting prices up something terrible. It's a good thing people are doing something about it."

And after reading the Appeal of the British Sponsoring Committee for the Vienna Congress on the inside of the "Notebook", he wrote down his message and gave sixpence as his contribution.

10,000 "Peace Notebooks" are in circulation in Great Britain and are being filled with messages like this one:

"I am the mother of three boys and I would like them to grow up without having to fight or take part in war. I would like them to have a better life than we have had."

Men and women in every walk of life — in Britain as in every other country of the world — are placing their hopes in the Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

Teachers and the Congress

The preparation of the Congress of the Peoples in Vienna has enabled the World Federation of Teachers' Unions (which has a membership of 4,100,000) to develop activity among large numbers of teachers, pupils and parents for Peace.

The Secretariat of the World Federation of Teachers' Unions is asking all affiliated organisations to take an active part in the preparation of the Vienna Congress. It proposes the following steps:

— that organisations affiliated to the World Federation of Teachers' Unions take part in the preparatory conferences which will be held in their countries, and in the organisation of discussions in the teaching body:

— that, in co-operation with the national committees, it will be proposed to include representatives of the teaching body and parents of pupils in the delegations to the Congress of the Peoples in Vienna.

— The Secretariat of the World Federation of Teachers' Unions urges all national affiliated organisations to send to the Vienna Congress of the Peoples, through the Secretariat, resolutions and messages from teachers, pupils and their parents.

The representatives of 23,000 bank employees, meeting in a Congress in Sao Paulo, Brazil, sent their thanks to the World Council of Peace for its work for Peace.

Why the little village of Ghedi in Italy will have a delegate at Vienna

Ghedi is a little village in the province of Brescia — a village like any other in Italy: with a few houses, a church, hills and the surrounding countryside. The children play happily in the Church square while the old people and the unemployed bask in the Autumn sunshine.

But why these worried frowns?

During the war, the Nazis came. They took hundreds of hectares of land from the peasants and installed concrete runways.

It is now intended to enlarge these runways and once more rob the peasants.

That was why October 26th was proclaimed "Day of Peace" and the inhabitants of Ghedi held a meeting with the notables of the village and elected a representative to the Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

The railway workers of Marseilles want to contribute their solutions

After studying the Convocation Appeal for the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, the railway workers belonging to the C. G. T. (French T. U. C.) and Christian trade unions in Marseilles (St. Charles Station) issued to all railway workers in the Bouches du Rhône department the text of a "Statement on Agreement for Peace" which they had drawn up together.

This text which contains a detailed plan for disarmament, a list of measures to be taken to ensure the reduction of international tension and a definition of the conditions necessary for the maintenance of national independence and security, is a draft to be discussed and improved by suggestions which any one wishes to make.

The following is an extract from it:

"The Security of Nations must have as a basis the respect for the right to life and independence of each of them.

"The relations between countries must be conducted in accordance with the principle of equal rights, respect for territorial integrity and political autonomy, the stronger nation never imposing its will on the weaker.

"National independence for all must not admit of any interference whatever on the part of one country in the affairs of another even in economic affairs; economic independence is one of the best means of assuring the rights and just aspirations of the Peoples and of guaranteeing each nation complete independence.

"It is up to all nations — large and small — to work together to hasten the formation of international agreements and organisations for effective economic collaboration between all countries."

A communique of the Confederation of Workers of Latin America (Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay)

"The maintenance of Peace by an all-out struggle against the forces of war and the plans for war which endangers the struggle of the working class and the peoples for their well-being and liberation, is a historical necessity for the trade union movement of South America as it is for the working class movement all over the world."

WHAT THEY THINK OF IT

What can we expect the Congress of the Peoples to achieve?

Conclusion of an editorial by Pierre Cot, Director of the review "In Defence of Peace".

What can we expect of the Congress of the Peoples? Certainly not the stroke of a magic wand. But the proof that among men of different ideas, opinions and backgrounds, conversation is possible and negotiation fruitful; and especially the proof that the arms race and war is not the only way or the best way of solving the difficulties and smoothing over the differences between the two worlds the East and the West.

"Agreement reached even on a single point will make easier understanding on further points and contribute to a lessening of international tension." This sentence taken from the statement of the World Council is charged with meaning.

The Congress of the Peoples will be an example — for the Governments and the diplomats — and a starting-off point. Out of the co-operation achieved during several days and on several points, or "even only on a single point" will be born a desire to co-operate on other subjects and in other circles. I have said: after the Congress of the Peoples the Peace Movement will continue to exist. Yes, but it will take into account the observations which have been made and it will wish to organise anew, perhaps regularly, meetings and contacts necessary in the work for Peace. Our Movement will maintain its own character but it will adapt itself to the needs of the co-operation which it has proclaimed necessary. It is in this way, by increasing the quality and the quantity of its work, that it will defend Peace.

In my own country and in all the countries of the world, many men and women regret the great silence, heavy with hostility and threats, which characterises the age in which we live. Since the diplomats have not succeeded in dispelling the misunderstandings, these men and women hope that the people, the simple people of all nations, will work more for Peace; that they will get to know each other better and understand each other better. Certainly there exist two different worlds, two different types of society, two different conceptions of life and human relationships. We all know it. But we know also that the competition between these two societies can be peaceful, that history will be able to say definitely which is the better way of life and that unless the verdict is reached in this way men must fight and kill each other. The people who live in Moscow and those who live in New York, the inhabitants of Peking and those of San Fransisco, those of London and of Cairo, Communists and Catholics, the people of Cape Town, of the extreme North and of the Mediterranean — all these people whom so many problems separate are beings of flesh and blood who all need Peace.

It is this elementary truth which the Congress of the Peoples will recall to those who would like to forget it.

IKUO OYAMA, Professor at Waseda University and **YOSHITARO HIRANO,** Professor at Tokio University and member of the Science Association of Japan, both members of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace have issued an appeal in which they state:

"All the peoples of the world, including the people of the United States, ardently desire Peace. In the present international situation, the forces of Peace can be victorious. Peace will be safeguarded if the peoples who want Peace unite. All who sincerely want Peace must support the Congress of the Peoples for Peace in Vienna. We must send our delegates to the Congress."

FRIDA KAHLO, Mexican artist:

"Our duty is to do all we possibly can to work for the success of the Congress of the Peoples and for the cause of Peace in general."

HIS EMINENCE ABOUL KASSEN KASHANI, IRAN, WILL BE REPRESENTED AT THE CONGRESS

The Press agencies announce that the Italian Socialist Senator, Mario Berlinguer, member of the Italian National Peace Committee, while visiting Iran, was received by the Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh in Teheran.

Senator Berlinguer was also received by the President of Parliament of Iran, Ayatollah Kashani, one of the most distinguished leaders of the Mohammedan world. His Eminence Kashani told Senator Berlinguer that he will send a message to the Congress of the Peoples for Peace and that he will be represented in Vienna.

GENERAL VICENTO ROJO, former chief of the General Staff of the Spanish Republican Army, residing in Bolivia, warmly greets the Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

SENOR LUTERO VARGAS, Member of Parliament, son of President Vargas:

"All the peoples, represented by their Members of Parliament, and other persons of different social classes and professions who reflect the different trends of public opinion, must seek an initiative like this, they must seek a common denominator, and find the Peace which all of us desire.

"International conflicts can and must be settled by peaceful agreement considering that there exists the United Nations."

Mr. KENNETH INGRAM:

"It is at least one good sign in a troubled world that there is so widespread a desire for Peace and a consciousness of the folly and horror of war. The more that this desire can be positively expressed and carried into action, the more hope there is of avoiding the supreme catastrophe of another world conflict. For this reason I send my good wishes for the success of the forthcoming Congress of Peoples for Peace."

WHAT THEY THINK OF IT...

Jorge AMADO, the Brazilian writer

I speak to writers, poets, novelists and all those who with words create a world of beauty and culture; the Congress of the Peoples for Peace which meets in Vienna on December 12th is our Congress. Whatever the cultural differences which separate us, Peace surmounts all these differences and unites us, for there is no writer who likes or wants war who does not betray his mission. We have responsibilities towards our readers. We exert an influence on those who read our works, and those who have confidence in us await our words and our actions. Peace is threatened, but it can and must be saved. So that we may safeguard Peace we must unite our desires and our strength. But the puny men of war cannot launch their base adventure without our support or unless we give our silent consent. The peoples need our words, need our actions for Peace. It is our duty to enlighten them on the method by which World Peace can be saved.

The Vienna Congress will be a tribune of the Peoples, a tribune of the writers who will be the spokesmen of the peoples. No writer can, without loss of dignity, remain outside this movement which defends the greatest blessing of Mankind. No writer can remain outside the Congress of the Peoples. Our readers demand our solidarity in this decisive hour, it is they and the future that will judge our attitude.

Rio de Janeiro, November 1952.

Professor Minami HIROCHI (Japan)

Minami Hirochi, Professor of Psychology at Hitotsubachi University, Tokio, has made the following statement on the struggle of the Japanese people for Peace:

"...The people of Japan are entirely opposed to the war in Korea. They are against all war for they have suffered a great deal in the aggressive war waged by the Japanese fascists. Recently the "American Legion" suggested that several hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers be sent to the front in Korea so that United States troops might be relieved. The people of Japan were very indignant at this proposal and it is by similar actions that the true nature of the war in Korea is revealed."

Louis SAILLANT, General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions

"... Trade union organisations affilliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions must see their role in the preparation of this Congress as being that of giving the utmost help to men and women workers of all occupations who are searching for the road to Peace and who are seeking to understand the significance of this Congress."

"...We consider it fundamental that every trade union organisation, regardless of its international affiliations or its political preferences, should acknowledge that its first duty is to make its view on this basic question of the defence of Peace known to the Congress of the Peoples next December, if it is anxious to prove the sincerity of its resolutions expressing the desire that Peace be maintained, consolidated and made less precarious than it is at present."

M. Moumie Felix ROLAND, African doctor

M. Roland, who is President of the Union of Peoples of the Cameroons says:

"I wish godspeed to the delegates of all Peace-loving people and may Peace be saved far and wide."

Colonel Alfredo d'AMESTIE (Chile)

Colonel Alfredo d'Amestie, a personal friend of President Ibanez, has said;

"I believe that understanding between the peoples is possible... Unfortunately, men of good will, who are in the majority, cannot do everything as the decisions are in the hands of Governments some of which have betrayed their mandates and do not interpret the wishes of the people. The results of the Vienna Congress will be effective if its resolutions do not remain mere theoretical declarations but, if as I believe they will, they face reality. I am not a man of political action — I have no experience in this field. But in spite of that I will express my opinion: The Vienna meetings will not be in vain if, after they are over, every delegate returns to his own country carrying with him a clear statement of the policy which his country must pursue to carry on and further develop the struggle for Peace."

Enzo SACCHI, the cyclist

The Italian racing cyclist, Enzo Sacchi, world champion and Olympic amateur speed champion, has made the following statement:

"I believe that it is only by following the road to Peace that the world will be able to progress and will appear ever more beautiful to its inhabitants. I do not belong to any party but my experiences on racetracks all over the world have taught me to look beyond the pettiness of nationalism.

"To know each other means to understand each other, to discover among men of other nationalities interests and hopes similar to our own. I believe that a Congress like the one at Vienna is very important for the creation of an atmosphere of real harmony among the peoples. I am even surprised that all the newspapers are not talking about it. I have noticed that some people do not want to present it in a good light; it must mean that some people do not understand this problem or are of bad faith. I have confidence in the success of the Congress and in the activity which has begun in order to save this precious blessing, Peace."

How are Current Wars to be Stopped?

"SAVE OUR SONS!"
Relatives of U. S. Soldiers in Korea demand immediate cease-fire

Two hundred relatives of United States soldiers in Korea many of them prisoners-of-war, met on October 26th in Springfield, Illinois, to "save the lives of their sons and husbands by working for a cease-fire in Korea."

The chairman of the conference was a Negro worker, Ward Goodspeed. Those taking part in the meeting had come from many States — from the farms of Iowa and Illinois, the prairies and the Middle West, from the auto plants, from the great cities of Chicago and Detroit. All were simple mothers and fathers who had never before taken part in public affairs, nor addressed an audience. One woman said:

"My son is dead now and my nephew is wounded and an invalid... The Chinese and Korean mothers love their sons just like we do... The women of the world are looking to us American women to do something... We must come out of this meeting with something to do..."

The same wish was expressed in a letter from a farmer's family in Ohio:

"We will not be able to come to the assembly. We have a son in Korea, twice wounded. Anything we can do, let us know by mail".

A resolution which was unanimously adopted asked for an immediate cease-fire in Korea, after which the question of the prisonners-of-war could be settled. A letter was sent to the camps in Korea informing the prisoners-of-war of what had taken place at the meeting.

RESOLUTION ON PEACE
adopted unanimously at the VIIIth Congress of the International Co-operative Women's Guild

"The VIIIth Congress of the International Co-operative Women's Guild, representing women co-operators of 26 countries, is deeply worried about the deterioration of international relations. It deplores re-armament, the cause of suffering and misery for the majority of mankind.

"It protests about the fact that six years after the end of a terrible war, men, women and children are still the victims of the slaughter in Korea, Viet-Nam, Burma and Indonesia.

"The women co-operators deplore the tolerance which has been shown towards the forces which were responsible for the last war and which could again endanger Peace.

"They are aware of the threatening situation and are convinced that action must be taken to maintain Peace.

"Also, in the spirit of the resolutions on unity passed at the previous Congresses in Zurich and Prague and in an attempt to find a practical solution to the problem of the maintenance of Peace, the present Congress declares itself convinced of the fact that:

"1. It is possible to replace violence by negotiation and agreement.

"2. The United Nations must remain faithful to the principles of the San Francisco Charter.

"To achieve this aim, it is necessary that the Five Great Powers reach an agreement which would mark an important step in halting the arms race and bring about the return of an atmosphere of co-operation between all nations."

TO END THE WAR IN VIET NAM
The view of M. Jean de Menthon

"How is it that a country with a democratic policy can continue a war which is condemned by almost the whole of its citizens?

"The explanation seems simple to my mind.

"... The Government succeeds in carrying out its policy by not presenting the problem clearly before Parliament. To each demand for funds, the Minister in charge asserts that he is ready to seek a peaceful solution, but that weapons cannot be refused to our soldiers who are fighting. The Deputies of the Government Party — with a more or less easy conscience — accept this blackmail and vaguely promise their electors to promote negotiations.

"Thus left unhampered, the Government lets itself sink further into this stupid war... It does so because it is not free — a beggar is never free.

"Public opinion must impose a clear, full and honest debate in Parliament on the Indochina problem".

Congress of Canadian Women elects representative for Vienna

When the Third National Convention of the "Congress of Canadian Women" took place in Toronto, recently, attended by 200 delegates and observers, it elected a representative for the Peoples' Congress in Vienna, Mrs Elizabeth Brown of Toronto.

The President of the "Congress of Canadian Women", Mrs Rae Luckock declared:

"Canada's women must continue to demand an immediate ceasefire in Korea and then the re-opening of negotiations for the settlement of the p. o. w. exchange issue."

The conference unanimously endorsed a resolution on Peace, calling for an immediate cease-fire in Korea, the banning of all weapons of mass destruction — atomic, chemical and bacteriological — armament reductions in all countries, a Five-Power Peace Pact and participation by the "Congress of Canadian Women" in the Vienna Peace Congress.

Two women fraternal delegates from the United States attended the Congress.

How Can an End be Put to the Cold War?

For world economic equilibrium

Extract from a statement by Sig. Riccardo Lombardi, Italian Socialist Deputy, member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

"... Without a minimum degree of stability in international relations, without ending the cold war, it is impossible to envisage a steady economic development in the countries where the standard of living has not been restored since the war nor the soundness of a high standard of life in the countries which have already gained better living conditions.

"... Everyone can agree that without the end of the cold war, or without a considerable abatement in the cold war, without a resumption of trading relations, artificially cut off between the two parts of Europe and between Europe and Asia, there is no possibility of regaining that world economic equilibrium in which the prosperity of the world formerly lay".

"END THE COLD WAR"

French Writers' Manifesto

Nineteen French writers — Marcelle Auclair, Aragon, Hervé Bazin, Simone de Beauvoir, Julien Benda, Jean Cau, Jean Cocteau, René-Jean Clot, Maurice Druon, Francis Jeanson, Michel Leiris, Georges Magnane, Louis Martin-Chauffier, Robert Merle, Jean-Paul Sartre, Charles Spaak, Elsa Triolet, Vercors and Charles Vildrac — have recently made public the following appeal:

"Considering that the state of tension called the cold war which is reigning in the world at present is not only affecting the life of all and hindering peaceful reconstruction in the countries which were involved in the recent war, the normal development of humanity, of science, of the arts and of culture, but that it cannot continue without the ever-increasing danger of developing into a world war, the undersigned believe it very important that men and women in every country should desire to meet each other to talk about Peace, to discuss their problems and to make their national leaders aware of the universal will for Peace which knows no frontiers.

"They hope that this gathering is not confined to existing organised bodies for the defence of Peace, but that it brings them together with all those who consider peaceful settlement of international differences by negotiation as being always preferable to resort to force. They hope that this gathering, necessarily expressing the participants' belief in the possibility of maintaining Peace, that is, in peaceful co-existence of different social and political systems in the different States, will enable a general exchange of views among all who want Peace, without necessarily committing them to accept all the solutions which are formulated by the present Peace Movement. They hope that this gathering will re-assert the principle of non-interference by one State, whichever it may be, in the internal affairs of another State, and the principle of the right of all peoples to choose their own future, a principle which in the first place presupposes their right to decide themselves in matters of war and Peace.

"They are glad that such a gathering is possible and, in view of the fact that it would have no meaning if the countries between which there could be conflicts, are not represented there, they believe that it is well that such a gathering takes place where no restriction will be put in the way of the coming and the stay of every woman and every man filled with a desire for Peace — from one camp or the other — who wants to participate.

"They declare everything possible must be done so that those who take part can speak for all, so that they can go to Vienna in December after consulting all their compatriots who want Peace, fully cognizant of the diversity of viewpoints, united in one objective — to save their countries and all mankind from the frightful disaster of a third world war, from the war of the atomic age in which there would be no limit to the destruction and bestiality."

"Negotiation is a Prime Need"

Here are extracts from an article by Hugo Ernst, President of the International Union of Hotel and Restaurant Employees (AFL) in the U. S. which has a membership of 420,000. It appeared in "The Catering Industry Employee".

"... A prime need in finding a peaceful solution to the cold war before it gets hotter is negotiation. We in the unions call it collective bargaining. We've spent 100 years learning more and more about how to negotiate. One of the things we've learned is that patience is the first requirement. Another is that we must be willing to listen to the other fellow's point of view.

"A third is that every single clause in a contract is subject to give-and-take except the clause covering our sovereignty — we call it 'union security' — which is the clause which states that we have a right to run our affairs the way we want in our own union.

"The stakes in the world today are so great, the stakes of life and death for millions of men, women and children, that we can afford not months and months, but years and years of negotiation in place of fighting.

"We must be willing to engage in collective bargaining with ANYBODY whose participation affords the slightest hope of reducing tensions and preventing world war.

"Logically, we ought to sit down, the big wheels of the Big Powers from both sides of the fence, and stay at the table as long as necessary to bring about the thing the world needs most right now..."

NEWS IN BRIEF ON THE PREPARATION OF THE CONGRESS

THE PUNJAB'S "PEACE IN KOREA" FORTNIGHT

Following the All-India Peace Congress in Jullundur, the Punjab Peace Committee launched an appeal to organise a "Fortnight for Peace in Korea" from October 1st to 15th.

During these two weeks, meetings and processions were held and signatures were collected in many communities in the province. Altogether, 32 meetings were held, some of which, such as those held in Pathankot, Moga, Gurdaspur, Batala, Bagga and Balachaur, were attended by thousands including many peasants who had come from the surrounding countryside.

Mass organisations such as the Trade Union Congress and the Students Federation took part in the campaign. A cultural group put on theatre shows in several towns.

The "Fortnight for Peace in Korea" was also supported by such distinguished people as: Shree Hemraj Marbaha, veteran leader of the Congress Party of the Punjab, Shree Chandar Sen Sayal, formerly one of the leaders of the Congress Party and Shree Sarab Krishan Bakchi, today one of the leading members of the Congress Party. This campaign resulted in the strengthening of the Peace Movement by setting up of committees, notably in Jumana Nager (in the Ambala) in different communities and districts of Hochiarpur and Ludhiana.

BRAZIL

A great discussion on the Congress of the Peoples is going on in fifteen Brazilian newspapers. Politicians, such as the son of President Vargas and the Members of Parliament, Viera Lins, Coelho de Sonza, Lucio Bittencourt, Nestor Duarte etc, chief administrators and priests are contributing to this discussion.

The legislative chamber of the State of Para has unanimously voted in favour of a motion supporting the Congress.

The Trade Union Congress of the State of Rio Grande do Sul is supporting the Congress and has elected two delegates for Vienna.

ISRAEL

In Tel-Aviv and Jaffa, 15 district Peace Committees have been set up to prepare the Congress of the Peoples. They are composed of individuals of all parties.

In Nazareth 84 large and small meetings have already been organised.

In Jerusalem, Haifa and other towns, district committees have also recently been formed.

THAILAND

The Thailand delegation at the Congress of the Peoples for Peace will be presided over by the writer Prasert Supsoonthorn.

AUSTRALIA

Among the representatives of the Australian people at the Congress of the Peoples for Peace will be the Reverend Alan Brand, Methodist minister from Sydney, New South Wales.

THE CAMEROONS

The "Voice of the Cameroons", the press organ of the Union of Cameroon Peoples, territorial branch of the African Democratic Assembly, has responded to the Appeal of the World Council of Peace.

The people of the Cameroons will be represented at the Congress of the Peoples.

BULGARIA

Throughout Bulgaria preparations are going ahead for the Congress of the Peoples for Peace in Vienna. Before the Congress the Third National Peace Congress will be held (November 16th and 17th).

In the town of Dimitrov, many factories are organising "Peace Corners". Miners in the "Dimitrov" mine and other mines are producing hundreds of tons of coal in excess of the plan.

A solemn assembly of workers will be held in the town of Slivengrad on November 12th for the preparation of the Congress of the Peoples.

PARAGUAY

The Musicians' Association of Paraguay to which the majority of the musicians in the country belong, decided unanimously at a general meeting to support the Congress and to send a delegate.

Many distinguished people have signed the appeal launched by the Commission for the participation of Paraguay at the Congress of the Peoples. Among the signatories are Dr. Andres Rivarola Queriolo, president of the Catholic Doctors' Circle; Dr. Miguel Angel Soler, former chancellor; Dr. Luis Migone, Senora Blanca Sanabria, Dr. Vincente Martinez; Dr. Gould, Dr. Segismindo Villagrada, Professor Marcelino Machuca Martinez, Colonel J. Greno and Major Jose Maria Munoz Portillo.

In spite of the repressive measures taken by the Government and the arrest of several leaders of the Peace Movement, enthusiastic preparations are being made for the Congress.

SOUTH AFRICA:

"In the field of sport I have met men and women full of friendship and good feeling which has made us realise how alike we are", writes Athol Jennings, South African medical student and member of the South African rowing crew at the Olympic Games.

"Any thought that one nation was at war with another seemed to have been forgotten and the whole gathering had an air of peace and calm. World Peace seems so much nearer and possible when we who belong to different countries can forget our own selfish desires and ambitions and think of the needs and problems of others."

UNITED STATES

"Let us exchange students, not atom bombs."

In letters sent to the State Department, the United Nations and various student associations, students at Wisconsin University U. S. A., asked that a programme of exchange of students and sportsmen between the countries of the East and the West for the purpose of developing understanding between the young people of the world be put into immediate operation. They also demanded that the peaceful spirit of the Olympic Games be introduced into the relations between the Great Powers.

The letter concluded with the words: "An exchange of our students can, perhaps, prevent an exchange of battalions or atom bombs. At any rate it is certainly worth trying."

NEWS IN BRIEF ON THE PREPARATION OF THE CONGRESS

COLOMBIA:

In various towns in Colombia "Peace Marches" have been held during which signatures for a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers and for a solution of the Korean war are collected and publications about the Congress of the Peoples are distributed.

VIET-NAM:

The National Committee of "Lien-Viet" and the Peace Committee of Viet-Nam, in an appeal published on November 8th, call on the people of Viet-Nam to make active preparations for the Congress of the Peoples:

"Millions of people are beginning to see more and more clearly that the struggle for national independence is inseparable from the struggle for Peace and against the re-militarisation of Germany and Japan, against the mass execution of Korean and Chinese prisoners-of-war on Koje Island, for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, for a reduction in armaments, for the outlawing of weapons of mass destruction — atomic, chemical and bacterial — and for a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers."

ALGERIA

An Initiating Commission for the preparation of the Congress of the Peoples has just been set up in Algeria. Among the distinguished people on this Commission are Doctor Duboucher and M. Vargues, professors at Algiers University; M. Bentoni, barrister and M. Caviglioli, architect.

LUXEMBOURG

In Luxembourg, a preparatory committee is being formed. Various organisations are taking their place at the side of the National Peace Movement on this committee, such as the Union of Luxembourg Women; the Federation of Free Trade Unions; the Luxembourg Communist Party; "Le Reveil de la Resistance"; the independent trade union group of railway workers and the League For The Rights of Man.

INDONESIA

Thirty delegates have been elected to represent Indonesia at the Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

FRANCE

On November 29th the mothers of France will take part in a National Mothers' Day to save their children from war.

BRITISH LABOUR FOR VIENNA

More veteran members of the Labour Party are among the latest British delegates to be elected for the Vienna Congress.

A Labour member of the Staines (Surrey) Urban District Council for 20 years, Mrs. M. M. Webster, J. P., has just been elected as a delegate. "A lot of local people whom I've known and respected for years are interested in preserving Peace, and I'm with them," she said. "Peace is in the interest of ordinary people. They are the ones that count." Mrs. Webster is president of the local Peace movement and of the local Co-operative Society.

Another member of the Labour Party for 20 years is Mrs. Nancy Shaw from nearby Kingston-on-Thames. A Secretary of her branch of the Co-operative Women's Guild and of the Kingston and District Peace Council since its inception, Mrs. Shaw has been elected for Vienna.

Another Labour Party member and active trade unionist since 1914, Mr. H. Stephens, will represent Paddington (London) Branch of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen.

Dr. Norah Johns, an authority on dietetics, will represent the Medical Association for the Prevention of War at the Congress of the Peoples.

Most of the delegates now being elected to the Congress are being backed by local sponsoring committees. Typical of the wide suport these are winning is that of Lambeth (London) which includes four doctors, the chairman of the local trades council, a railwayman, a bricklayer, a housewife, a school-teacher, an architect and the chairman of the Lambeth Peace Committee.

THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

In spite of specially difficult conditions, the patriots of the Dominican Republic are waging a big campaign in support of the Congress of the Peoples in Vienna. They mean to send a delegate who will bring before the representatives of the people of the whole world the profound will for Peace and freedom of the Dominican people.

The Dominican patriots are publishing in Guatemala a newspaper in which they illustrate the interest which the Congress of the Peoples presents to all those who do not want a new war. The great Dominican poet, Pedro Mir, who is at the moment in Cuba, has written a poem dedicated to the Vienna Congress.

PEACE SONGS IN THE SOVIET REPUBLIC OF KIRGHIZIA

The theme of the struggle for the triumph of the great cause of Peace is being largely used by composers in the Soviet Republic of Kirghizia.

Some days ago, a collection of new songs, written by Kirghizian composers was produced.

A GROUP OF GREEK INTELLECTUALS — JOURNALISTS, WRITERS, PROFESSORS AND ARTISTS — HAVE ISSUED A MANIFESTO:

"We call on all Peace-loving people to join together against war", says this appeal signed by:

Ch. THEORORIDES, University professor; K. VARNALIS, poet; M. AVERINOS, writer; P. KATSELIS, producer; NIKIFOROS VRETAKOS, poet; K. KARANTZAS, editor; K. HELMIS, journalist; Leon KOUKOULAS, writer; P. LEKATSAS, writer; G. MAKRIS, journalist; G. KORDATOS, writer; M. KASTSNAKIS, artist; Ch. GAIOS, writer, journalist; Th. VOKOS, editor; Irene GALANOU, writer; K. SOTIRIOU, teacher; D. FOTIADIS, writer; Lina ALLIANOU, journalist; K. SIMOPOULOS, journalist; Galatia KAZANTSAKI, writer; E. FIKIORIS, writer; A. PAGALOS, journalist; K. ANGELIDES, journalist; O. OHIALAMAS, journalist-playwright; APOSTOLIDES, chairman of the office workers of Piraeus: G. VITIVILLAS, journalist.

IRAN

A National Preparatory Committee for the Congress has been set up in Iran. Among the personalities on this Committee are General Amir Khosrovi, a former Minister; Doctor Ali Asghar, also a former Minister and Said Naffssi, a professor at Teheran University.

"GIVE ONE HOUR'S EARNINGS".

On Remembrance Day to commemorate the end of the 1914—1918 war, the Dean of Canterbury appealed to all British workers to set aside one hour's income for Peace.

The money collected will help to pay the expenses of the delegation to Vienna.

THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES FOR PEACE

Do you know why we have
In our soul
Such galaxies of song, such lights of Bengal?
Do you know why the peoples
Without end, numberless,
Like the furious foam of the Ocean
Have understood
That the future belongs to them?
Do you know why we believe it possible
To wipe out the image of tears
To close the black mouth of war?
Because we are millions, and each rise of the sun,
Sees us more numerous than before:
Because we have decided
To take into our hands the defence
Of our corn, our factories, our love and our light.
Yes, simply this, to unite ourselves
Just as smiles are able to unite
Without asking other questions.
Do you want Peace? I want it too.
Do you want golden brown bread
For your children? Do you want the smooth body
Of your wife, the colour of oats and the dawn?
Do you want an open book, and the horizon
Of your vast country: the freedom of wind
And the light of morning,
Red wine shared between friends,
A cup of coffee and a cigarette,
Quiet discussions under a summer sky?
Do you want all this? Come then, give me your hand.
No one can stop us in our surge for Peace.

And thus we will go to Vienna, borne on the wings of Peace,
On the wings of Peace, with nothing dividing us
In our thirst for Peace. She, who is Life,
The future. Come, let us organise.

For the child who in this moment is born in light,
For the blue loveliness of Spain,
That like a new April she may flourish there
Peace in the world, lasting and triumphant.

Yes, all this can be. By the presence
Of the peoples in Vienna, a pure flame
Which will overcome by reason, violence.

Diego de Montejarque.

Extracts. Translated from the Spanish.

STATEMENT OF THE BUREAU OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE ON THE PREPARATION OF THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES FOR PEACE

TO BE HELD IN VIENNA,
DECEMBER 12th, 1952

The Appeal for a Congress of the Peoples, issued by the World Council of Peace, is arousing great interest in all countries, and is already evoking a considerable response.

The resort to a policy of force in international relations has resulted in tension, the effects and dangers of which are daily more obvious. Faced with this situation, social groups of the most varied kinds, in particular political, trade union, religious and pacifist, agree that a way must be found to break the deadlock.

> How can the wars now going on be stopped?
>
> How can the cold war be brought to an end?
>
> How can the independence of nations be safeguarded and the security of every country be guaranteed?

The answers to these questions can only be found through genuine discussion among

forces truly representative of the peoples' desire for Peace.

The Congress of the Peoples called by the World Council of Peace will be an international assembly bringing together men and women of different countries and devoted to different ways of life.

The participation of delegates, guests and observers will not imply their adherence to the Peace Movement.

The Congress of the Peoples will try to find, in free and effective discussion, reasonable solutions to the questions today dividing the world.

Agreement reached, even on a single point, will make easier understanding on further points and contribute to a lessening of international tension.

The peoples will find the road to Peace together.

Adopted unanimously.
Vienna, October 16th, 1952.

PUBLISHED BY THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

APPEAL
TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

*

To the President
of the General Assembly
of the United Nations
PARIS

32-18-33

The World Council of Peace, meeting in Vienna, addresses this Appeal to the General Assembly of the United Nations, to public opinion and to the peoples of the whole world.

The worsening of the international situation in recent months disturbs and worries the men and women of all countries. Everyone hopes for negotiation and an agreement between the Five Great Powers, responsible in accordance with the terms of the United Nations' Charter and by their very strength, for the Peace of the world. The campaign of the World Council of Peace for a Pact between the Big Five is, therefore, looked upon by world opinion as justified by the course of events and the present ineffectiveness of other methods.

The World Council of Peace calls, in particular, the attention of the General Assembly of the United Nations to the following points:

Firstly. Peace and international co-operation cannot result from imposing on the whole world decisions taken by the majority of member States, most of them adopted by votes, moreover, representing

a minority of mankind. It is by methods of negotiation and conciliation that the agreements essential to the peaceful development of the world will be established.

Since such agreements must extend, in particular, to Asia, considerations of justice and a realistic view of international policy require the admission to the United Nations of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

Secondly. The failure of the conference of Four Foreign Ministers' Deputies and the agreements reached in Washington and at Ottawa by the Sixth Session of the Atlantic Council make difficult all moves for disarmament, prevent the German people from determining itself the restoration of its unity and increase the danger of war in Europe.

Negotiations between the Great Powers can lead more rapidly to the establishment of a unified, democratic and demilitarised Germany. This solution corresponds at one and the same time to the desire of the vast majority of the German people, to the interests of Germany's neighbours and to the interests of Peace.

Accordingly, the World Council urges the United Nations to use its influence to obtain respect for the international agreements on German disarmament and to accelerate the conclusion of a Peace Treaty that shall make possible the withdrawal of occupation troops and the reconstitution of a unified and demilitarised Germany.

Thirdly. The restoration of Peace in Asia concerns all mankind. This restoration has been seriously imperilled by the San Francisco treaties with Japan; it requires not only that all hostilities in progress, first and foremost those in Korea, be ended by the conclusion of armistice agreements, but that the right of the Asian peoples to independence and territorial integrity without any foreign interference be assured.

Fourthly. The maintenance of Peace in the Middle East and in North Africa cannot be assured in a satisfactory way by the continuation of arrangements and situations contrary to the peoples' right to self determination. The right of the peoples of Egypt, Iran, Morocco

and all the other countries of the Near and Middle East and North Africa to conduct and manage their own affairs, without pressure or foreign intervention and without being subjected to military occupation, open or disguised, must be recognised and in an effective way.

Fifthly. The arms' race can bring nothing to the peoples but the certainty of ruin and the threat of a war disastrous for humanity. Therefore, the road of simultaneous, gradual and effectively-controlled disarmament must be taken. Such disarmament must include, specifically, the prohibition of atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction the use of which is condemned by universal moral standards. The World Council of Peace calls on the General Assembly of the United Nations to put to discussion the disarmament proposal adopted in Vienna today, November the 6th, 1951.

This proposal can, under no circumstance, result in a disequilibrium to the advantage or disadvantage of one State or another. By the strict control system that it prescribes, this proposal guarantees the security of all at every stage of disarmament.

We append the disarmament proposal of the World Council of Peace to this Document.

The World Council of Peace is convinced that war is not inevitable and that the peaceful co-existence of different political and social regimes is possible, and that its proposals conform to the interests of all mankind.

Please accept, Mr. President, our sincere respects.

FOR THE WORLD COUNCIL
OF PEACE:

Pietro NENNI
Vice-President.

Frederick JOLIOT-CURIE
President.

RESOLUTION ON DISARMAMENT

*

The arms' race is laying the basis for economic chaos and is driving the peoples to poverty; it can only lead to war. It is untrue to claim that inflated armaments can be the effective way to negotiation.

An arms' race proceeding in mutual ignorance of the strength of armaments on either side creates mistrust; the only way to security lies in a fair and controlled disarmament.

That is why we call on the Five Great Powers—the United States of America, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the People's Republic of China, Great Britain and France—which have the biggest armaments and to which the United Nations Charter assigned the duty of guarding World Peace—to conclude a Disarmament Convention.

Thereby, they would demonstrate their desire for Peace.

PROHIBITION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

In this Convention the Five Great Powers must agree on the absolute prohibition of atomic weapons and production of any kind of weapon derived from atomic energy, as well as of all other weapons of mass destruction.

This prohibition must be ensured by a strict control operating not only over declared weapons and plants, but also over weapons and plants whose existence may be suspected.

PROGRESSIVE AND SIMULTANEOUS ARMS REDUCTION

In this Convention, the Five Great Powers must agree on the gradual and controlled reduction of every kind of armament.

We urge an arms' reduction amounting, by the end of 1952, to from a third to a half of the total of arms declared, checked and discovered, while applying a procedure which will assure the security of all at every stage of disarmament.

We propose that the relative proportions and time schedules applicable to reduction of the various types of arms, armed forces and arms production be fixed by reference both to the actual level of arms, armed forces and arms production, and to the number of inhabitants, length of frontiers and communications' system of each country concerned.

CONTROL AND CENSUS OF ARMS

The adoption of this international Convention imposing the duty of prohibition of atomic weapons and disarmament from a third to a half must have, as an immediate sequel, the undertaking of a general census of all types of arms and armed forces, and the putting into operation of an international inspection and control system to check the carrying out of the measures prescribed in the Convention.

32-18-35

This international control must be exercised not only over the declarations made by the signatories to the convention but also to check the suspected existence of any arms, armed forces or means of arms production which have not been declared.

*

Our appeal is addressed to the United Nations, to the Five Great Powers and to the peoples. It is faithful to the spirit of the resolutions of the Second World Congress of Peace held in Warsaw 16th—22nd November 1950.

Gradual and simultaneous arms reduction, a step in the direction of total disarmament, though it may not please arms' manufacturers, will dispel the fear of aggression, strengthen the security of every people and relieve them from crushing burdens.

RESOLUTION ON THE CAMPAIGN FOR A FIVE POWER PACT

✱

The World Council of Peace values as of the highest importance the results achieved by the great campaign for signatures in favour of the conclusion of a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers open to all states.

The call for a Pact of Peace was first issued in a solemn appeal to the peoples on February 25th 1951 at the session of the World Council of Peace in Berlin.

The 562 million signatures gathered in 64 countries afford evidence today that this call interprets correctly the deep longings of all peoples and their powerful will.

The peoples ardently desire that in relations between states, the spirit and methods of peaceful negotiation prevail with the governments over the use of force or of the threat of force. This is why they declare their support for a Pact of Peace.

The Pact of Peace would help to resolve current conflicts; it would open the path to gradual and controlled disarmament; it would enable a return to normal economic and cultural relations, so essential and beneficial to all.

The World Council of Peace calls upon all National Peace Committees to continue and intensify the campaign for the Pact of Peace.

It urges all groups, movements and individuals concerned in preserving Peace to work together in a common effort to secure the Pact of Peace.

RESOLUTION
ON THE JAPANESE PEACE TREATY

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In violation of international agreements and contrary to the interests of Peace, a separate treaty with Japan was signed at San Francisco on September 8th, 1951.

This treaty, signed against the will of the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union, India and Burma, cannot in any way contribute to the establishment of Peace in Asia.

Even more, this treaty, having as an immediate consequence the remilitarisation of Japan and the stationing of foreign troops on Japanese soil, as provided for in the United States—Japan Security Pact, gravely increases the danger of war in the Pacific.

This treaty frustrates the peaceful will and sovereign rights of the Japanese people, imposes upon them the heavy burden of rearmament, and will lead inevitably to the restoration of Japanese militarism and to the disruption of their economic life.

The World Council of Peace again affirms that a Peace Treaty with Japan, to be effective, must be negotiated in the first instance by the People's Republic of China, the United States of America, the Soviet Union and Great Britain and agreed by all the countries concerned. Only such a treaty will avert the danger of war in the Pacific, lead to the withdrawal of foreign troops, stop the remilitarisation of Japan and contribute to the peaceful progress of the Japanese people.

By contrast, the military pacts imposed on the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand constitute a crushing burden upon these peoples and threaten the Peace of the world.

The World Council congratulates the Japanese people on their struggle for Peace and invites them to join their efforts with those of their neighbours that Peace may be restored to the Far East.

32-18-36

The World Council of Peace invites all friends of Peace in Asia and the Pacific area, including the people of Japan, to hold, on the earliest suitable date, a regional conference for the defence of Peace. The purpose of the conference will be to achieve a peaceful solution of the Japanese problem and thereby dispel a serious threat to World Peace.

KOREAN QUESTION

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All peoples welcomed with an immense feeling of hope the opening of negotiations for a cease-fire in Korea. The Bureau of the World Council of Peace, meeting in Helsinki, warned that the vigilance of public opinion was essential if the spirit of negotiation were to succeed. The four months that have passed, during which no result has been achieved, prove this warning to have been justified.

The negotiations have been prolonged under the influence of those desirous of extending the conflict, and to-day violent fighting and acts of bloody destruction are still in progress.

Only sincerity in negotiation and the support of public opinion can lead to an agreement to decide the ending of hostilities and to permit a peaceful solution which will return to the Korean people the right to determine their own destiny.

The World Council of Peace calls on those engaged in hostilities to settle the Korean conflict as speedily as possible by peaceful negotiation on a just and fair basis. The Council calls on all the peoples of the World to support this demand.

RESOLUTION
ON SOUTH-EAST ASIA AND VIET-NAM

✸

The World Council of Peace, in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter, has always recognised the right of peoples to settle their own affairs and solve their conflicts without outside interference. It declares that the potential and actual conflicts in South-East Asia can be solved only by application of these principles.

Among the conflicts in progress in South-East Asia, the World Council of Peace notes that the development of the war in Viet-Nam, which involves Laos and Cambodia, is increasing the danger of a new world war.

The World Council of Peace calls for an immediate cease-fire in Viet-Nam and demands that there should likewise begin negotiations for a general settlement of the conflict, a settlement which would make obligatory the withdrawal of foreign troops.

All potential conflicts and all other actual conflicts in Burma, the Philippines, Malaya, etc... should be settled in accordance with the above-cited principles and by the same measures.

RESOLUTION
ON MIDDLE AND NEAR EAST

*

The threat to Peace in the Near and Middle East and in North Africa has become gravely worsened by the increasingly violent military and political grip being imposed upon the countries concerned. However, this process is encountering the resistance of the peoples, from Iran to Morocco; it runs counter to their will to achieve their economic and national independence and to safeguard Peace.

The World Council of Peace condemns the attempts to impose a military pact on the peoples of the Mediterranean world, of the Near and Middle East and North Africa, as a serious danger to World Peace.

Already fresh foreign troops are being poured into Egypt and Egyptians have been killed on their own soil. The efforts of the Egyptian people to throw off the burden of treaties that are incompatible with their right to be master in their own house are right and just.

The growing opposition of the peoples of the Near and Middle East and of North Africa to the stationing of foreign troops on their territories, to the granting of strategic bases, and to the expropriation of their national wealth—an opposition of which the action of the Iranian people constituted the first decisive instance—is a vital contribution to the cause of Peace.

The refusal of the Egyptian people to allow themselves to be drawn into a pact of adventure and war is strengthening the confidence of the peoples in themselves and furnishing an invaluable contribution to the maintenance of Peace in the Mediterranean area and throughout the world.

The World Council of Peace calls for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Egypt and the Sudan to enable these countries to dispose freely of their own destiny.

RESOLUTION
ON THE GERMAN QUESTION

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The Washington and Ottawa agreements that decided on the remilitarisation of Western Germany without the German people ever having been consulted, have confronted all peoples with a fait accompli and a grave danger.

The revival of Nazism in Western Germany, and above all the role assigned to Hitler's former generals at the head of a new Wehrmacht, constitute a serious threat to the entire world and to the people of Germany and her neighbours in particular.

This remilitarisation, the refusal to reconstitute a united and peaceful Germany while preventing the German people from deciding themselves on unification, the prolongation and reinforcement of the occupation by foreign troops, all these create the conditions for an international conflict.

We call on the people to be vigilant, and to act to ensure that the Four Powers shall meet to conclude a treaty with a demilitarised, united and peaceful Germany that shall guarantee Peace in Europe.

We note with satisfaction the growing rise of public protest in Germany, and we welcome the activity on the part of the most diverse groups and individuals in opposition to German rearmament and for German unification.

This struggle of the German people, an essential contribution to the building of Peace, must be joined with the parallel effort of the peoples who have been drawn into the rearmament programme. These latter, by coordinating their activity with that of the German people, will make plain their solidarity and thus ensure that peaceful solutions prevail.

The World Council of Peace shall stimulate and support all undertakings in this direction:

—Meetings and conferences between representative personalities of Germany and its neighbouring countries.

—Exchange of visits in all cultural and economic fields.

—Participation by German representatives in the great demonstrations that serve the cause of Peace.

In view of the seriousness of the danger that German rearmament represents to all people, the World Council urges all National Peace Committees concerned, to link the peaceful solution of the German problem closely to all their other campaigns for Peace.

RESOLUTION ON THE ORGANISATION OF CULTURAL EXCHANGE

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In Point IX of the Address to the United Nations, the Second World Peace Congress showed that "the strengthening of cultural relations between the peoples creates the most favourable conditions for their mutual understanding."

The World Council of Peace has never ceased to give its attention to all sincere efforts which have been made in this sphere. It is itself taking many steps which have already produced gratifying results.

It does not intend to become a substitute for organisations, movements and associations which have worked for the same ends but it is always ready to support their actions as far as lies within its power.

The International Commission for Cultural Exchange, whose creation was announced in the resolution of the World Council dated February 25th, 1951, has been constituted under the Council and carries on the work of direction and co-ordination assigned it.

The World Council invites this Commission to formulate and to transmit to the National Movements the elements of a simple and elastic procedure which will facilitate in a practical way exchanges between countries.

The World Council also invites those National Committees which have not already done so, to constitute under them a special commission for cultural exchange.

Thus, in each country proposals can be formulated, studied in full detail and carefully prepared in order to meet all the necessary conditions for their satisfactory realisation.

To be really fruitful and in the interest of culture and of Peace, the exchanges should be effected on the basis of reciprocity, but this will only be completely achieved if each exchange is prepared in a way that will interest wide sections of opinion or the whole of one or another sector of cultural activity.

The World Council has decided to launch immediately two main

projects for 1952—holidays and vacations for Peace and the celebration of great cultural anniversaries.

Within the framework of the general project of holidays and vacations for Peace, all National Committees will be able to develop cultural exchanges fully.

Among the great cultural anniversaries, the World Council has adopted the proposals made to it with a view to the celebration in various countries of the 150th anniversary of the birth of Victor HUGO (proposed by M. Mao Dun); the 500th anniversary of the birth of Leonardo da VINCI (proposed by M. Ilya Ehrenburg); the 100th anniversary of the death of Nicolai GOGOL (proposed by Sig. A. Donini); the 1,000th anniversary of the death of AVICENNA (proposed by a group of physicians from various countries).

These celebrations will permit the National Committees to interest actively not only intellectual circles but also the broadest sections of the people in the development of culture as the common treasure of all mankind.

In its resolutions of February 25th 1951, the World Council stressed the value of holding international conferences and meetings which bring together intellectuals of different countries on the basis of their own specific problems.

The World Council records its satisfaction that this idea has already made progress and that interesting projects are now in preparation.

These are being carried out in medical circles, among university groups, writers and artists, architects and city planners, educators, and in the film world.

The World Council of Peace considers that such undertakings are of considerable importance for the strengthening of cultural ties, and should be encouraged by all who wish for understanding among the peoples.

In a special field of cultural exchange, the World Council decides to organise in several capitals, during 1952, international exhibitions of popular art, of documents on reconstruction, as well as of books for children and children's drawings.

Finally, it invites the National Committees to promote the exchange of bibliographies and of literary or scientific publications.

RESOLUTION ON VACATIONS AND HOLIDAYS FOR PEACE IN 1952 AND ON GREAT CULTURAL ANNIVERSARIES

✱

At a time when propaganda, opposed to international understanding, is multiplying artificial barriers between peoples as if to persuade them of the imminence and inevitability of war, the World Council of Peace, convinced that it is fulfilling the aspirations of the people, considers that the year 1952 should be, on the contrary, a year of peaceful projects.

It proposes in particular that in the course of that year, holidays and vacations should be devoted to a full development of cultural exchanges on the basis of reciprocity. These should allow distinguished personalities, groups of teachers and students of all faculties, and men and women who want to promote the development of culture to visit foreign countries in order to understand them better and to stimulate discussions among the peoples.

These holidays and vacations should be in the service of Peace.

The World Council addresses itself to all student and teacher organisations as well as to all cultural organisations or associations, without distinction as to opinion, asking them to participate in this great undertaking.

The World Council of Peace considers that the year 1952 should also be marked by important demonstrations on the national and international level on the occasion of great anniversaries such as the 150th anniversary of the birth of Victor HUGO, the 500th anniversary of the birth of Leonardo da VINCI, the 100th anniversary of the death of Nicolai GOGOL, the 1,000th anniversary of the death of AVICENNA. Thus men and women will be able to unite, irrespective of frontiers, to honour those who have enriched their common heritage.

The World Council draws the attention of the whole movement and of world public opinion to the value and scope of cultural exchanges. The development of such exchanges, by dissipating mistrust, will be an important factor in the maintenance and consolidation of Peace.

[World Peace Council]

PRIX INTERNATIONAUX DE LA PAIX 1952

32-33-129

Vaino AALTONEN : La Paix

LE CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

réuni à Budapest le 19 juin 1953 et d'accord avec la proposition que lui a faite le Jury des Prix Internationaux de la Paix, a décidé de décerner pour l'année 1952 des Prix et des Médailles d'or aux personnes suivantes :

PRIX D'HONNEUR DE LA PAIX

au poète et héros national bulgare, tombé dans la lutte contre le nazisme,
NIKOLA YOUKOV VAPTZAROV

PRIX INTERNATIONAUX DE LA PAIX

PAUL ELUARD, poète français, pour son œuvre et son activité au service de la Paix

W. E. B. DU BOIS, savant nord-américain, pour son activité au service de la Paix

MARTIN HELLBERG, KURT et JEANNE STERN, metteurs en scène allemands, pour leur film « Le Village Condamné »

HALLDOR KILJAN LAXNESS, romancier islandais, pour son œuvre au service de la Paix

LEOPOLDO MENDEZ, graveur mexicain et ses collaborateurs du « Taller de Gráfica popular » pour leurs œuvres au service de la Paix

MULK RAJ ANAND, romancier indien, pour son œuvre au service de la Paix

MEDAILLES D'OR DE LA PAIX

JEAN EFFEL, pour ses dessins au service de la Paix

VÍTĚZSLAV NEZVAL, poète tchécoslovaque, pour son poème « Chant de la Paix »

JAMES ALDRIDGE, romancier anglais, pour son roman « Le Diplomate »

CLAUDIO SANTORO, musicien brésilien, pour sa cantate « Chant d'amour et de Paix »

MARIA ROSA OLIVER, écrivain argentin, pour son activité au service de la Paix

TOSHIKO AKAMATSU et IRI MARUKI, peintres japonais, pour leur œuvre « Scènes du bombardement atomique »

GEORGES SALENDRE, sculpteur français, pour son œuvre au service de la Paix

BOZORG ALAVI, romancier iranien, pour son livre « Nameha »

STEFAN CSORVASSY, sculpteur roumain, pour sa sculpture sur bois « Coréens »

CARLOS AUGUSTO LEON, poète vénézuelien, pour ses poèmes sur la Paix

LUIS CARLOS PEREZ, juriste colombien, pour son activité au service de la Paix

VAINO AALTONEN, sculpteur finlandais, pour sa statue « La Paix »

BOZORG ALAVI, romancier iranien, est né en 1908 à Téhéran.

L'œuvre littéraire d'Alavi est étroitement liée à son activité civique, à ses luttes pour la libération et le bien-être de son peuple. Une importante partie de celle-ci a été écrite quand il était en prison, et c'est dans un style remarquablement vivant et lucide qu'il dépeint la pénible vie qu'on y

mène. Son dernier livre, « Les Lettres » — un recueil de nouvelles — est considéré par la critique iranienne comme son chef-d'œuvre et comme une des plus belles et vigoureuses expressions de la nouvelle littérature nationale.

Voici les titres de quelques-uns de ses livres : « La Valise », « Notes de prison », « Aniran », « Les Ouzbegs », « Nameha », « Les Lettres ».

STEFAN CSORVASSY, sculpteur roumain, est né le 2 avril 1912.

Dans son œuvre artistique il a toujours cherché à exprimer la vie de son peuple et de son temps avec courage et avec un optimisme lucide.

Il a participé à plusieurs expositions d'art plastique en Roumanie, en Union Soviétique, en Hongrie, et en Tchécoslovaquie.

Ses œuvres les plus populaires jusqu'à ce jour sont : « Suivant la même voie », « La Tractoriste », et « Coréens ». Cette dernière, réflète la lutte organisée des Partisans Coréens qui sont entourés par l'amour et la confiance de leur peuple. L'œuvre représente le moment où un paysan désigne aux partisans l'emplacement où se trouve l'ennemi.

CARLOS AUGUSTO LEON est né à Caracas (Vénézuela) le 20 octobre 1914.

Sa poésie toute imprégnée d'un sentiment national très vif, s'amplifie jusqu'à prendre des résonances mondiales. Ses derniers chants ont été dédiés à l'exaltation de la paix. Il a écrit aussi un livre remarquable dans lequel il dénonce le danger de la pro-

pagande belliciste de certains milieux cinématographiques.

Voici quelques-unes de ses œuvres : « Chant de mon pays dans cette guerre », « L'enfant au crâne », « Seul avec la vie », « Chant de Paix », « Chant pour la Corée », « La mort à Hollywood », « Les pierres magiques », « Hommage à Jorge Manrique », « Les pas-vivants », « Trois poèmes », etc...

LUIS CARLOS PEREZ est né à Popayan (Colombie) en 1915.

Docteur en droit et professeur d'université, il a publié divers ouvrages de droit pénal parmi lesquels on devra citer en premier lieu « Le délit de propagande de guerre », dont il a été dit que « c'est une œuvre importante, non seulement comme témoin de l'intense lutte politique de nos jours, mais avant tout parce que c'est

le premier livre cohérent écrit sur ce problème ». Le Comité National des Juristes Démocrates de Colombie l'a présentée comme un exposé des motifs pour un projet de loi tendant à interdire la propagande bélliciste.

Le professeur Perez est aussi l'auteur de « Nouvelles bases du droit criminel », « Les délits politiques » et « Criminologie : la nouvelle conception naturaliste du délit ».

VAINO AALTONEN, le grand sculpteur finlandais, est né dans un petit village du nord le 8 mars 1894.

Le sujet de ses œuvres est toujours proche du peuple finlandais : l'épopée nationale « Kalevala » et les livres de l'écrivain national Aleksis Kivi ont particulièrement retenu l'attention de l'artiste.

Ces dernières années, Vaino Aaltonen s'est consacré à une grande œuvre de sculpture, la « Statue de la Paix », dont il a dit lui-même : « Déjà en 1928, j'avais fait la première esquisse de la statue de la Paix. Dès le début, j'ai eu l'idée de créer une œuvre symbolisant la paix sans aucune tendance politique, c'est-à-dire l'idée pure de la paix, telle que l'homme peut la porter dans son cœur ».

LE JURY DES PRIX INTERNATIONAUX DE LA PAIX

PIETRO NENNI (Italie), Président, PIERRE COT (France), Vice-président,
MAO DUN (Chine), WANDA WASSILIEVSKA (U.R.S.S.),
JAN MUKAŘOVSKÝ (Tchécoslovaquie), D. D. KOSAMBI (Inde),
Rev. HEWLETT JOHNSON (Grande-Bretagne), WILLARD UPHAUS (Etats-Unis),
ARTHUR LUNDKVIST (Suède), HERIBERTO JARA (Mexique),
HELEN WEIGEL BRECHT (République Démocratique Allemande),
MOHAMED KAMEL EL BINDARI PACHA (Egypte), JERZY PUTRAMENT (Pologne),
GABRIEL D'ARBOUSSIER (Afrique Noire), JORGE AMADO (Brésil)

COMMUNICATION POUR LES PRIX CORRESPONDANT A 1953

DANS sa réunion de Budapest, le Conseil Mondial de la Paix a décidé de limiter à trois le nombre des Prix Internationaux de la Paix qui seront attribués chaque année par la suite. Chacun de ces prix consistera en un diplôme et en la somme de cinq millions de francs.

Ces trois uniques prix seront attribués par le Jury International Permanent à des personnalités dont les activités créatrices, universellement appréciées dans les domaines des lettres, des arts et des sciences, ont contribué avec une efficacité notoire à la consolidation de la paix et de l'amitié entre les peuples.

Monument à Danielle Casanova
par SALENDRE

Les candidatures à ces prix pourront être présentées pour l'année 1953 jusqu'au 31 décembre au Conseil Mondial de la Paix par les Comités Nationaux de la Paix, par des organisations publiques ou par des particuliers.

[1952]

REPORT

OF THE

INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC COMMISSION

FOR THE

INVESTIGATION OF THE FACTS CONCERNING

BACTERIAL WARFARE IN KOREA AND CHINA

32-33-40

32-33-41

LIST
OF 46 APPENDICES

The List of the 46 Appendices is as follows:

A. Chronological summary of the meetings of the commission.

B. General survey of the principles of transmission of diseases by insect vectors, etc.

C. Memorandum on the quantitative investigation of bacteria carried by insects.

D. Memorandum on the mechanical transmission of bacteria by normal flies in China; analysis of studies on random samples.

E. An investigation to determine whether the flies naturally occurring in the city of Shenyang (Mukden) carry intestinal pathogenic bacteria or Bacillus anthracis (ISCC8).

F. An investigation on the bacteriology of local specimens of chicken feathers collected from the cities of Shenyang and Kuan-Tien to determine if they carry Bacillus anthracis (ISCC9).

G. General table of incidents in North Korea and Northeast China (Manchuria); including some of the more important of those mentioned in the Prague documents.

H. Entomological data on the insects disseminated (ISCC 10); table of species identified; graph showing the anomalies in the appearances of the unusual insect populations; graph comparing the winter temperatures of 1951 to 1952 with earlier figures.

I. Questions addressed to the (North) Korean Minister of Health (Pyongyang, 30 July, 1952), and replies received (Peking, 21 August).

J. a. Report on fungus-laden plant materials dispersed by U.S. planes in Northeast China and in North Korea (ISCC7).

J. b. Report on two kinds of leaves of South Korean plants disseminated by U.S. planes in North Korea and Northeast China.

K. Report on plague in Changteh, Hunan (12 December 1941) (ISCC1).

L. Memorandum on certain aspects of Japanese bacterial warfare (ISCK6).

M. Report on voles infected with Pasteurella pestis dropped by U.S. plane at Kan-Nan Hsien, Heilungchiang Province (ISCC2).

N. Hearings on the Kan-Nan incident; depositions of eyewitnesses and others; observations of the commission made on the spot, etc.

O. Memorandum on the comparison between the voles collected at Kan-Nan with Microtus gregalis Pallas (ISCC2a).

P. Commentary on the comparison of the Kan-Nan voles with Microtus gregalis (O.O.).

Q. Article: "Bacteriological Warfare", by Sakaki Ryohei, formerly major, Epidemic Prevention Service, Japanese Kwantung Army; translated from Sunday Mainichi (weekly), N° 1,682, 27 January, 1952.

R. Report on a case of plague in Kang-Sou Goon Pyong-An Nam Do, caused by contact with fleas infected with plague, dropped by U.S. planes on March 25th, 1952 (ISCK2).

S. Hearings on the Kang-Sou incident (plague); replies of eyewitnesses and statements of scientific experts.

T. Report on the spreading of human fleas infected with plague bacteria, by U.S. planes (ISCK3).

U. Hearings on the Hoi Yang incident—plague; eyewitness statements, etc.

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Preamble

From the beginning of 1952, phenomena of a very unusual character occurring in the territories of Korea and China led to allegations by the peoples and governments of those countries that they had become the objective of bacteriological warfare.

Since the peoples of the world had long manifested their disapproval, and indeed detestation, of such methods of war, the gravity of the situation was well understood. This was the reason for the formation of an International Scientific Commission which should examine the evidence in the field.

The members of the Commission, who, conscious of their responsibility, made every effort to free themselves from preconceived ideas, have carried out their investigations according to the strictest scientific principles known to them. The details of this work, and the conclusions to which it has led, are placed before the reader in the present Report. In its composition eight languages have participated, and if it should be found lacking in elegance, the reader will remember that it had to be clear, unambiguous, and comprehensible in every continent.

Formation and Work of the Commission

On the 22nd Feb. 1952, Mr. Bak Hun-Yung, Foreign Minister of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and on the 8th March Mr. Chou En-Lai, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, protested officially against the use of bacteriological warfare by the U.S.A. On the 25th Feb., Dr. Kuo Mo-Jo, President of the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace, addressed an appeal to the World Peace Council.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the World Peace Council held at Oslo on the 29th March, Dr. Kuo Mo-Jo, with the assistance of the Chinese delegates who accompanied him, and in the presence of the Korean representative, Mr. Li Ki-Ien, placed the members of the Committee, and other national delegates, in possession of much information concerning the phenomena in question. Dr. Kuo declared that the governments of China and (North) Korea did not consider the International Red Cross Committee sufficiently free from political influence to be capable of instituting an unbiassed enquiry in the field. This objection was later extended to the World Health Organisation, as a specialised agency of the United Nations. However, the two governments were entirely desirous of inviting an international group of impartial and independent scientists to proceed to China and to investigate personally the facts on which the allegations were based. They might or might not be connected with organisations working for peace, but they would naturally be persons known for their devotion to humanitarian causes. The group would have the mission of verifying or invalidating the allegations. After thorough discussion, the Executive Committee adopted unanimously a resolution calling for the formation of such an International Scientific Commission.

Efforts were therefore made immediately after the Oslo meeting to obtain the acceptances of a considerable number of European, South American, and Indian scientists, as eminent as possible in the relevant fields. As soon as the provisional acceptances were known, Dr. Tsien San-Tsiang, Director of the Institute of Modern Physics of Academia Sinica (the Chinese National Academy), and a member of the Chinese Peace Committee, who had remained in Europe after the Oslo meeting charged with the work of organising the Commission, issued invitations in the name of Dr. Kuo Mo-Jo, President of Academia Sinica and of the Chinese Peace Committee. The indispensable minimum of members having been reached by mid-June, they duly proceeded to China.

The International Scientific Commission reached Peking on the 21st, and 28th June, where its members were warmly welcomed by representatives of Academia Sinica and the Chinese Peace Committee. The members were as follows:—

Dr. Andrea ANDREEN (Sweden), Director of the Central Clinical Laboratory of the Hospitals Board of the City of Stockholm.

Mons. Jean MALTERRE (France), Ingenieur-Agricole, Director of the Laboratory of Animal Physiology, National College of Agriculture, Grignon; formerly Livestock Expert, UNRRA; Corresponding Member of the Italian and Spanish Societies of Animal Husbandry.

Dr. Joseph NEEDHAM (U.K.), F.R.S., Sir William Dunn Reader in Biochemistry, University of Cambridge; formerly Counsellor (Scientific), H.B.M. Embassy, Chungking, and later Director of the Department of Natural Sciences, UNESCO.

Dr. Oliviero OLIVO (Italy), Professor of Human Anatomy in the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Bologna; formerly Lecturer in General Biology, University of Turin.

Dr. Samuel B. PESSOA (Brazil), Professor of Parasitology at the University of Sao Paulo; formerly Director of Public Health for the State of Sao Paulo; Hon. Professor in the Faculties of Medicine of the Universities of Recife and Paraiba.

Dr. N. N. ZHUKOV-VEREZHNIKOV (U.S.S.R.), Professor of Bacteriology at, and Vice-President of, the Soviet Academy of Medicine; formerly chief medical expert at the Khabarovsk Trial of Japanese ex-service men accused of participating in bacteriological warfare.

While greatly regretting that certain distinguished men of science whose participation had been expected, had not been able to come, the 15th July was fixed by the Commission as the last date for arrival. However, later on, a warm welcome was given to

Dr. Franco GRAZIOSI (Italy), Assistant in the Institute of Microbiology, University of Rome,

who arrived in Peking on the 6th Aug., just before the return of the Commission from Shenyang (Mukden). Since he was thus only able to be present during the last three weeks of the Commission's work, he was established in the status of Observer-Consultant, and in that capacity gave great help to the proceedings.

Finally, there participated:

Dr. TSIEN San-Tsiang (China), Director of the Institute of Modern Physics, Academia Sinica (Chinese National Academy),

who had accompanied the Commission from Europe to Peking as Dr. Kuo's representative. Upon the unanimous invitation of the Commission, he was attached by the Chinese authorities as Liaison-Member, a position which carried a voice in the deliberations of the Commission, but no vote. The group also included:

Mr. N. A. KOWALSKI; Secretary-Interpreter to Dr. Zhukov-Verezhnikov, and

Mrs. S. B. PESSOA; acting as Secretary-Interpreter to Dr. Pessoa.

The International Commission was assisted by a Committee of Reception which had been set up on the Chinese side. This was constituted as follows:

Chairman:

Mrs. LI Tê-Chuan President of the Chinese Red Cross Society and Member of the World Peace Council

Vice-Chairmen:

Mr. LIAO Ch'êng-Chih Member of the World Peace Council

Dr. HO Chêng Hon. President of the Chinese Medical Association

Secretary-General:

Dr. KUNG Nai-Ch'uan Director of Shanghai Medical College

Assistant Secretary-General:

Dr. CHI Su-Hua Secretary of the Chinese Medical Association

Specialist Liaison Officers:

Dr. CHUNG Hui-Lan Director of the People's Hospital, Peking, and Professor of Clinical Medicine, China Union Medical College

Dr. Wu Tsai-Tung Professor of Pathology, Nanking University Medical College

Dr. FANG Kang Associate Research Member, Central Biological Products Institution Peking;

Dr. CHU Hung-Fu Assistant Director Laboratory of Entomology, Academia Sinica

Dr. YEN Jen-Ying (Associate Professor of Obstetrics and Gynaecology, Peking University Medical College)

Dr. YANG Chih-Ta (Professor of Public Health, Aurora University, Shanghai).

Most of the members of the Committee accompanied the Commission upon its travels, however hazardous or arduous, and were constantly ready to perform every conceivable liaison task which the situation might demand. From time to time some of them, together with many other Chinese scientists and medical men, attended the meetings of the Commission as observers or to give evidence before it. The Commission wishes to thank all these colleagues, for whose scientific attainments and probity it conceived a deep respect.

As regards the conduct of the meetings of the Commission, the Chairmanship rotated in an approximately consecutive manner among the members. M. Malterre was elected Scientific Secretary. The first meeting of the Commission took place in Peking on the 23rd June, and a brief chronological summary of all the meetings held will be found in App.

Of the general methods of the Commission it may be said that it worked in close contact with the Ministers and ministerial secretariats of the central and regional Ministries of Health at Peking, Shenyang (Mukden), and Pyongyang. It naturally had the help of all those scientists whose fields of work were relevant to the problem before it. Besides those already mentioned, the Commission wishes to thank Dr. WANG Pin and Dr. PAI Hsi-Ch'ing, Minister and Vice-Minister of Health respectively for the North-Eastern Region of China (Manchuria), who spared no pains to lay before the Commission all information that it was in their power to give. Its thanks are similarly due to Dr. RI Ping-Nam and Dr. LU Tchen-Han, Minister and Vice-Minister of Health respectively in (North) Korea, but these could not be offered without an expression of admiration for the cool manner in which these distinguished medical officials conducted all their business while suffering the constant inconveniences and dangers of heavy air bombardments.

In this connection, too, the Members of the Commission wish to voice their profound admiration for the devoted service to their country of all the Korean bacteriologists and other specialists whom they had the honour to meet during their visit. The Commission renders homage to three of the best Korean bacteriologists who have perished while carrying out their professional duties. It also wishes to place on record its admiration of the selfless service of the eminent Chinese specialists seconded to the Korean Epidemic Prevention Corps, such as Dr. CH'EN Wên-Kuei, Dr. WEI Hsi, and Dr. HO Ch'i, who thought fit to leave

the quiet amenities of their laboratories in far-away parts of China to share all the hardships and dangers of their Korean colleagues in the front line of anti-bacterial defence.

The meetings of the Commission varied in character. Sometimes the members discussed scientific problems for many hours in closed session, on other occasions Chinese scientific experts were present, and again at other times large rooms were required for the hearing of evidence of numerous eye-witnesses who came from all walks of life. Among the witnesses there figured a captured intelligence agent (App.) and four airmen (App.). From time to time specific sub-committees of two or three members were delegated to look into particular problems in conjunction with Chinese colleagues, and then to report back to the Commission. From time to time whole days were spent in laboratories, at Peking, Shenyang, and Pyongyang, where the Chinese and Korean scientists demonstrated in great detail the results of their investigations. As occasion demanded, too, members of the Commission made use of the very good library facilities available at Peking and Shenyang.

The material on the cases prepared by the Chinese and Korean specialists forms the bulk of the Appendices to the present Report. They will be found briefly described in the paragraphs which follow. It should be understood that they are not isolated cases, but represent a sampling from a larger mass of material. If the bulk of what is here presented is Chinese rather than Korean, this is because the Koreans were working under far more difficult conditions, and because the Commission was in Korea for a shorter time, and indeed at a particularly difficult moment.

At the same time the Commission felt that it must familiarise itself with the original scientific data which had formed the basis for the documentation issued from Prague during the earlier part of the year. It was necessary that these documents should be validated or otherwise, if possible, and it proved that clarifications were indeed necessary; misunderstanding, tentative identifications afterwards withdrawn, sheer mistakes of translation, etc. being found. After a great deal of work along these lines, the results of which may be seen in many of the Appendices, the general conclusion of the Commission was, in fact, to confirm the main statements of the Reports of earlier investigating groups which had been disseminated through Prague.

The main travels undertaken by the Commission were as follows. Having unravelled the main threads of the situation in Peking from the 23rd June to the 9th July, it proceeded to Shenyang (Mukden), where it worked from the 12th to the 25th. Accompanied by the members of the Reception Committee, it then passed across the Yalu River into North Korea and held meetings in Pyongyang (subject to interruptions by air-raids from July 28th to 31st. Then returning north, the Commis-

sion spent two days at a rendezvous with the captured airmen before re-crossing the frontier into Northeast China on Aug. 6th. It should be recorded that the technical organisation of this expedition was faultless.

An earlier one, which took a shorter time, had been undertaken on the 15th and 16th July, when the Commission went by special plane, train, and jeep, via Chichihar and Laha to visit the localities in the Kan-Nan district which had been the scene of the dissemination of plague-infected rodents (see App.). These places are located in Heilungchiang province on the border of Inner Mongolia. Other official journeys were of a minor character.

It is important to say something regarding the difficulties of language necessarily attendant upon any enterprise such as that of the present Commission. Within the Commission itself seven languages were represented, but it was found that French was the one spoken and understood by the majority of the members, and this therefore became the working language. Russian, English, and Italian, when spoken, were at once translated into French. On the Chinese side, the fact that so many Chinese scientists speak excellent English or French was of great value to the work, but during meetings, for protocol reasons, they spoke in Chinese, interpreted immediately, and often independently, into French, Russian, and English. This was effected by Dr. YANG Shih-Ta and Mr. TING Chi-Ch'ien for French, Dr. CH'EN Shu for Russian, and Dr. YEN Jen-Ying for English. At a later stage of the work, Dr. WU Huan-Hsing rendered valuable literary and linguistic assistance. The Commission had further the advantage that one of its European members spoke and understood the Chinese language, which was of particular value during the interviewing of witnesses, and could also read and write Chinese, which facilitated the consultation of literature and the examination of documents. Another member was able to maintain direct English-Russian linguistic contact. In Korea conditions were even more complicated, for very few Chinese scientists understand Korean, but the Commission had there the services of a remarkable linguist, Dr. OK Jen-Hsieh, who interpreted perfectly from Korean into French, English or Chinese at will. Other Korean-Chinese interpreters were also available. A parallel check was obtained by translation into one of the European languages through Chinese, and also simultaneously from Korean to Russian direct. Since frequent comparison of notes took place, it will be seen that there was not much likelihood of any mistake on points of substance. Lastly, the proceedings at some of the meetings were recorded by magnetophone for subsequent reference. For all these reasons, the Commission considers itself protected against any criticisms that it did not succeed in apprehending the full mind of Chinese and Korean specialists and witnesses.

The names of the members of the Commission signed below bear

appropriate indications as to the qualifications and fields of competence of the signatories. Their diverse experiences were pooled in laborious and extended discussions. Each contributed equally in all matters where a knowledge and understanding of the scientific method as such sufficed, and when the problem was remote from their own fields, the critical expositions of the better qualified members carried the conviction of the others. The present Report is thus a truly collective work.

Besides those things which the members of the Commission themselves saw and heard, and for which therefore they take the responsibility of witnesses, the Commission necessarily depended on Korean and Chinese documentation. Although there was no reason to doubt the competence and probity of the medical men and other scientists in China and Korea, the Commission left no precaution untaken. It never wearied in analysing the cases, and took the greatest pains to enter into direct contact with the original facts whenever this was at all possible. Its members held themselves continually on guard against political, ethical or emotional influences, and its work was done in an atmosphere of calm and scientific objectivity. Its final convictions naturally rested to some extent upon the reliability of the hundreds of witnesses interviewed and interrogated. Their testimonies were too simple, too concordant, and too independent, to be subject to doubt.

In the descriptions which will be found in the body of the Report it was obviously impossible to incorporate in every sentence the Korean or Chinese authority upon which the statement is based. Personal tests, examinations, interrogations, etc., carried out by the members of the Commission, have generally been mentioned in the text. In all cases, full details will be found in the relevant documents and commentaries indicated by the references to the Appendices.

A final Appendix gives biographical details of all the Chinese and Korean scientists whose names are mentioned in the documents here published.

Documentation*

At the time when the members of the Commission first assembled, the only documents available to them were those which had been released by the Korean and Chinese Governments and disseminated in the western world from the secretariat of the World Peace Council at Prague or through the various Chinese official news agencies in the various countries.

The First Report of the Korean Medical Service (SIA/1)** dealt only with events of Jan. and Feb. 1952. The material contained in it was worked over again in the International Democratic Lawyers' Commission (Korea) Report (SIA/4), which added data on the appearance of plague cases in Korea, and of course the results of examination of eye-witnesses by international personnel.

The two most detailed reports were those of the Chinese Commission for Investigating the American Crime of Germ Warfare which carried out investigations both in Korea and in NE China (Manchuria) during the month of March. The main one of these was that of the sub-commission in Korea printed in Peking in April, given in full in NCNA/85 (Suppl.), and abridged in SIA/13. The report of the sub-commission, in Northeast China (Manchuria) was similarly printed in Peking and abridged in SIA/3. This report is that which contained the fullest entomological information. Nothing of strictly scientific significance was added by the International Democratic Lawyers' version of the same material, again printed in Peking, and fully reproduced in SIA/8.

A special report by certain European scientists consulted by the Secretariat of the World Peace Council confirmed the entomological identifications by photographs, and appeared as SIA/2; it covered both Korean and NE Chinese data. A further special report by four Chinese scientists, again based on the same material, appeared as SIA/12.

Those who wish to examine the earlier reports would be well advised to study them in the above order. By the time that the members of the Lawyers' Commission returned to Europe (mid-April), a considerable

* The references contained in the text relate to Appendices which will be published at a later date.

** The following document identifications will be used: Prague series, SIA/; New China News Agency, NCNA/ ; Documents furnished to the International Scientific Commission, in China, ISCC/ ; in Korea, ISCK/ .

amount of new duplicated and typescript material was ready for them to take with them, especially a series of ten important, but at that time only partially analysed, incidents, which, as they carried numbers 00001 to 00010, are termed the "Four-Zero Series".

The remaining material, while by no means lacking in scientific significance, was predominantly legal and personal. Eye-witness depositions, some of which concerned cases also described elsewhere (e.g. 00005), were collected in SIA/6 and 10. Statements of various American prisoners of war and agents were collected in SIA/7, while many papers were devoted to the elaborate statements of captured American pilots (SIA/14, 15, 16, 17, 18), and these themselves were photolithographically reproduced in a document published by the World Peace Council probably in May. A collection of relevant press excerpts on bacteriological warfare was brought together in SIA/5.

The Relevance of Japanese Bacterial Warfare in World War II

No investigation of allegations of bacterial warfare in East Asia could fail to take cognisance of the fact that it was undoubtedly employed by the Japanese against China during the second world war. The Commission was relatively well informed on this subject since one of its members had been the chief expert at the Khabarovsk trial, and another had been one of the very few western scientists in an official position in China during the course of the events themselves. In 1944 it had been part of his duty to report to his own government that although he had begun with an attitude of great scepticism, the material collected by the Chinese Surgeon-General's Office seemed to show clearly that the Japanese were, and had been, disseminating plague-infected fleas in several districts. They were thus able to bring about a considerable number of cases of bubonic plague in areas where it was normally not endemic, but where conditions for its spread were fairly favourable. As is generally known, under normal circumstances, bubonic plague is endemic only in certain sharply circumscribed areas (e.g. Fukien province) out of which it does not spread.

From the archives of the Chinese Ministry of Health one of the original reports dealing with the artificial induction of plague at Changtê in Hunan province by the Japanese in 1941 was laid before the Commission (App. ISCC/1). This document is still today of considerable value and indeed historical interest. Official Chinese records give the number of hsien cities which were attacked in this way by the Japanese as eleven, 4 in Chekiang, 2 each in Hopei and Honan, and 1 each in Shansi, Hunan and Shantung. The total number of victims of artificially disseminated plague is now assessed by the Chinese as approximately 700 between 1940 and 1944.

The document reproduced below has, moreover, historical interest. It is known that the Chinese Surgeon-General at the time distributed ten copies among the Embassies in Chungking, and it may well be more than a coincidence that according to the well-known Merck Report of Jan. 1946, large-scale work in America on the methods of bacteriological warfare began in the very same year, 1941. The Commission was happy to have the opportunity, during its work in Korea, of meeting the distinguished plague specialist who wrote the original memorandum from Changtê, and of hearing his views on the failure of the Kuomintang

Government to follow up the evidence which was already in their hands by the end of the second world war (App.). As is generally known, his conclusions were subsequently fully confirmed by the admissions of the accused at the Khabarovsk trial.

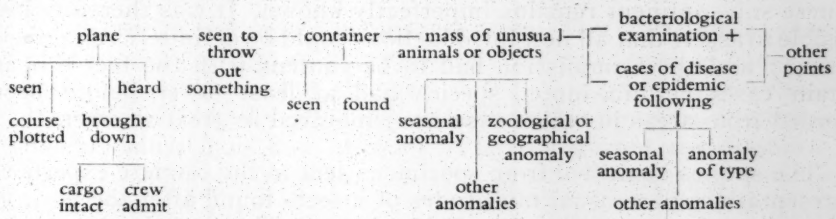
By the publication of the "Materials on the Trial of Former Servicemen of the Japanese Army charged with Manufacturing and Employing Bacteriological Weapons" (Moscow, 1950) a wealth of information about the practical work carried out under the direction of the Japanese bacteriologist Ishii Shiro (who was unfortunately not himself in the dock) was made available to the world. It was established beyond doubt that techniques had been employed for the mass-production of bacteria such as those of cholera, typhoid and plague, literally by hundreds of kilograms of the wet paste at a time. Techniques, quite simple in character, had also been used for the breeding of large numbers of rats and very large numbers of fleas, though in practice only the latter seem to have been disseminated. Moreover, the various witnesses were ready to give chapter and verse as to the dates upon which they had proceeded to various Japanese bases in China to superintend the methods of dissemination used. Abundant details were also forthcoming about the special secret detachments (such as the notorious "731") and their laboratories, pilot plants, and prisons in which Chinese and Russian patriots were made use of with perfect sangfroid as experimental animals. In the course of its work, as will be mentioned below (p. 44) the Commission had the opportunity of examining some of the few remaining specimens of the earthenware "bombs" which were manufactured for Ishii in a special factory at Harbin.

It would seem that the Japanese militarists never abandoned their visions of world-conquest by the aid of biological weapons in general and the dissemination of insect weapons in particular. Before they departed from Dairen they systematically tore out from all volumes of journals in the university and departmental libraries articles which had any connection with bacterial warfare. It should not be forgotten that before the allegations of bacterial warfare in Korea and NE China (Manchuria) began to be made in the early months of 1952, newspaper items had reported two successive visits of Ishii Shiro to South Korea, and he was there again in March. Whether the occupation authorities in Japan had fostered his activities, and whether the American Far Eastern Command was engaged in making use of methods essentially Japanese, were questions which could hardly have been absent from the minds of members of the Commission.

Incident Analysis Adopted by the Commission

On account of its very nature, the use of biological weapons is an act exceptionally difficult to prove. Perfect proof might require, for example, that an airplane be forced down with its biological cargo intact and its crew prepared to admit their proceedings forthwith. Obviously this would be a very unlikely occurrence for many reasons. It is therefore necessary to envisage a manner of grouping events into a coherent pattern so that they can throw light upon each other and perhaps build up a circumstantial case. A first necessity, therefore, for the thought and work of the Commission was some kind of scheme which could serve as a framework for the facts which it would have to study in each particular investigation.

The simplest scheme, in which, under ideal conditions, every component would be present and positive, was the following:—



Naturally this complete pattern will rarely or never be encountered. There are, nevertheless, cases which come near enough to it to be decisive. In this way it is possible to reconstruct the activities of those who have utilised such methods, and to elucidate the effects which have been produced by them. The Commission paid particular attention to those assemblies of facts which attained most nearly the demonstrative character of the ideal pattern. When the general complex of facts resulting from the confrontation of numerous patterns is examined, the whole situation becomes clear, (cf. p. 51 below).

Entomological Data of the Prague Documents

One of the first tasks which presented itself to the Commission when it began its work in Peking was the systematic examination of the scientific material on which the Prague documents had been based, and one of the first aspects of this work was the tabulation of the entomological evidence in conjunction with the Chinese scientists of Academia Sinica and other learned bodies who had been responsible for the identifications. The opinion of the Commission was soon formed that there could be no doubts whatever as to their high competence (App.). They are, moreover, provided with very extensive library facilities including a rapid loan system between institutes, and the various collections of insects are maintained in excellent order. The only real difficulty, which remained insuperable, was the fact that even after the work of half a century, the systematic classification of many groups of insects in the Chinese sub-continent remains imperfectly known. It was therefore impossible to assert that all new introductions could be definitely recognised as such; and the Commission had to be content with the fact that in certain cases certain insect species had at least never before been recorded from areas in which they now appeared in great numbers.

The species identified from specimens sent to the Chinese experts as representatives of unusual multitudes of insects found after the passage of American planes, are given in a Table (App.). They include nine species of Diptera (six species of flies and three of mosquitoes and midges), one of Plecoptera, one of Collembola, one of Siphonaptera, and three of Orthoptera, as well as two spiders (Arachnida). In all, eighteen species including a beetle to be mentioned below.

One of the original impressions which the documentation (e.g. SIA/4) had given in Europe was that certain arthropods had been found which belonged, not only to species, but to genera, never known before in the relevant regions of continental Asia. This was not confirmed. Nevertheless, in three cases there were phenomena clearly anomalous in this respect. The species of *Hylemyia* (anthomyiid fly) identified repeatedly from numerous swarms collected, proved definitely not the same as any one of the four species common in Northeast China, nor with any one of the fifteen species previously recorded from all parts of China. The genus, however, has some 600 species, counting all parts of the world, and the true faunal areas of all of them are not yet perfectly known (App.). Similarly, the sun-flies found (*Helomyza modesta;* Meigen) were

certainly not identical with the single species of this genus previously recorded from China (App.). Exactly the same observation applies to the midge *Orthocladius*. These zoological and geographical discrepancies must be allotted due weight in the consideration of all the evidence.

In any case, the anomalies proved to be much more extraordinary on the oecological than on the zoological-geographical side. While the various species might or might not be strange to the region, it was certainly exceedingly strange to find them appearing in very large populations during the first three months of the year, when the snow is still on the ground in North and Northeast China and in Korea. The Commission found no difficulty in substantiating that these masses had been seen (and destroyed as quickly as possible) by very many ordinary men and women in all walks of life. Of the eighteen species so far referred to, no less than twelve exhibited marked seasonal anomalies of appearance. In other words they appeared in mass with a precocity varying from 6—14 weeks earlier than the time of year at which, according to the personal experience and published works of competent entomologists, they ought normally to be expected to appear. The average shift was one of 9 weeks; more than two months (App.).

Here several points of interest arise. The collection of many tens of thousands of flies of approximately the same size as house-flies can easily be imagined, but the size of the spring-tail (*Isotoma neigishina;* Börner) is so small (only 2 mm. in length) that immense numbers in high density must have been present to have attracted any attention at all (App.). Wherever possible, concrete figures for assessed densities have been given in a Table (App.). An observation of importance made by one of the Chinese entomologists in SIA/12 was that certain masses of *Hylemyia* appearing when the temperature was -10° C. contained a high proportion of individuals ready to lay eggs, thus still further deepening the mystery of their origin. Similarly striking was the case of the field-cricket *Gryllus testaceus,* the life-history of which happened to have been the subject of an elaborate paper written in Peking in 1951 (App.). Thousands of adults of this species appeared in March near K'uan-Tien in Liaotung province, NE China (Manchuria), adjoining Korea, i.e. at a time when even in Peking, which has a warmer temperature than NE China, there should be present no individuals except those in the egg stage.

Now it may be granted that isolated and sporadic instances of the appearance of swarms of various kinds of insects in winter are to be found in entomological literature. But it is hardly conceivable that such phenomena could occur for so many species at once if its causes were

purely natural. The Commission ascertained that the meteorological conditions pertaining in the past winter in NE China (Manchuria) and Korea were strictly normal (App.). It was therefore not at all surprising that the Chinese and the Koreans associated the unusual phenomena with the passage of American planes which on many occasions were seen by eye-witnesses to throw down non-explosive objects whence insects emerged. The Commission interviewed such eye-witnesses (App.), and assured itself of their good faith and rational credibility. As we shall see (pp. 39—45 below) containers of types both banal and highly peculiar were found and studied. Unfortunately in some of the documentation which reached Europe (such as the Four-Zero Series) the essential statements of the passage of the planes beforehand were not included, but the Commission was able to clear up this important point (App.).

Another argument would admit that there had indeed been a shift of the times of appearance of a considerable number of species of insects, but would urge that even if this could not have been due to abnormal meteorological conditions, some other natural factor had been at work, shifting systematically all the apparitions backwards by the same amount. A test of this was fortunately very easy. It was only necessary to arrange the various species in the order of their normal appearance, and then to plot on the same graph the order of their abnormal appearance. If a uniformly-acting natural factor had been at work, the two curves or lines should run parallel, but a glance at Fig. in (App.) is sufficient to show that they do not. The order of abnormal appearances is so haphazard as to indicate the intervention of an artificial factor.

One argument which had a certain success in various countries before the Commission began its work was that napalm bombing had notoriously been going on, and that this might well have led to intense and localised heating of the earth. Such an effect might have disorganised the normal life-cycles of various kinds of insects so as to lead to their appearance several weeks or even months before their proper time. The Commission therefore noted with interest the fact that many dozens of accounts of masses of insects including 33 principal incidents, some of which are given in Table, (App.) originated from places in NE China, a region in which there has, of course, been no napalm bombing.

All the foregoing remarks apply to the species of insects mentioned in the SIA and parallel documents. A few species mentioned there by common names, such as "ants" and "horse-flies", could not be confirmed by the Chinese entomologists, and there may well have been some confusion due to terms used by non-scientific eye-witnesses. At a later stage the Commission examined new evidence concerning a coleopteron (beetle), *Ptinus,* (App.) ; this will be dealt with it in its place. Both in this

and other cases of infected insects, the material assembled in the Appendices is available for the study of the connections between the vectors and the outbreaks of disease. Relevant also here is the question of the measures taken in China and Korea to control insect populations (see App.), and that of the occurrence of pathogens on random samples of normal insects (App.).

Medical Notes on the Insects Disseminated

The reader may encounter in the following paragraphs certain insects and spiders the names of which are likely to be unfamiliar to non-specialists. The following lines are intended to supply brief descriptions of them, and they are arranged in correspondence with the order adopted in Appendix.

The insect most frequently found to be disseminated is the anthomyiid fly, *Hylemyia* sp. Flies of this genus are particularly common in North America, and there are in all more than 500 species, some of which frequent human habitations. Since they breed in human excrement they are naturally important as mechanical vectors of intestinal diseases. Many of the species pass the winter underground in the pupal stage, and in general their appearance in large numbers does not occur earlier than the month of May. Under natural conditions these flies can be infected by various bacteria pathogenic to plants (cf. p. 25 below, and App.).

Helomyza sp. (family Helomyzidae), the sun-fly, is an insect which frequents dungheaps. There are several dozen species most of which live on the excrement of man, bats, small mammals and birds; not only in the larval but also in the adult stages. Some species of these flies frequent human habitations, where they soil food and become the mechanical vectors of any human disease due to pathogenic bacteria.

The house-flies *Musca domestica* and its southern form *Musca vicina,* live invariably with man, and are well recognised as carriers of the agents of his diseases. More than sixty different species of pathogenic bacteria have been found on them.

The large house-flies, or stable-flies, *Muscina stabulans,* are also recognised as insects associated with man, and mechanical vectors of human diseases.

All the above belong to the Diptera. The Plecoptera have been represented by *Nemoura* sp., one of the stone-flies. These multiply in streams and running water, their larvae feeding on the micro-organisms in the water. The adults do not like to stray far from this environment of their growth. Contact with man can occur through water and plants.

The Collembola, primitive wingless insects, have been represented by *Isotoma* sp. These develop in decomposing plant material and damp

soils rich in humus, and in the roots of vegetables. Some species develop on the surface of standing water.

In natural conditions, it has been proved that *Pulex irritans*, the flea parasitic on man, is capable of causing serious outbreaks of plague, (Blanc and Balthazar). It will later be seen that this vector has been utilised in bacteriological warfare.

The beetle *Ptinus fur* (Coleoptera) belongs to a genus comprising some 35 to 40 species most of which have the same habits, and some of which live in the neighbourhood of man. The species in question is most frequently found in human habitations, storehouses, stables, lofts and mills, libraries and factories. It lives on husked grain, cereals, cotton-seeds, stale bread or biscuits, flour, straw, furs, carpets, leather, etc. Among these things it lays its eggs. The process of metamorphosis lasts from 3 to 4 months, so that at least three generations can be produced in one year. The adult beetles can live for five years. They are to be met with in Europe, Asia, and North America, so that the species is widespread. Virulent anthrax bacilli have been isolated from *Ptinus* in the natural state (App.).

Among the spiders, the representatives are *Lycosa* sp. and *Tarentula* sp. of the family Lycosidae. They are carnivorous, feeding on mosquitoes, flies, ants, and other species among which there may be some which are vectors of human diseases. When such a spider attacks a man, the pathological phenomena seen are provoked not only by the venom of the bite, but also by the fact that pathogenic bacteria may be injected at the same time. The excreta of these spiders may also contain pathogenic bacteria. Their length of life is considerable, attaining several years. The adults are capable of living for two years without food, and several months without water; they can also withstand light frosts.

In the scientific literature there are descriptions of methods for the artificial production of insects and arachnids on a large scale. The most complete information on this subject will be found in a collective work prepared by American entomologists and entitled "Culture Methods for Invertebrate Animals" (New York, 1937).

As can be seen from the above commentary, some of the insects disseminated are known vectors of diseases, while others do not figure in the text-books as having anything to do with such transmissions. Thus the flies *Hylemyia* and *Helomyza* frequent human habitations from time to time, while other insects, such as the Collembolid *Isotoma* sp., have only remote contacts with man. It would therefore seem unlikely at first sight that such arthropods could have any importance in the transmission of human diseases. However, one must take into consideration not only

the great latitude of the so-called specificity of vectors, but also certain aspects of the vector-host relationship not yet clarified.

Thus the connection of man with the fowl mite *Dermanyssus gallinae* is possible only in peculiar and narrowly-defined conditions. Before 1944 nothing was known of the important part played by this ecto-parasite in the transmission and conservation of the virus of encephalitis. Before then it would have seemed absurd if anyone had made use of *Dermanyssus* to provoke artificially an epidemic of encephalitis.

It can not be accepted as a general rule that those species which are in intimate contact with man are necessarily more effective disease vectors than wild species. Thus among many examples one may take that of the mosquitoes *Aedes scapularis* and *Haemagogus spegazzinii*. Under laboratory conditions these species transmit yellow fever. Now the first of these is very domestic and frequents human habitations located in forest regions, while the second one never enters them. Yet the human commensal has no important role in the transmission of yellow fever, while the wild species is well known as a vector.

As for the case of *Isotoma*, for example, various hypotheses may be formed, so long as one does not lose sight of the fact that they are only speculations about experiments of which we know nothing. For example:

a) *Isotoma* → infection of lower mammal → ecto-parasites (fleas, mites, etc.) → infection of man.

b) *Isotoma* → Contamination of food or water → infection of man.

c) *Isotoma*, multiplication of the pathogen in, → *Isotoma*, congenital disease → infection of lower mammal → ecto-parasites → infection of man.

d) *Isotoma* → infection of plants.

Many other hypotheses would also be plausible.

The same kind of suppositions apply also to the stonefly, *Nemoura*, but here there are probably yet other possibilities, hard to state precisely at present. There is no difficulty in understanding the role of the semi-domestic flies as vectors, especially when artificial laboratory conditions permit an augmentation of the percentage of infection, and an increased virulence of the pathogenic agent.

One further important point is worth emphasising. A single species can be semi-wild in one region and domesticated in another. As an example, one may cite the Anopheline mosquitoes of the genus *Kerteszia* which have no domestic habits north of the 24th degree of latitude in South America, and therefore play no part in the transmission of malaria.

(3) **Air-Bursting Variable-Time Fuse Leaflet Bomb.** This type of container is the one which has figured most in all accounts hitherto published on bacteriological warfare in Korea and China, and it is certainly the commonest type in the collections which the authorities of those two countries have made. Members of the Commission saw many examples of it. This bomb is of approximately the same size and shape as the ordinary American 500 lb. HE bomb, but it weighs only about 150 lbs. and can therefore be loaded on to the planes by hand (App.). It consists of a conical nose-piece at the tip of which is the time-fuse. This nose-piece forms a small empty compartment, and below it the cylindrical body of the bomb is divided by three steel diaphraghms into four separate compartments. The casing is divided longitudinally so that half of it, being mounted on hinges, can swing open and release its contents at any moment desired. Below the floor of the lowest compartment the casing narrows again to form a conical empty space from the sides of which spring the four tail-fins, and in the bottom of which is a hole sufficiently large to permit of the escape of a parachute if it should be desired to equip the bomb with such a device. There has been some divergence in the published measurements of the bomb (NCNA/85, SIA/13, ISCC/4, etc.) but the specimens seen by the Commission and described by the captured pilots have a total length of approximately 4 ft. and a diameter of 1 ft. 2 in. The casing is made of ⅛ in. steel, and the total capacity of the 4 compartments is of the order of 14½ gallons. The length of the time-fuse is a little more than 3 in. Markings seen were "Leaflet Bomb—500 lb.—M 105 Lot—U.S. Time (-fuse)-Empty". According to the descriptions given by the captured airmen (App.) the doors of the bomb are supposed to open at a height of about 100 ft., distributing the contents over an area likely to be about 300 ft. in diameter.

The classical eye-witness description (App.) is that of an army doctor who on Mar. 26th saw an American plane, circling over Yong-Won, drop two bombs in a power dive. Both split into two on exploding and gave rise to an insect-congested zone some 200 yards long and 100 yards broad, with a maximum density of 100 insects per sq. yard, centering on the craters (5 in. deep) made by the bomb halves (NCNA/85, p. 5). The Commission had the opportunity of personal interrogation of eyewitnesses, mostly peasant farmers, who had found three such leaflet-bombs surrounded by insects after they had been dropped by planes on Mar. 27 th and 31st at Ch'ang-Pai in Liaotung Province (ISCC/4; SIA/10). Again, while at Pyongyang, the Commission inspected a collection of these containers, and here reproduces a table of details concerning them (c.f. App.).

Serial No.	Date	Time	Place	Province	Remarks
208	26/2	night	Pyong-Won	Pyong-An-Nam	flies temp. — 4°
209	28/2	dawn	Kim-Hua	Kang-Won	flies 300 × 300 ft. temp. — 3°
205	28/2	8 p.m.	Pyong-Won	Pyong-An-Nam	flies
210	1/3	morning	Shin-Chun	Huang-He	flies in discoidal zone centering on point of impact, 2,700 sq. ft. temp. — 1°
201	5/3	midnight	Min-Chun	Kang-Won	flies, 600 × 300 ft., lethargic
207	10/3	4 a.m.	Sung-Chun	Pyong-An-Nam	flies in discoidal zone centering on point of impact, 150 ft. diam.; greatest density 20-30 sq. yd.
204	21/3	night	Mun-Chyn	Kang-Won	flies
206	26/3	9 a.m.	Myong-Won	—	flies in discoidal zone centering on point of impact, area 100 sq. yds.

It only remains to add to the above that this type of container was described in more or less detail in every one of the nine lectures attended by the four captured airmen who gave evidence before the Commission. In all four cases, too, the airmen believed that the bacteriological bombs which had been loaded on to their planes and which they duly dropped, were of this type (App.).

As is well-known, public disputes have arisen in the international press about the use of leaflet containers, but the chief of the American Army Chemical Corps is on record for the statement that they are well suited for the delivery of biological objects (SIA/9, p.1; NCNA/85, p.5; ISCC/4).

(4) **Air-Bursting Propeller-Armed Leaflet Bomb.** This container would appear to be a variation of that just described. The fuse in the nose would be armed by a small passive airscrew or propeller which would bring about detonation after a certain number of revolutions. There is hardly any mention of this type in the documentation issued before the Commission began its work, nor was any evidence found of its use. However, it was described in one of the lectures which the captured airmen had received (O'Neal/McLaughlin, see below, p. 51).

(5) **Leaflet Bomb with Doors opened by a Propeller.** In this type, which would be similar in external appearance to both those just described, the passive propeller or airscrew in the nose would actuate a mechanism, to open a series of doors along the length of the bomb after it had carried out a predetermined number of revolutions. The packets are then blown out by the wind. Again there is no mention of this in the Prague documentation, nor did the Commission find direct evidence of its existence or use. But nevertheless it was described in one of the lectures which the captured airmen had received (Quinn/Ashfork, see below, p. 51).

(6) **Leaflet Bomb with Doors or Sides opening after Impact.** Here the half-side of the bomb, or a series of doors in it, would be opened by mechanism driven by electric battery activated only by the shock of

A further incident in this phytopathological warfare which came to the attention of the Commission, was the appearance of scattered corn (maize) grains (kernels) after one of the constant American air intrusions over Liaotung province in NE China (Manchuria), at the village of Sun-Chia-Pao-Tzu near Antung. These grains were found to be infected with a species of *Thecaphora* similar to, but not identical with, *Thecaphora deformans,* which is known as a pathogen of legumes in America and Europe. The plant pathogen here found had never previously been reported from China.

Although the leaves were sometimes in a fragmentary state, there was only one consignment (the anthracnose case) in which they could not be fully identified. In the first incident the material was *Glycine max,* in the third *Prunus persica,* and in the fourth *Zeamays.* Other consignments frequently consisted of *Quercus sp.* (oaks) and *Sorghum vulgare* (kaoliang). Among them two are of particular interest (App.). At Dai-Tek San in North Korea a mass of leaves was dropped which were identified as those of the deciduous oak *Quercus aliena,* Bl. var. *rubripes,* Nakai, a tree the distribution of which is strictly limited to regions south of the 38th parallel of latitude. At Hai-Loon hsien in NE China another mass of leaves was dropped on May 3rd, which were identified as those of *Lindera glauca* Bl., a tree only found in South Korea and quite unknown in Northeast China.

Allusion should be made to the possible use of insects as vectors of plant as well as human diseases. It is well known, for example, that the anthomyiid fly *Hylemyia* spp. (cf. p. 20 above, and App.), carries fireblight of pear and apple (*Erwinia amylovora*), corn (*maize*) wilt (*Phytomonas stewartii*), and soft rot of vegetables (*Erwinia coratovora*)—three bacterial diseases—together with the fungal "black-leg" of cabbage (*Phoma lingam*). It is also well known that *Muscina stabulans* (cf. p. 20 above, and App.), carries fireblight of pear and apple. Chinese phytopathologists have isolated strains of bacteria from the insects (and leaves) disseminated, and research is proceeding.

In general it may therefore be said that the dissemination of plant diseases has certainly played a part in the biological warfare which has been carried on in Korea and Northeast China (Manchuria).

Incidents in Korea (plague)

As has already been observed, the classical method of bacteriological warfare involving plague, that adopted by the Japanese during the second world war, consists in delivering, whether by container or spray, large numbers of fleas infected with plague bacteria. Since the beginning of 1952 numerous isolated foci of plague have appeared in North Korea, always associated with the sudden appearance of numbers of fleas and with the previous passage of American planes. Seven of these incidents, the earliest dating from 11th Feb., were reported in SIA/1, and in six of them the presence of the plague bacteria in the fleas was demonstrated. Document SIA/4 added the statement that after a delivery of fleas to the neighbourhood of An-Ju on the 18th Feb., fleas which were shown bacteriologically to contain *Pasteurella pestis,* a plague epidemic broke out at Bal-Nam-Ri in that district on the 25th. Out of a population of 600 in the village, 50 went down with plague and 36 died.

According to the best information which the Commission was able to obtain, for the past five centuries there has been no plague in Korea. The nearest endemic centres are three hundred miles away in NE China (Manchuria) and a thousand miles to the south in Fukien. Moreover, the month of February would be no less than three months too early for the normal appearance of human plague cases in this climate. Above all the fleas appearing were not the rat fleas which more usually carry plague bacteria in a state of nature, but human fleas (*Pulex irritans*). It was these which were used by the Japanese during the second world war, as we know from identifications on the Chinese side (App.) and from other indications (App.).

While in Korea the Commission was invited to study two special cases (App.). In the first of these, at Kang-Sou towards the end of March, a farmer went to a jar near his well one morning after a plane had circled over his village the previous night. He found that numerous fleas were floating on the surface of the water in the jar. He was probably bitten by other fleas of the same sending, for he died of bubonic plague a few days later, the diagnosis being abundantly confirmed by pathological and bacteriological tests, carried out by Korean and Chinese experts. The fleas also were demonstrated to be infected with plague bacteria. Members of the Commission inspected the cultures of microorganisms isolated from the body of the patient by the above-mentioned specialists, and convinced themselves

that these cultures were really of *Pasteurella pestis*. Pathological and histological preparations were also examined. Prompt sanitary measures at Kang-Sou had prevented further cases.

In the second of the studies, two lieutenants of the Chinese Volunteer Forces in Korea, found a very dense mass of fleas on a bare hillside near Hoi-Yang. The zoning was so distributed as to indicate that they had been delivered by a container which came down rather slowly in a NNE direction, but no trace of any container could be found. Somewhat astonished at the density of the population, which darkened the ground and blackened their trousers, the two young men, who were afterwards questioned by the Commission personally, returned to their quarters and brought reinforcements which destroyed the fleas with a fire of petrol and pine branches. In this case the soldiers were protected in a number of ways (App.) and their prompt counter-measures took effect before any appreciable number of the fleas could find their way to routes of transit frequented by human beings. Tests carried out by the Korean-Chinese services showed that these fleas were infected with plague bacteria, and that they were human fleas.

The fact that they were fleas (*P. irritans*) parasitic on man must be emphasised. According to what is known of the oecology of this insect, it would be impossible to find large numbers away from the houses of man. What, then, is to be said of the occurrence of a number of these insects estimated at many tens of thousands, at one time, on bare waste land remote from any human habitation? Such a witches' sabbath was certainly not called together by any natural means. More relevant was the plane which members of the CPVF billeted in the neighbourhood had heard circling over the place at about 4 a. m. on the day the discovery.

Analysis shows that in these circumstances some of the normal links in the epidemiological chain of plague, in which *Pulex irritans* participates, are missing. Normally the epizootic disease manifests itself first among rodents, and this is followed by an outbreak of human cases, from which *P. irritans* is secondarily infected. Only then is this parasite of man capable of giving rise to further cases.

In the light of all these and other similar facts, the Commission had no option but to conclude that the American air force was employing in Korea methods very similar to, if not exactly identical with, those employed to spread plague by the Japanese during the second world war.

During the discussions of these cases at Pyongyang the Commission had the help of one of the foremost Chinese experts on plague, the author, indeed, of the 1941 report (App.). He gave evidence to the effect that he had urged the Kuomintang government to make known to the world the

facts concerning Japanese bacterial warfare, but without success, partly, he thought, as the result of American dissuasion (App.). He also drew attention to the high virulency of the strains of plague bacteria now being used in Korea.

The delivery of plague-infected fleas is of course not the only way in which it might be hoped to induce an epidemic. Other methods can be used and we shall now see that this has indeed been done.

The Kan-Nan Incident (plague)

Another case with a relatively complete sequence of component elements which the Commission was invited to consider in great detail was one involving the sudden appearance of a population of voles infected with, and suffering from, plague. On the morning of the 5th April, 1952, the countryfolk of four villages situated within the area administered from the town of Kan-Nan (Kan-Nan hsien), awoke to find themselves surrounded by large numbers of a rat-like animal (App.). This town lies on the western border of the province of Heilungchiang in NE China (Manchuria), and its district is thus just on the edge of Inner Mongolia.

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During the previous night many of the villagers had heard a plane pass overhead, and information provided by the Chinese Air Observer Corps shows that after having crossed the Yalu River just before 10 p. m., it was over Kan-Nan district about 11:30; it then retraced its course as if its mission had been accomplished (App.). It was identified by the Corps as an American F-82 double-fuselage night-fighter plane. In the morning, the villagers found many of the voles dying or dead in their houses and courtyards, on their roofs, and even on their beds, while others were scattered around the outskirts of the settlements. The total number collected and destroyed in and near the inhabited places of an area measuring roughly 3×9 miles was 717 (App.). There was an anomaly of season, for small rodents do not usually begin to show themselves in this region until a month later, and then in nothing approaching such numbers (App.). The location was also anomalous, for voles are not frequenters of human settlements.

The species concerned also seemed to be regionally anomalous. It had never before been seen by the local people. It was possible to identify it as belonging to the genus *Microtus*, and morphologically similar to *Microtus (Stenocranius) gregalis gregalis*. This species had previously been reported by Tokuda (1941) from parts of Northeast China (Manchuria) northwest of Kan-Nan, and by others from points still more to the west. Further taxonomic study by Chinese Scientists is in progress. Moreover, this genus is not among those three which are normally carriers of plague *(Pasteurelle pestis)* in those parts of Northeast China where the disease is endemic (App.). Analysis of the evidence by the Commission, both at Shenyang (Mukden) and at the villages, showed that a certain rôle in concentrating the animals must have been played by the cats of the farmers, but it also

became clear that the members of the intrusive species were uniformly diseased or dying before the cats found them. Some died in circumstances which excluded the action of cats.

The Kan-Nan area has never known any form of plague so far as records are available, and reasons more than adequate were presented to show that a migration of the voles from the nearest endemic areas must be regarded, in view of the distances and obstacles involved, as highly unlikely (App.). Furthermore the season was at least a month too early for the normal occurrence of epizootics of plague among rodents in the endemic areas (App.). Only one individual was preserved sufficiently for bacteriological test, but the evidence of virulent infection with *P. pestis* obtained from this specimen, together with the eye-witness accounts mentioned above, pointed unmistakably to a collection of animals in the full grip of the plague (App.). This evidence was confirmed in personal experiments carried out by those members of the Commission competent to do so, in collaboration with the Chinese scientists, and demonstrated to the whole Commission in the Bacteriological Laboratories of the National Medical College at Mukden.

The principal gap in the chain of evidence consists in the fact that no container or "bomb" of any kind was discovered. However, in view of the fact that in Jan. 1952 there was described in a Japanese journal *(Mainichi)* a container and parachute made of strong paper in such a manner that it would burn away, leaving no trace, after depositing its cargo of infected rats (App.); this missing link can hardly be considered sufficient to render nugatory the mass of circumstantial evidence already outlined. Other Japanese press reports *(Kowa Shrmbun,* Aug. 1952) revealed the existence of a breeding Institute directed by Ojawa, a former assistant of Ishii Shiro, which produces a large number of rodents, (App.).

It only remains to add that the Commission heard evidence at Shenyang (Mukden) from ten farmers, who, with others, were visited also individually in their homes. It also heard evidence from the epidemiologist who took charge of the local sanitation arrangements after the incident, from the bacterioligists who investigated and isolated the plague bacteria, and from the zoologist responsible for the specialised study of the rodents. The Commission considers that the countryfolk owed their escape from plague in this case to the sanitary precautions which they took from the moment of first discovery of the unusual rodents, and to the remarkable promptitude with which they destroyed the whole population of cats and dogs at noon on the same day. Among the precautions taken was a very effective method in common use in NE China for destroying fleas in human habitations; a thin layer of dry hay and straw is thrown over the earthen floors and k'angs, after all household goods have been removed, and then set on fire. For

these reasons plague-infected fleas were unable to transmit the pathogenic agents to the human beings.

In the opinion of the Commission, therefore, there remains no doubt that a large number of voles suffering from plague were delivered to the district of Kan-Nan during the night of the 4th/5th April, 1952, by the aircraft which the villagers heard. This was identified as an American F-82 double-fuselage night-fighter.

The K'uan-Tien Incident (anthrax)

The Commission studied in detail a case which involved the abnormal and simultaneous appearance of anthomyiid flies and spiders (App.). On the 12th March, 1952, inhabitants of the town of K'uan-Tien, which lies in the southeastern part of Liaotung province near the Yalu River, saw eight American fighter planes pass over the city about half-an-hour after noon. They recognised them without difficulty for such intrusions were a common, almost daily, occurrence. The Chinese Air Observer Corps identified them as F-86 planes and spotted their courses. From one of them there was distinctly seen to drop a bright cylindrical object. Immediately afterwards, and during the following days, the people of the town, including school-boys, organised searches in the region beyond the east gate where the object appeared to have fallen, and collected many anthomyiid flies (*Hylemyia*, sp.) and spiders (*Tarentula*, sp.).

Nine days after the original incident, one of the schoolboys was so fortunate as to discover fragments of a container in and around a shallow crater at the point of impact of the object (App.). The location was a maize field constituted by a small island surrounded by the beds of rivers dry at this time of year. The largest "bomb" fragment was of metal, but the most numerous were of a thin porous calcareous substance the nature of which was not immediately obvious. This was later identified and will be discussed separately (p. 44). The site of the incident was visited on the following day by two well-qualified entomologists, who had already searched in the immediate neighbourhood four days earlier; they collected a further supply of flies, and carefully assembled as many container-fragments as possible, melting the snow with the help of hot water.

The presence of snow, at least in drifts between the furrows explains how it was possible for the insects (sluggish at the low environmental temperature) to remain for more than a week in the close neighbourhood of the point of impact. It also explains the similar continued presence of considerable numbers of fowl feathers (also delivered at the same time) in the same zone. The insects and arachnids showed an anomaly of seasonal appearance (see p. 20 above) and the former also a regional anomaly as to zoological species (see p. 16 above).

Competent bacteriological examination by the Chinese demonstrated the presence of the pathogenic organism causing anthrax (*Bacillus anthracis*) both on insects, spiders and feathers (App.). The occurrence

of this in or on the arthropods must be considered a highly extraordinary phenomenon. While its occurrence on the fowl feathers is not quite so remarkable, bacteriological examination by the Chinese services of control specimens of feathers collected at random in N. China and NE China (Manchuria) yielded negative results. Moreover, the feathers may perhaps have been simply packing to ensure the safe passage of the insects, though it must be remembered that in other cases anthrax-infected feathers have been delivered alone. No cases of anthrax in or around the town were reported as a result of this intervention.

In view of the above facts the Commission had no option but to conclude that insects and spiders carrying anthrax had been delivered by means of at least one container of special type from at least one American plane in the neighbourhood of this small town in Liaotung province on March 12th.

Incidents in Liaotung and Liaohsi (respiratory anthrax)

The Commission gave exhaustive study to a group of cases in which American planes coming from across the Yalu River and returning thither were actually seen to drop objects of various kinds (App.). Though no containers could be found at the presumed points of impact when local eye-witnesses immediately went to search for them, other things were found, notably large numbers of beetles of the species *Ptinus fur* (normally a pest of stored grain and other dry stuffs), or alternatively masses of downy feathers of fowls. In some cases large numbers of the house fly *Musca vicina* unexpectedly appeared, with the anomaly of season so often noted, snow being still on the ground. Though the beetle was not seasonally anomalous, its appearance in the open air and in daylight in great numbers was oecologically extraordinary. All three of these biological objects were found by the Chinese bacteriologists to be contaminated with anthrax bacilli. And the strains of bacilli isolated, in spite of the diversity of the objects, all had exactly the same behaviour in fermentation tests,—an unusual and suspicious circumstance.

Thorough examination of 24 eye-witnesses was carried out, some of whom had been among those who saw the objects descending from the planes. Spotting records from the Chinese Air Observer Corps were available in all cases (Figs.) and this information showed that the intruding planes were in general F-86 fighters, with the exception of a B-26 bomber on one occasion. In one case several people saw an object like a large red thermos flask thrown down, which seemed to burst with an explosive puff and a disagreeable smell like burning skin or horn when about 30 ft. from the ground (cf. the paragraph on Containers). In another case valuable testimony, admitting the absence of any material container at the presumed point of impact, described the slow dispersion by the wind of a large quantity of feathers from just that point, with the formation of a triangular area slowly extending and broadening. In this instance the description of the container was such as to recall strongly the self-destroying "egg-shell" type used at K'uan Tien, (App. and p. 44 below).

The evidence concerning aircraft, containers, biological objects appearing, and bacteriological tests, was now amplified, for a number of localities in the provinces of Liaotung and Liaohsi, by concrete and well-analysed data concerning fatal human cases of respiratory anthrax and

haemorrhagic anthrax meningitis (App.). Five of these were examined, that of a railwayman, a tricycle-rickshaw driver, a housewife, a schoolteacher, and a farmer. All of these fell sick of a disease which ran a similar rapid course, and all of them presented the same picture to the pathologists on autopsy and subsequent histological analysis. The Commission satisfied itself that none of the cases had the customary occupational history connected with anthrax. The beetles appear to have been responsible for two of the deaths, while the flies and the feathers would have accounted for another two. The Commission was fully satisfied with the diagnoses made and the proofs demonstrated by Chinese scientific colleagues. Furthermore, the examination of witnesses brought out (App.) what was missing from the document itself (App.), namely that four out of the five victims had not only collected the insects and feathers in the general course of such organised hunts, but were known to have dispensed with the recognised precautions followed by most people; that is to say, he or she had failed to protect the respiratory passages by a mask, or had handled the biological objects without gloves or forceps. Under the dissecting microscope it was clear that the beetle *Ptinus* would be well adapted for disseminating anthrax by this route, for it has an abundance of brittle chitinous spines on its elytrae which could be inhaled, a fact which the document apparently overlooked.

It is not to be supposed that these were the only deaths caused by the anthrax-infected objects; the five cases, with their precise pathological analysis, were presented as samples. Nor can the five cases be placed in their proper setting unless the full rarity of this kind of disease in the region previously, is clearly understood. Statistical evidence is presented (App.) which shows that not only was the classical cutaneous or pustular anthrax exceedingly rare in NE China in recent times, but respiratory anthrax leading to haemorrhagic meningitis was completely unknown.

It is well known that the literature contains proposals for the use of anthrax bacilli in bacteriological warfare. Although, under natural conditions, transmission from man to man occurs only rarely, so that a spontaneous epidemic could not easily be set on foot, the bacillus has the "advantages" of a wide host range, a high infectivity if virulent, and an extreme resistance to environmental conditions so that it is capable of poisoning a locality for a long time. To these must be added the very insidious character of the disease when the infection occurs by the respiratory route, for all the victims here mentioned remained comparatively normal until they suddenly collapsed, after which death ensued in 48 hrs. or less.

Anthrax infection by the respiratory route is significant in connection with the work on bacteriological warfare carried out in the United States. Researches from Camp Detrick, published in 1946 and 1947 (see

App.), showed that it had been possible to obtain new strains of anthrax bacilli cultured on synthetic media which not only possessed unusually high virulence, but which were especially adapted to the respiratory route of infection.

On the basis of the evidence presented, and on their own searching and prolonged interrogation of a considerable number of witnesses, both medical and lay, the Commission was compelled to conclude that the delivery of various biological objects contaminated with anthrax bacilli to many places in the two Chinese provinces had taken place, and that this had given rise to a number of cases of a mortal infection hitherto unknown in the region, namely pulmonary anthrax and ensuing haemorrhagic meningitis. Eye-witness statements impossible to doubt indicated American airplanes as the vehicles of delivery of the infected objects.

The Dai-Dong Incident (cholera)

One of the incidents to which the Commission was invited by the (North) Korean Minister of Health to devote detailed attention concerned certain fatal cases of cholera illustrative of those which have been occurring in rural areas since May, 1952 (App.). Early in the morning after a night (16th May) during which a plane had been heard circling round for an hour or more as if its pilot were trying to find something, a country girl picking herbs on the hillsides found a straw package containing a certain kind of clam. She took some of the clams home and she and her husband made a meal of them raw; on the evening of the same day both fell suddenly ill and by the evening of the following day both were dead. Medical evidence showed that the cause of death was cholera (App.). Further packages of clams were found on the hillsides by the local Home Guard, and bacteriological examination by the Korean and Chinese specialists proved that the clams were heavily infected with the cholera vibrio (App.).

The whole sequence of events becomes more and more extraordinary the more closely it is examined. In the first place, the appearance of marine molluscs (*Meretrix meretrix*), contaminated in this way, on a hill in the middle of the countryside, can only be regarded as a highly unnatural phenomenon. The human fatalities, moreover, were epidemiologically very abnormal. Evidence presented convinced the Commission that cholera has never been an endemic disease in Korea; for while there have been a number of outbreaks during the past forty years it was always possible to trace them to a maritime point of entry. Yet here was a purely rural focus. Furthermore, there had only been one previous instance during this century of any cholera in Korea in May; seldom did it appear before the month of August. Then there were several peculiarities about the clams as found. In Korea they are not usually wrapped in straw for sale, they appeared here a month before their usual season (indeed since the beginning of the war they have not been reaching the markets at all), and if anyone had gone to the trouble of laying the packages down at various places on the hillside it was hard to explain why many of the thick calcareous shells of the clams should have been broken.

Light was thrown on the sequence of events, however, when the nature of the locality was examined. The clams were found in a zone some 400 yds. from a pumping-station at the top of the hill, and some 1,000 yds. from a series of reservoirs or spring-fed ponds the water of

which is drawn up by the pumping-station and distributed, partly for drinking, to several coastal settlements and port towns. On the night previous to that during which the clams made their appearance, the purification-plant adjacent to this pumping-station had been accurately destroyed by American planes using small bombs, the pumps themselves being undamaged. Further statements of local residents examined personally by the Commission (App.) revealed that the weather on the night of the second raid when the clams appeared had been dark and windy. All these facts pointed unmistakably to a deliberate and carefully-planned attempt to contaminate drinking-water reservoirs, the scheme having failed in its main purpose because the weather conditions on the night of the delivery of the clams did not permit the pilot to locate the reservoirs. On the night in question they would not have presented a mirror-like surface.

It might still, however, be thought bizarre, that a marine or at least estuarine variety of lamellibranch mollusc should have been thought suitable for depositing in fresh-water sources for their pollution. Evidence of much interest, however, not only reminded the Commission that the cholera vibrio is a halophilic organism, but revealed the existence in the Japanese literature of researches which had shown the marine lamellibranch molluscs to be well suited as media for its growth (App.). This provided the last link in the reconstruction of the plan for this kind of bacteriological warfare. During their slow osmotic death in fresh-water the molluscs would serve as natural culture-vessels for the cholera vibrios, liberating them at their death to contaminate the drinking-water for a period likely to be of the order of thirty days (App.).

Thus the Commission could only conclude that American air force units, following a careful plan previously established, first destroyed the Dai-Dong purification plant without damaging the pumps, and then attempted to contaminate the drinking-water reservoirs with cholera. The young couple who died, impoverished by war devastation, had the imprudence to eat some of the clams which had been intended as the vehicles of contamination.

This case should be studied in connection with evidence mentioned elsewhere (p. 58) concerning flies as artificial carriers of cholera.

Types of Containers or "Bombs"

The time has now come to devote some attention to the types of containers, or "bombs", if the term is appropriate for engines of war which may contain little or no explosive material. At various times and places, particularly at Shenyang (Mukden) and in the neighbourhood of Pyongyang, the Commission had the opportunity of examining at leisure a variety of the containers in which biological objects had been delivered from the air. Its members were thus able to verify a number of the statements made in the Prague documentation, and to investigate in considerable detail newer methods more refined than any which had been described therein. As will be better appreciated shortly the task of the Commission was not rendered easier by a circumstance which soon became apparent, namely that some of these newer methods comprise "self-destroying containers", that is to say, containers which either break into pieces so small that their discovery is unlikely, or containers which set fire to themselves and disappear after delivering their cargo. Moreover, throughout the Prague documents, and even in subsequent depositions collected by the Commission, there runs a streak of unavoidable confusion, due to the fact that even when eye-witnesses were on the spot when a container was delivered, they did not always succeed in finding it, partly because naturally they did not quite know what to look for, and when they did find it their descriptions were sometimes not as detailed as they might have been. This confusion was unfortunately not cleared up by the testimonies of the captured air force officers, whose status as pilots and navigators did not seem to have entitled them to very precise and detailed information on bombs and containers. It must be remembered that in one of the lectures which the pilots attended (Quinn/Ashfork; see below, p. 51 & App.) it was distinctly stated that "our bombs are still in the experimental stage, and there are various types of them". The contents of this paragraph must therefore be accepted with all due reservations.

The containers present a variety of forms and systems probably adapted to a variety of different cases. It seems also that pathogenic agents can be spread directly over the target area. In what follows it will be convenient to begin with this method, namely spraying, which involves no container at all, and to end with the self-destroying recept-

acles. Intermediate positions will be occupied by the less specialised devices whether parachuted or not.

(1) **Spraying.** In NCNA/85, p. 4, (Report of the Chinese Scientific Commission in Korea) the claim was made that a Chinese volunteer soldier actually saw an American plane spraying insects at Chor-Won from a height of about 900 ft. on Feb. 11th. It seems unlikely that this could have been anything else than a deduction from the fact that large numbers of insects were found anomalously on the snow over an oblong area 6 × 3 miles after its passage. Nevertheless the statements of all four American pilots are quite specific and concordant that in five separate lectures they were told that spraying could and would be done. One of these statements (O'Neal, ISCK/4, App.) includes a diagram of the equipment installed in the plane, and another (Kniss, ISCK/5, App.) says that its writer was informed that spraying would start in June. However, the former witness states his reasons for believing that spraying was going on from at least Feb. 18th, so the Chinese volunteer may have been right in his deduction.

As to the kinds of insects which could be so distributed, it seems certain that the method would be unsuitable for delicate creatures such as mosquitoes, but other discussions (App.) indicated that it would not be unreasonable for fleas. It would of course be the way in which bacteria, viruses or toxins, would be disseminated in aerosol form.

(2) **Non-exploding Objects and Paper Packets.** Several of the Prague documents have descriptions of the finding of paper packages of various colours from which insects were emerging. Again on the 11th Feb., Chinese volunteers at Chor-Won saw three American planes throw down such non-explosive objects, which turned out to be cylindrical yellow paper packets 8 inches high and 4 inches diameter (SIA/1, p.6; SIA/4, p.5). Elsewhere in the vicinity there were rectangular grey paper packets, 4×4×1¼ inches containing insects. White paper packets are spoken of as having been delivered at Pyongyang on 4th Mar. (NCNA/85, p.8) and brown ones at Chang-Do on 10th Mar. (NCNA/85, p.6). Two of the lectures attended by the captured pilots (Enoch/Wilson and Quinn/Ashfork, see below, p. 51) described the use of paper as a packing for infected insects. While it seems conceivable that hardy insects might be dropped from a low height simply wrapped in this way, it seems more probable that in all cases the packets originated from the interior of metal leaflet-containers or "bombs" which had exploded and opened in mid-air. To these we now turn.

But south of that line, on the contrary, they become very domestic, and consequently attain importance in the transmission of the disease.

Lastly, it is well known that prolonged researches were necessary before it became possible to establish definitely the role of arthropods as vectors in parasitic and bacterial diseases, such as the anopheline mosquitoes for malaria, fleas for plague, lice and ticks for Rickettsias, and so on. The part which arthropods play in the transmission of disease agents is something which requires continued study. Little known vectors may well have been employed in the hope that the methods of control of these unusual species of insects had not been worked out. Thus with regard to the methods of bacteriological warfare it can be seen that the artificial establishment of new biological inter-relations is quite possible, and though the researches required to elucidate them may be arduous, they are not likely to be unsuccessful.

Phytopathological Data

Several references were made in the earlier literature to the dropping of packets of plant material from American airplanes. They were usually seen by the eye-witnesses to burst at about 1000 ft. and scatter the leaves or other parts of plants over a wide area. Incidents of this kind occurred at Chong-Ju in Korea on 20th March (NCNA/85, p.9; SIA/13 p.4) and at more than ten other localities in Northeast China and North Korea. In one case the descent of the material was seen personally by a British war correspondent (SIA/6, p.2). Members of the Commission were able to discuss the botanical and mycological identifications with Chinese phytopathologists and botanists of international repute (App.).

It was established that the stalks and pods of soya-beans were infected with purple spot fungus, *Cercospora sojini* Hara, (syn. *Cercosporina kikuchii,* Matsumoto and Tomoyasu). This fungus is a plant pathogen which has been reported from Korea and China, and which could cause serious damage and loss to soya-bean crops. As in the other cases here discussed, the pathogenic organisms were found inside the tissues of the plant material, showing that it was thoroughly and not merely superficially infected.

Among the fragments of leaves some were infected with anthracnose *(Glomerella,* sp., the asexual stage of which is called *Colletotrichum).* The organism found has a wide host range, attacking apple-trees, pear-trees, and cotton-plants, as experimental inoculation tests demonstrated. Ordinary cotton anthracnose (*Glomerella gossypii* (South) Edg.) only attacks cotton and related plants, while the apple bitter-rot fungus (*Glomerella cingulata* (Stoneman), S. & S.), though attacking more than thirty host plants, does not attack cotton. Both these have been reported from China. The fungus found, however, has morphological differences from them, as well as a much wider host range.

A third case of dissemination of a plant disease occurred as late as July, after the Commission had begun its work, near Hsiu-Yen in the south of Liaotung province. Peach-leaves, (not its natural host), were found to be infected with *Macrophoma kuwatsukai* Hara, the fungus causing apple and pear fruit rot (ring-spot) and also canker and twig blight of those trees. The fungus isolated proved to be highly infectious.

In the above three cases, precise eye-witness accounts of the dropping of the packets of plant material were available.

impact. Breakage of a plastic partition would permit access of the acid to the plates. This was not mentioned in the Prague documents, nor was direct evidence of its existence found. But it was described in one of the lectures attended by the captured airmen (Quinn/Ashfork, see below, p. 51) who was afterwards able to make a sketch of it in his deposition (App.). From the descriptions it would follow that this type of bomb must be equipped with a parachute, and it is possible that this was the container referred to in their lectures as delivering infected insects by parachute (O'Neal/McLaughlin; Kniss/Holleman; Kniss/McLaughlin). One of them (App.) was able afterwards to make a sketch of what he conceived such parachute containers to look like.

(7) **Paper or Carton Cylinder with Silk Parachute.** The only type of parachute container which the Commission actually saw was one which is said to be similar to those used for flares. It is a carton cylinder with walls about ⅜ inch thick, some 1 ft. 2 inches long and 5 inches diameter. The examples seen were marked "USC 5/1-1-1952-Lot 100-F-6". The silk parachute attached had a diameter of only 2 ft. 3½ inches. As has been pointed out, (NCNA/85, p.5) this size is only one thirtieth of the ordinary flare parachute, so that presumably it would not be likely to float for a long time in the air. It was also pointed out that there was no trace of burning on the carton, and this was certainly true of the examples which the Commission examined. It may well be significant that on one of the occasions when such a receptacle was found, it appeared to have delivered midges (Kang-Dong, 26th March, NSNA/85; SIA/13). Delicate insects such as these (*Orthocladius*), or mosquitoes, would doubtless conveniently be delivered by such a method.

(8) **Paper container with Paper Parachute (Self-Destroying).** Of this interesting type no example was seen by the Commission nor had the captured airmen any information to give about it. But such a device was described in some detail in the article by Maj. R. Sakaki in *Mainichi* for January, 1952 (App.). According to this account, the container would be of strong paper and would include several compartments, it would be weighted, and it would carry a fuse so arranged as to be able to ignite both the container and the paper (or impregnated silk) parachute when the proper moment arrived. In Sakaki's description the biological objects (plague-infected rats) would be gently liberated after the container had opened on touching the ground, and then after a sufficient latent period the ignition would occur and no trace would be left. But the machine could easily be so arranged as to deliver its load some 20 or 30 ft. above the ground, after which, becoming lighter, it could drift further away before ignition and disappearance. The circumstance that Sakaki specifically refers to the use of these containers for plague-infected rats made it tempting to suppose that a battery of them had been used in the Kan-Nan incident (p. 29 above), but for this there is no specific evidence. One corollary of paper containers for rodents would be that

the animals might have to be kept in at least a semi-anaesthetised condition during the flight, to prevent them from gnawing their way out. The Commission places these points on record only for the purpose of drawing attention to possibilities.

(9) **Bomb-shaped Containers of Earthenware or Porcelain.** During the second world war, the Japanese bacteriological warfare organisation manufactured "porcelain" (actually earthenware) bomb-shaped containers, of at least two different sizes, in a special plant near Harbin. Specimens of these (the larger about 2 ft. 6 inches and the smaller about 1 ft. 6 inches long) were examined by the Commission at Shenyang (Mukden). Although this kind of container is still recommended in Japan, as by Sakaki in the article already mentioned (App.), for bacterial cultures, the Commission did not find any evidence for its use in 1952 in Korea or China. Here it takes its place rather as the precursor of the most ingenious of all the types in question, namely the "egg-shell" container which breaks up on impact, but into a great number of small and thin pieces easily overlooked.

(10) **The Artificial Egg-Shell Container.** On March 21st, more than two hundred fragments of a container made of some calcareous material, together with a cap-shaped steel plate and metal rod attached to the centre of the concave surface, were found outside the city of K'uan-Tien in Liaotung province. Circumstances (reported in ISCC/3, App.) showed that these things must have been the remains of a container which had fallen from an American plane on the 12th, and in which there was reason to think that anthomyiid flies, spiders, and fowl feathers, bearing anthrax bacilli, had been delivered. The metal pieces and calcareous fragments were subjected to an exhaustive analysis by the Institutes of Modern, and of Applied, Physics of Academia Sinica (the Chinese National Academy), with a view to reconstruction of the original form of the device (App.).

It was thus possible to deduce that the intact container must have been cylindrical, and domed at least at one end. The total length would have been more than 1 ft. 3½ inches, and the length of the rod 11 inches (Fig.). The radius of curvature of the steel cap plate is just under 5 inches, and its diameter 6¾ inches; the radius of the calcareous body of the container 5½ inches. The thickness of the calcareous walls would have been just over 1/16 inch, and the whole had been painted on the outside with aluminium paint. X-ray examination demonstrated that the material of the walls was chiefly calcium carbonate. While mainly calcite, the substance contained, as was shown spectroscopically, some magnesium. By some means or other, then, a fragile calcite box had been fashioned, and chemical evidence was obtained of the presence of organic matter, which had served perhaps as a cement for the calcite particles. Something is still lacking in our understanding of the facts

since it is not yet clear how so fragile a container can stand the shock of departure from the plane.

The incident at K'uan-Tien (ISCC/3) had already been partially reported in SIA/3, p. 2 and SIA/8, p. 6, and the Commission was able to examine the calcareous fragments preserved from it. But it did not represent the only incident of the kind which came to the notice of the Commission. As late as June 6th, the delivery of insects to the neighbourhood of Pi-Tung (N. Korea) had been accompanied by what was described as the rather slow slanting fall of silvery globes about twice as big as footballs (App.). There can be little doubt that this was the same device again. Moreover, one of the eye-witness accounts of the Pai-Ch'ing-T'zu cases (ISCC/5; SIA/6, p. 1) mentioned shining objects dropped by American planes. Here, too, masses of feathers infected with anthrax were delivered. Other descriptions (e.g. SIA/10, p. 1) might refer to this type, but it is not possible to be sure. In any case, the Commission considers that there can be no doubt that such containers were used by the Americans on both sides of the Yalu River in March and in June.

(11) **Miscellaneous Containers.** It only remains to add that evidence has been produced of the use of several other kinds of receptacles besides those already mentioned. For rodents there has been mention of cylindrical cages of wire-netting (NCNA/85, p. 5) and of wooden boxes (NCNA/85, p. 6). If these indeed descended from the sky, it was more probably as part of the cargo of some kind of parachute bomb. Packages of straw were used for the cholera clams of Dai-Dong (App.). A hand-grenade type of bomb has also been mentioned (NCNA/85, p. 6; SIA/13); the Commission did not see this. Members did however have the opportunity of examining near Pyongyang fragments of a green translucent insect container which, it was stated, had been fired as a shell (NCNA/85, p. 5, 6; SIA/13). Artillery participation in bacteriological warfare was referred to in at least two of the lectures attended by captured American airmen (Enoch/Wilson and O'Neal/Williams, see below, p. 51); but the Commission found no evidence of the practical use of the method of warfare described by Sakaki, namely of covering pieces of shrapnel with jelly containing *B. welchii* (gas gangrene) or tetanus (App.). Cotton filling for padded winter clothing, however, which appeared at one time conveniently near the Chinese trenches, was found to be contaminated with paratyphoid B (comm. from DGMS, CPVF).

(12) **Ground Distributions of Biological Objects Delivered.** Those who read the appendices to this Report as well as the earlier documents issued from Prague will find eye-witnesses constantly speaking of discoidal insect-congested zones, centered on the remains, generally quite uncrumpled, of the leaflet-container "bomb". This presumably means

that there was a fairly regular concentric distribution around the spot immediately beneath which the opening of the container had taken place.

Apart from these cases, the Commission noted two interesting examples of ground distribution of delivered objects. In one case (ISCC/5) (App.) feathers were found being blown away slowly by the wind from their point of arrival, so as to form a triangular area ½ mile long and rather less than ¼ mile broad at the base. This was gradually lengthening and broadening. Though no container or its fragments were found, the bomb in this case was probably of the egg-shell type. In another instance, that of the great numbers of human fleas found on a bare hillside (ISCK/3; App.)., it was seen that the insects covered an ellipsoidal area about 30 yds. × 10 yds. with a zone of maximum density at approximately one of the centres or foci of the ellipse. This would presumably suggest that the fleas were delivered by some object, perhaps a parachute container, which travelled along the long axis of the ellipse.

Testimonies of Captured Intelligence Agents

The Korean authorities informed the Commission that since the beginning of the war agents had been sent into North Korea with the precise objective of obtaining and sending back epidemiological information related to bacterial warfare. Many of these agents had been captured, and their admissions had thrown considerable light on the organisation of the American intelligence service and the work which had been entrusted to them. Already in SIA/7 detailed information had been published concerning some of the agents, for example one Chinese and one Korean.

Members of the Commission had the opportunity at Pyongyang of interviewing at length one of these agents, (App.). The young man, whose schooling had been cut short, belonged in 1945 to the "Youth Organisation" of the South Korean Government, and when the American troops finally retreated he had gone with them. Minor personal interest, rather than political conviction, had apparently been the dominant motive in his antagonism to the North.

Unable to make a living, the witness joined the American auxiliary intelligence forces. He described the political, military, and hygienic training which he had received in a organisation entitled "K.L.O." at Seoul between December, 1951 and March, 1952, (App.). Here he was taught the techniques for obtaining the information desired. It was during this period that the bacterial warfare developed. Numerous inoculations were given to him about the beginning of February, though he was not informed of their nature. Until the eve of his departure he had no contact with foreign military officers, but his final instructions were then delivered to him by an American major through an interpreter. These comprised a specific area for his operations, and gave exact details of the diseases about which the Americans wanted to know (typhoid, plague, cholera, encephalitis, dysentery, and smallpox). The witness was informed as to the systems on which North Korean statistical information was drawn up, and his instructions were to obtain it if possible by means of contacts in the health and other governmental services, or if need be, to steal it. He was also told to be extremely careful of what he ate, not to pass the night in places infected with insects, and not to drink unboiled water. North Korea was full of illness, it was said, but his inoculations would give him great protection.

The witness accordingly passed into North Korea on the 29 March,

and worked there with an accompanying radio-telegraphist until he was arrested on the 20th May. In replying to questions, he was rather reticent, perhaps to shield collaborators. He said that he had very little success in contacting North Korean health personnel, and had been able to transmit little or no information to American headquarters.

The witness made it clear that before his illicit entry into North Korea, he had been given no indication that bacterial warfare was being carried on. He had only heard that there were numerous epidemics in the North, and that the armies of the South "were employing the most modern scientific weapons with good results." He learnt of bacterial warfare only from reading public notices.

The Commission was unanimously of the opinion that the bearing of this witness and his evidence about his mission and instructions bore the stamp of truth, and that any pressure, physical or mental, could be excluded. For the rest, he seemed to be a rather mercenary personality. The Commission found no improbability in the sending of epidemiological intelligence agents across the lines. It was satisfied that the task of the agent had been to provide information about the effectiveness of bacteriological warfare; a conclusion which could only add to the cumulative mass of evidential material inculpating the American armed forces.

Testimonies of Captured Airmen

On Jan. 13th, 1952, a B-26 bomber of the American Air Force was shot down over An-Ju in Korea. By May 5th statements of considerable length admitting their participation in bacteriological warfare had been made by the navigator Lt. K. L. Enoch, and by the pilot, Lt. John Quinn, and issued to the world through Peking. As has already been stated, these documents will be found in SIA/14 and 15 respectively, and together with lithograph reproductions of the original manuscripts, in the printed brochure issued from Prague. The relevant parts are here reproduced in App. Documents SIA/17 and 18 should also be consulted, though the later interviews recounted in them did not add much to the technical and scientific evidence.

What were the essential points in the principal declarations of these airmen? First of all, both officers had had to attend, in Japan and in Korea, secret lectures on the methods of bacteriological warfare. These expositions, which it was impressed on them contained highly confidential information, described the use of bacteria directly as cultures deposited or sprayed, of insects transmitting diseases biologically or mechanically, of rodents in parachute-containers, of poisoned foods, and of bacteria-containing artillery shells. Various kinds of containers or "bombs" were described and sketched. Correct altitudes and air-speeds for delivery were given. Particularly significant statements made in the lecture attended by Lt. Quinn were (a) that "almost any insect could be used for spreading diseases", (b) that "rats could be dropped, though this might not be necessary", and (c) that there was an intention to use encephalitis, "for which no positive cure is known."

Secondly, both officers had received orders to carry out bacteriological warfare missions, and had duly flown them, though with the greatest inner reluctance. There were various peculiarities about the special bombs used, and in some cases these were under special guard so that the pilots could not examine them too closely. In one of the reports information was given as to the various types of planes most suitable for delivering various kinds of containers. From the personal knowledge of the two airmen many their fellow service-men had also engaged in such missions, and later conversations brought out well the large number of Air Force personnel who had been instructed on bacteriological warfare, (SIA/17). Lt. Enoch was briefed "germ bombs" while Lt. Quinn was briefed "duds", but both were told that in debriefing (i.e. reporting the results of the flight) "duds" was to be the term used.

There can be no doubt that these admissions had considerable influence on the western world. But those who did not wish to be convinced tended to brush them aside as confessions obtained under physical or mental duress, saying that after all, only two young men had come forward, and suggesting indeed they did not really exist at all, and that the whole declarations were forged. Attempts, however, to demonstrate inconsistencies in Lt. Quinn's story, failed (SIA/16).

In these circumstances it was of great importance that the Commission was able to meet, at a rendezvous in Korea, not only the two officers so far mentioned, but two more, Lt. F. B. O'Neal and Lt. Paul Kniss, whose accounts are even more lengthy and detailed (App.). With those four American airmen, the Commission found itself in presence of a good cross-section of American life—a cool-headed electrical engineer; a middle-class business man; a young research chemist, and a solid steel-mill worker of agricultural origins. The Commission had the opportunity of extended conversations with these men under conditions of free discourse. Its members unanimously formed the opinion that no pressure, physical or mental, had been brought to bear upon these prisoners of war in order to induce them to make the declarations which they made. These declarations were made of their own free will, after long experience of the friendliness and kindness of their Chinese and Korean captors had brought to them the realisation that their duty to all races and peoples must outweigh their natural scruples at revealing what might be considered the military secrets of their own government. The greater part of the conversations consisted in question and answer among the airmen and the members of the Commission, but each airman prefaced his interview with a statement along the lines of his written document, and concluded it with a solemn affirmation of the convictions to which his conscience had brought him.

Since the statements of the witnesses (ISCK/4 & 5), and the commentaries containing the substance of the interviews, are reproduced below as App., there is no necessity to elaborate them further here. But from the written statements and answers to questions it seems already possible to reconstruct what was going on in the American air force during the last months of 1951 and the early months of 1952. This may be appreciated by means of the following table:

1951 June —Kniss attends lecture by Laurie in U.S. Information given because the enemy might use bacteriological warfare.

Aug. 25th—Enoch attends lecture by Wilson in Japan. The U.S. has no plans for bacteriological warfare, but the enemy might use it.

Oct. —Enoch attends lecture by Browning in Korea. Same statement.

Dec. 1st —O'Neal attends lecture by Williams in U.S. Non-committal attitude on intention to use bacteriological warfare.

Dec. —Enoch attends another lecture by Browning in Korea. Same statement as in Oct.

Dec. 18th—Quinn attends lecture by Ashfork in Korea. Necessity of preparing for bacteriological warfare which the enemy might use.

1952 Jan. 3rd —Quinn's first mission with bacteriological bombs. Briefed and debriefed as "duds", but from other circumstances he knew what they were.

Jan. 6th —Enoch's first mission with bacteriological bombs. Briefed as "germ bombs", to be debriefed as "duds".

Jan. 22nd—O'Neal attends lecture by McLaughlin in Korea. Bacteriological warfare stated definitely to be in use.

Feb. 15th—O'Neal's first mission with bacteriological bombs. Briefed as "germ bombs", to be debriefed as "air-burst VT".

Feb. 18th—O'Neal sees evidence of the use of spraying technique, from specially adapted planes.

Feb. 22nd—Kniss attends lecture by Holleman in U.S. Use of bacteriological warfare definitely denied, but possession of weapons by the U.S. admitted.

Mar. 21st—Kniss attends lecture by McLaughlin in Korea. Bacteriological warfare stated definitely to have been in operation since 1st Jan. Clear statement that the U.S. Government would continue to deny it as long as possible.

27th—Kniss' first mission with bacteriological bombs. Briefed as "flacksuppressor", to be debriefed as "results of mission unobserved".

From the above facts the conclusion can hardly be avoided that the order to begin bacteriological warfare upon the people of North Korea and China must have been given late in 1951, air personnel having previously been prepared for the work by cautious informatory lectures, and not apprised of what they were expected to do, even after Jan. 1952, until their actual arrival in Korea. At American and Japanese bases, bacterial warfare was said to be a theoretical and purely defensive matter; but at Korean bases pilots were surprised to find that it had already been started weeks or months before their arrival. The fact that the general order must have been given during the period of the Kaesong peace talks was not overlooked by the pilots.

For the rest, the independently heard testimonies of the airmen contained several points of interest. It was noteworthy that they did not remember ever having received any instruction on the recognised customs and usages of war, such as the prohibition of the shooting of prisoners, nor of having seen any regulations relating thereto in American manuals of procedure; still less had they heard of the outlawing of certain forms of war, at least by certain nations. Then the testimony of the witnesses was unanimous as to the disastrous effects on the

morale of their fellow service-men of the orders to carry out bacteriological bombing. It was the last straw for many of them already disgusted by the ferocity with which they were being hounded on to slaughter the civilian population of North Korea (App.). The revulsion of feeling which the witnesses then underwent, when after their capture they were treated in such a friendly way by the Koreans and Chinese, who evidently no longer regarded as enemies those who had laid down their arms, can well be imagined.

The officers interviewed did not seem very well-informed on the variety of types of containers being used, but this was doubtless because as pilots and navigators they were not supplied with the information which armament officers would have had. They were also able only to speculate as to the place of origin of the biological material used, but significantly some of them thought that it might be in Japan.

Press reports made in august purport to have discovered in this country the existence of a farm directed by a certain Oyava former assistant of Ishi Shiro, said to produce 150.000 rodents per month. This information may help to clarify the case of Kan-Nan.

In sum, the Commission, as the result of exhaustive conversations and direct personal contact, saw every reason to accept the veracity and to uphold the integrity of the officers who gave evidence before it. They appeared fully normal and in perfect health, they spoke in a natural way and seemed fully at their ease. The Commission once more affirms its belief that the airmen were not subjected to any physical or mental pressure, and that their treatment was worthy of the best traditions of Chinese humanism. The Commission therefore accepted as true and faithful the evidence of the airmen, which complemented indeed in many ways the strictly scientific and observational evidence already accumulated from the field.

Hygiene in New China

The Commission was deeply impressed by the present hygienic conditions of the Chinese people and by the measures which are being taken to raise the hygienic standard and to combat the spread of epidemic diseases. These measures are effective and thorough. The idea that the Chinese people live in very unsatisfactory hygienic conditions is widespread in the West, but even a superficial first-hand acquaintance with the conditions now prevailing, and with the enthusiasm shown by the Chinese population in carrying out the health directives of their government, is sufficient to dispel it.

A few figures may be given to indicate the extraordinary progress which has been brought about in a few years. In Northeast China 35 million rats were killed in 1951, and 10 million in the spring of 1952—a war against rodents unparalleled in any other part of the world. The fight against flies and other insects capable of acting as vectors of disease has assumed a universal character, and Peking has become a city almost devoid of flies and mosquitoes. Before the liberation, vaccination against smallpox was sparse and inefficient, the largest number of persons vaccinated in one year (1946) being no more than 7.3 million. But in three years since the liberation 307 million people have been vaccinated, and the disease has been almost entirely eliminated. Re-education of midwives has lowered the infant mortality rate from Tetanus neonatorum, by one third between 1949 and 1951. Infantile mortality as a whole, and maternal mortality, were reduced by one half in the same period. The numerous practitioners who follow the system of traditional Chinese medicine have been mobilised as auxiliaries in the great campaign for health, and have proved both able and willing to receive such instruction in modern medicine as equips them to play a useful part. In Peking and other great cities there has been a complete elimination of stray dogs, which were suspected of being reservoirs of encephalitis virus and vectors of many infections.

Besides all this, there has been great progress in the organisation and productive capacity of the laboratories producing vaccines and sera. The Commission visited the relevant Institute in Peking, and was impressed by its efficiency, high production, and excellent scientific research quality.

The health movement is not confined only to Peking or a few other "model" cities. Reliable informants asserted that it reaches far into the remotest corners of the sub-continent. The Commission as a body had the opportunity of seeing this for themselves during their travels in the Northeast, which included a visit to remote places in the north of Heilungchiang province,

on the borders of Inner Mongolia. The members were much impressed by the cleanliness of the villages.

Since the liberation, indeed, there has been a health education campaign in China of a breadth and scope probably hitherto unattained elsewhere. The whole-hearted cooperation of every member of the population, man, woman and child, has been necessary for the results which have been achieved. The clearing away of accumulated rubbish, the scrupulous cleaning of courtyards and waste-land, the screening of windows, the fight against all kinds of noxious insects, the production and use of insecticides and vaccines—every possible aspect of a constantly and rapidly rising general level of public health has been thought of and executed with verve and thoroughness. The fundamental education has been carried out by every available means of instruction, by large meetings, by posters, picture-books and wall-newspapers, by the press, from the stage, and on the screen.

When confronted with bacteriological warfare, or even the suspicion of it, the peasant masses of China knew exactly what to do, and did it without the least confusion or panic. The Commission was able to visualise, through personal contact with a large number of witnesses from many parts of the Chinese countryside, the disciplined action of hundreds, indeed thousands, of ordinary folk, guided by instructions from the central and regional Ministries of Health, combing their fields and streets to collect and destroy everything which issued from containers arriving from the air.

The hygienic progress in China today constitutes the active execution of measures more or less vainly urged by successive international health organisations. The achievement of so much progress in so short a time would not have been possible if the Chinese government had not been able to count upon the unconditional support of all classes of the population. Peasants and factory workers, scholars and religious groups, have approved its aims and done their best to achieve them.

General Considerations

It will now be useful to assemble certain facts in tabular form, not only those which were summarily set forth in the Prague documents, but also those which were brought before the Commission during June, July and August for examination. A certain number of the clearer incidents will be found in the folding table (App.). For each case there is recorded the reference number, date, place and circumstances, whether the passage of a plane was noted, and whether any object was seen to fall, whether a container was found, and what areas unusually congested with insects or other biological objects were observed, together with notes on the density of the animals, where possible. There follows the entomological or zoological identification, the results of bacteriological tests, and any epidemiological remarks. It must be understood that only a small number of the known incidents is included in the Table.

It will be clear from this summary tabulation that the appearance of biological material found to be infected with pathogenic micro-organisms was not always followed by human cases of disease. This must be in great part attributed to the speed with which the country and townspeople throughout the districts affected have searched for and destroyed any unusual animals and objects which there was reason to think might have been disseminated from the air. So effective have these operations been that in many cases no samples were saved for bacteriological analysis, as the Table shows. In other cases, bacteriological analysis gave negative results for those types of pathogenic organisms for which tests were made.

Here it is worth noting that the incursions of planes over Northeast China have been numerous during the year, and that for the most part they have not been accompanied by bombardment with explosives. Between the 29th Feb. and the 21st Mar., American planes made 955 sorties in 175 groups over NE China (Manchuria), covering 70 hsien districts in the provinces of Liaotung, Liaohsi, Chilin, Sungchiang and Heilungchiang (SIA/3). Other similar figures have also been given (NCNA/85; SIA/13), and the air intrusions over China have recently intensified rather than decreased. In the eight days ending 7th Aug., for instance, American planes made 398 sorties in 79 groups over Chinese territory.

The geographical distribution of the incidents in NE China is also interesting (see Map.) Down to the end of April, taking well-analysed incidents only, the greatest number (18) had occurred in Liaotung province, which borders most of the Korean frontier. Here the fact was striking that

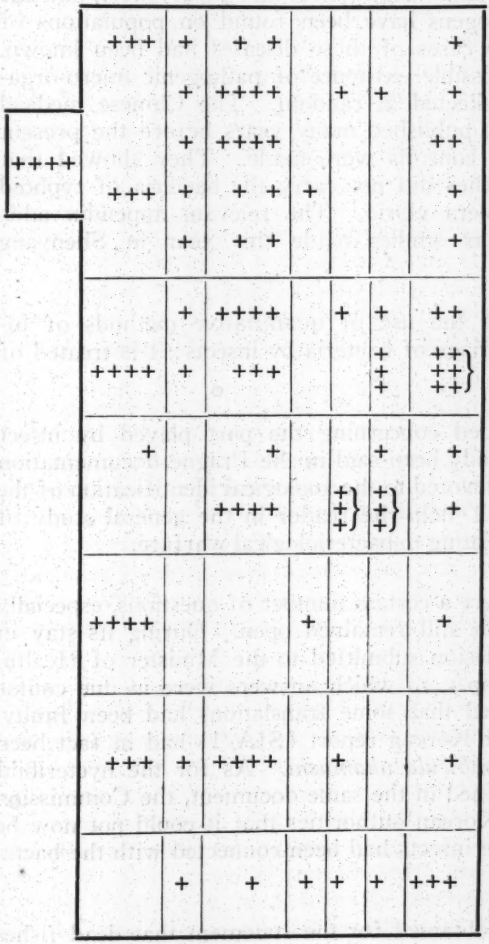
almost always the incidents were reported from the immediate neighbourhood of railways and main roads. The same peculiarity was noteworthy in the 8 incidents which occurred in the remotest province, Heilungchiang. Here one of the railway lines north of Chichihar and Harbin describes a vast S-shaped bend, with sides of a hundred miles or more—all along this line the incidents were dotted.

Documents previously published gave on the one hand some of the bacteriological and epidemiological details relating the infected insects with cases of human disease; and on the other hand evidence relating the insects to the passage of planes. Sometimes the data furnished in those documents were incomplete. This was one of the reasons for the exhaustive enquiries which the Commission made, in collaboration with the Chinese and Korean scientists, with regard to the incidents at Hoi-Yang, Kan-Nan, K'uan-Tien, Liaotung and Liaohsi, Dai-Dong, etc., recounted in the preceding paragraphs. From all these investigations it will be seen that the connection betwen the planes, the vectors, and the cases of human disease, can no longer be contested.

At an earlier point, the method of incident analysis was explained. The moment has now come to assemble the data from the most fully analysed cases in the form of a synoptic Table. From this confrontation of patterns, an organic plan clearly emerges. Planes were always seen or heard, and their course often plotted; and the statement of captured pilots later added supplementary detail. There follow in the Table the necessary data on the fall of containers, the vectors employed and their anomalies, the bacteriological tests, and the clinical cases following.

In connection with all these facts, the Commission heard and interrogated a large number of ordinary Chinese country-folk. Its members were convinced of the integrity and stolid honesty of these witnesses, whose depositions were marked by plainness and clarity.

Turning to specific questions, the Commission considered the possibility that the plague in Korea might have been transported by incoming traffic from those areas in Northeast China (Manchuria) where it still remains endemic. There are several reasons why this possibility must be ruled out. First, no case of plague has at any time been reported from the regions which separate the new Korean foci from the above-mentioned endemic areas. Secondly, there were very serious seasonal anomalies in the occurence of the plague (see App.). Third, in the Korean foci the characteristic appearance of dead rodents, denoting an epizootic, before the human epidemic begins, was entirely absent. Fourthly, the clinical effects were often demonstrably connected with the previous passage of planes and the dissemination of suitable vectors. Finally, the most stringent sanitary precautions are, and were from the beginning, taken both by the Chinese and the North Koreans at the frontier between the countries.


Plane: seen or heard
course plotted
crew interrogated
Delivery: objects seen to fall
Container: found
Spraying suspected
Animals or other Vectors:
Anomaly of high concentration
Anomaly of season
Anomaly of locality
Anomaly of species
Animal or other Vectors:
Bacteriol. examination
Disease, human, cases following
Anomaly of season
Anomaly of locality
Anomaly of type of disease
Disease, vectorial
Anomaly of season
Anomaly of locality
Anomaly of type of disease
An-Ju (K, plague) SIA/1, 4
Cheum-Dom (K, plague) SIA/1
Kan-Nan (C, plague) ISCC/2
Kang-Sou (K, plague) ISCK/2
Hoi-Yang (K, plague) ISCK/3
K'uan-Tien (C, anthrax) ISCC/3
Liaotung (C, resp. anthrax) ISCC/5
Pi-Tung (K) App. S
Ch'ang-Pai (C) ISCC/4
An-Shan (C, encephalitis) ISCC/6
Dai-Dong (K, cholera) ISCK/1
Airmen (ISCK/4, 5; App. CC, DD)

Several of the diseases used are connected with domestic animals as well as man for example anthrax (NCNA/85; App.). When the discovery of *Pasteurella multocida (septica)* on certain disseminated vectors (App., Table) was confirmed, it seemed at first to have little importance since it is so common an infection of laboratory animals. There are reasons, however, for supposing that it might be used as a weapon against domestic stock (App.).

As for the *Vibrio cholerae,* though in the detailed case studied above (Dai-Dong) it appeared in contaminated molluscs, there have also been not a few cases (App.) in which it has been found on insects, especially flies. The same has also been true for *Salmonella typhosi* and *paratyphosi,* and for *Shigella dysenteriae.* These pathogens have been found on populations of flies appearing in areas where no cases of these diseases had been known. This raises the question of the possible existence of pathogenic micro-organisms in or upon normal flies collected at random. The Chinese medical literature contains studies (App.), published many years before the present hostilities, in which exactly these controls were made. They showed that in non-epidemic periods, normal flies did not carry the bacteria of typhoid or paratyphoid fever, or the cholera vibrio. The relevant appendix adds a further note on certain similar studies made this year in Shenyang (Mukden).

A question related to this is the use of quantitative methods of investigation in the study of the carriage of bacteria by insects; it is treated of in a special Appendix.

A few words should be added concerning the part played by insect vectors, to complete what has already been said in the Prague documentation and elsewhere. One Appendix is devoted to the zoological identification of the insects disseminated; another will help the reader in the general study of problems of medical entomology relating to bacteriological warfare.

In the earlier reports there were a certain number of questions, especially as regards events in Korea, which still remained open. During its stay in Pyongyang, therefore, the Commission submitted to the Minister of Health, Dr. Ri, a series of questions (App.), to which answers were in due course received (App.). It thus appeared that some translations had been faulty. The word "tick" used in the first Korean report (SIA/1) had in fact been a reference to the red mite, *Trombicula akamushi.* As for the nycteribiid flies, parasitic on bats, also mentioned in the same document, the Commission was informed by the competent Korean authorities that it could not now be considered demonstrable that these insects had been connected with the bacteriological warfare.

Confirmation, however, was obtained for the statement that dead fishes

contaminated with *Salmonella* and *Shigella* had on more than one occasion been found lying on hillsides. It was emphasised that these phenomena had always occured in the neighbourhood of drinking-water sources. This recalls the Dai-Dong incident investigated in detail by the Commission (P. 37 and App.) where the purpose of spreading cholera clearly appeared.

A question which had particularly aroused the curiosity of western scientists, and about which the Commission was seriously concerned, was that of the "lyophilised proteinaceous material" discovered after the passage of planes (NCNA/85). This substance, found in separate masses, was sticky and hygroscopic, absorbing water as it lay on the surface of the snow. Chemical analysis showed that it was composed of protein breakdown products; proteoses, peptones and polypeptides. The bacteriologists were able to isolate from it mannitol-fermenting dysentery bacilli. No incident of this kind took place during the period of the Commission's work in Korea, and it had therefore to rely upon the reports of the Korean services, but it found entirely probable the hypothesis accepted by the Minister himself, namely that the material represented the delivery of freeze-dried bacterial cultures as such.

As for the question of the dissemination of insects under conditions of very low environmental temperatures, the Commission points out (though not itself prepared to subscribe necessarily to such affirmations) that in their evidence the captured airmen alluded to methods directed to the production of insect populations specially endowed with cold-resistance (App.).

In a preceding paragraph (p. 16), eighteen species of insects and arachnids disseminated from airplanes were described. Of these, nine have been definitely incriminated by bacteriological tests as infected with pathogenic micro-organisms. What is to be said of the others? The Commission could not conclude that they were perfectly clear from infection. It is a difficult matter to isolate pathogenic micro-organisms from such material when no one knows exactly what should be looked for, all the more so when artificially selected bacteria and viruses are in question. The possibilities are far from having been exhausted.

In the American literature on bacteriological warfare there are some contradictions with what has been seen in Korea. Certain judgments expressed in works not yet superseded are hardly in accordance with the observations of the Commission. It seems likely that in some important cases technical advances have rendered these opinions obsolete. The case of plague is typical. Ten years ago Rosebury cautiously expressed the view that it might be possible to spread this effectively for warlike purposes, but only in areas remote from the front lines owing to the great danger of the infection of friendly territory. In Korea the Commission's work has revealed repeated attempts to diffuse plague at places not far

removed from the front lines contrary to the opinion of so experienced a bacteriologist as the former Director of Camp Detrick. But the contradiction is only apparent. The last ten years have seen enormous progress in techniques of disinfestation; on the one hand new and ever more potent insecticides, combined in various mixtures, and on the other hand machines of high efficiency for the dissemination of clouds of these substances in large amounts and minimum time, sufficiently simple to be operated by any ordinary person. These machines derive from smoke-screen apparatus developed during the second world war.

Practical experience has shown that such methods can be used for the eradication of diseases caused by insect vectors from whole territories. Recent published information shows that the American forces in Korea are in possession of such machines, and emphasises their significance since "in any future hostilities ordinary measures and normal methods may well prove insufficient to cope with the situation." (App.).

These data are sufficient to clear up the apparent contradiction between the literature and the facts found in the field. They apply, at any rate partly, to all other insect-carried diseases, and help to explain the general tendency seen in Korea towards the use of insect vectors. The example taken is typical; we cannot limit the possibilities of bacteriological warfare to what has classically been observed in natural conditions; technical and scientific advances extend the range of what may be done, and throw light, as here, on apparent contradictions. An almost perfect control of insect vectors on the American side in Korea would invalidate the reservations found in the literature. For the same reasons the Commission cannot share the opinion of those who would assume that the diffusion of bacteria, viruses and toxins, in aerosols is the only effective method of bacteriological warfare. Thus Japanese experience (cf. pp. 13/14 above) can now be utilised on a new level.

However, one of the cases examined by the Commission, that of the epidemic of encephalitis (SIA/3;8;00010) occurring in the cities of Shenyang (Mukden) and Anshan in Liaotung province, Northeast China (Manchuria), raised the possibility that a virus had been disseminated directly by the aerosol method. The Commission was unable to reach a firm conclusion on the matter, since it could not establish a definite relationship between the disease and the air incursions. Nevertheless the evidence is indeed disturbing and full documentation concerning it is therefore placed among the Appendices (ISCC/6).

The Commission is not in a position to give to the world concrete figures concerning the total number of Korean and Chinese civilians killed, nor the total morbidity, nor the mortality rate. It is not desirable that this should be done, since it would provide the last essential data for those upon whom the responsibility lies. The information is not neces-

sary for the proof of the case upon which the Commission was invited to express an expert opinion. All that is necessary is to know what the Commission confirmed, namely that many human fatalities have occurred in isolated foci and in epidemics, under highly abnormal circumstances in which the trail always leads back to American air activity. It is essential that the world should take warning from what has happened and is still happening. All people should be aware of the potentialities of this kind of warfare, with its incalculable dangers.

Conclusion

Since the beginning of 1952, phenomena of a very unusual character occurring in Korea and China, led to allegations by the peoples and governments of those countries that U.S.A. forces were waging bacteriological warfare. The International Scientific Commission which was formed to investigate the relevant facts has now brought its work to a conclusion after more than two months in the field.

It found itself in the presence of a mass of facts, some of which formed coherent patterns which turned out to be highly demonstrative. It therefore concentrated its efforts especially upon these.

The Commission has come to the following conclusions. The peoples of Korea and China have indeed been the objective of bacteriological weapons. These have been employed by units of the U.S.A. armed forces, using a great variety of different methods for the purpose, some of which seem to be developments of those applied by the Japanese army during the second world war.

The Commission reached these conclusions, passing from one logical step to another. It did so reluctantly because its members had not been disposed to believe that such an inhuman technique could have been put into execution in the face of its universal condemnation by the peoples of the nations.

It is now for all peoples to redouble their efforts to preserve the world from war and prevent the discoveries of science being used for the destruction of humanity.

32-33

V. Report on the calcareous bacteriological bomb dropped by U.S. plane at Kuan-Tien district, Liaotung Province (ISCC3).

W. Commentary on the case of "eggshell" container used at Kuan-Tien.

X. Notes on the incident of June 6th.

Y. Report on four-compartment insect bombs dropped by U.S. planes at Chang-Pai Hsien, Liaotung Province (ISCC4).

Z. Notes on exhibits of containers in the Central Laboratories of the Korean Epidemic Prevention Service, Pyongyang (ISCK7).

II.

A. a. Report on the occurrence of respiratory anthrax and haemorrhagic anthrax meningitis following the intrusion of U.S. planes over Northeast China (ISCC5).

B. b. Hearings on the incidents in Liaotung and Liaohsi Provinces connected with the dissemination of anthrax and fatalities arising therefrom.

C. c. Report on a case of cholera in Dai-Dong Goon caused by eating raw clams contaminated with Vibrio cholerae and dropped by U.S. planes during the night of May 16th, 1952 (ISCK1).

D. d. Hearing on the Dai-Dong incident (cholera); statements of scientific experts and depositions of eyewitnesses.

E. e. Memorandum on the mollusc Meretrix as an agent for carrying Vibrio cholerae (ISCC11).

F. f. Memorandum on acute encephalitis—a new disease in Shenyang (Mukden) and its neighbourhood produced by the intrusions of U.S. planes (ISCC6).

G. g. Hearings on the cases of a new form of encephalitis occurring at Shenyang (Mukden) after U.S. air intrusions.

H. h. Information on arthropod-borne diseases of the encephalitis type in man.

I. i. Commentary on the incidents at Shenyang (Mukden) (encephalitis).

J. j. Notes on the case of the South Korean agent sent to North Korea to collect and transmit to U.S. headquarters epidemiological intelligence.

K. k. Testimony of Lieutenant K. L. Enoch concerning his participation in bacterial warfare waged by the U.S. forces in Korea (SIA14).

L. l. Testimony of Lieutenant J. Quinn concerning his participation in bacterial warfare waged by the U.S. forces in Korea (SIA15).

M. m. Testimony of Lieutenant F. B. O'Neal concerning his participation in bacterial warfare waged by the U.S. forces in Korea (ISCK4).

N. n. Testimony of Lieutenant P. R. Kniss concerning his participation in bacterial warfare waged by the U.S. forces in Korea (ISCK5).

O. o. Notes on interviews with four captured U.S. airmen.

P. p. Memorandum on the public health and hygiene movement in New China.

Q. q. Report on the occurrence of epizootics of septicaemia among fowls following the dissemination of spiders carrying Pasteurella multocida by U.S. planes (ISCC12).

R. r. Declaration by Dr. Franco Graziosi.

S. s. Excerpt from medical literature presented as a reference concerning the use of exploding projectiles for the dissemination of pathogenic organisms.

T. t. Biographical register of Chinese and Korean scientists and medical men.

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INTRODUCTION

The following documents are purported to be transcripts of interviews conducted by a group of scientists with American Air Force officers who claimed that they had participated in bacteriological warfare. The scientists ha d gone to China and Korea to examine into the allegations that the United Nations forces had engaged in germ warfafe.

The investigating group included:

Dr, Andrea Andreen (Sweden), Director of the Centreal Clinical Laboratory of the Hospital of Physiology of the City of Stockholm.

Mr. Joseph Malterre (France), Ingenieur-Agricole, Director of the Laboratory of Animal Physiology, National College of Agriculture, Grignon; formerly Livestock Expert, UNRRA; Corresponding Member of the Italian and Spanish Societies of Animal Husbandry.

Dr. Joseph Needham (United Kingdom), F.R.S., Sir Qilliam Dunn Reader in Biochemistry, University of Cambridge; formerly Counsellor (Scientific), H.B.M. Embassy, Chungking, and later, Director of the Department of Natural Science, UNESCO.

Dr. Oliviero Olivo (italy), Professor of Human Anatomy in the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Bologna; formerly Lecturer in General Biology, University of Turin.

Dr. Samuel B. Pessoa (Brazil), Professor of Parasitology of the Unoversity of Sao Paulo; formerly Director of Public Health for the State of Sao Paulo; Hon. Professor in the Faculties of Medicine for the Universities of Recife and Paraiba.

Dr. N.N. Zhukov-Verezhnikov (U.S.S.R.), Professor of Bacteriology at, and Vice-President of , the Soviet Academy of Medicine; formerly chief medical expert at the Khabarovsk Trial of Japanese ex-service men accused of participating in bacteriological warfare.

Dr. Franco Graziosi (Italy), Assistant in the Institute of Microbiology, University of Rome.

The original documents included five complete interviews. Included herein are :

1. The complete interview of Lt. Paul R. KNISS

2. Excerpts from the interviews with the other four men.

I have also included excerpts from statements recently attributed to Col. Frank H. SCHWABLE, U.S.M.C.

32-33-64

April 25, 1953

Dear Friend,

I recently received a copy of the enclosed material

.It is a proud American tradition to fight for the right of utterance even of thoughts we hate. The cornerstone of our democracy is, as Thomas Jefferson put it, an informed public opinion, free to judge for itself truth or falsehood.

Since the enclosed documents are not generally available, I thought it my duty , regardless of my personal views, to make copies.

P.S. Please excuse the omission of my name and address. This is an unwilling tribute to the spreading McCarthyism of our time. Nothing will avail, however, no matter how conservative Ones background may be.

[1952]

INTERROGATION OF LT. PAUL A. KNISS BY INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC COMMISSION

(Supplement no. 101)

KNISS: I'll start off with a small introduction of myself. My name as you all know is Paul A. Kniss, and recently I was a First Lieutenant in the United States Air Force Reserve, Serial No. AO. 1909070. I'm originally from Monmouth, Illinois in the United States, where my parents are still residing, at 339 South Seventh Street, Monmouth, Illinois. My wife is currently residing at San Antonio, Texas, 1103 Southwest Military Drive. I entered the Air Force in 1946 as a Corporal, and graduated in pilot's training in 1949, first of July. After that, I was an instructor at Craig Air Force Base, that is at Selma, Alabama until the 30th of January, 1952, when I was ordered to Korea.

I reported to Camp Stoneman, California, that's just outside of San Francisco, 21st February, this same year, 1952. From there, I received my assignment overseas, and my transportation overseas. I arrived at K.46, that's the code name for the Air Base at Wonju, the 20th March, 1952. It's an F-51 base with the 18th Fighter Bomber Group there. I was assigned to the 12th Squadron, the 12th Fighter Bomber Squadron of the 18th Fighter Bomber group. I had a total of 26 missions, when I was shot down. I was shot down on my 27th mission, the 31st of May 1952, near Hamchi, that is close to Sinanju.

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My experience with bacteriological warfare actually you might say started in 1951 in the month of June. Then it was under a different disguise, it wasn't American bacteriological warfare. It was labelled as the bacteriological warfare that other nations were planning. This was given to me in the form of a lecture by Captain Laurie, at Craig. He was our Base Information and Education Officer. He gave it to all the pilots of the squadron to which I was assigned at that time which was the 3,616th Pilot Training Squadron. He gave us the lecture first.

The lecture lasted about a total of one hour. He talked to some extent about defence against atomic warfare at the beginning. Then, he went on to conclude that the real danger wasn't from the atomic warfare being planned. It was from the bacteriological warfare that was being planned by other nations. He stated that there were several methods of waging bacteriological warfare - bombing, by agents smuggling in germs, and by submarines firing in germ-filled shells. He went on a little further with his speech and said that he expected in 1952 sometime to see a spate of lectures on bacteriological warfare. Special preventive measures taken against bacteriological warfare in the form of protective masks, inoculations and such. I remember we asked him at the time where he had got this information, but he wouldn't say, he wouldn't tell us where he got this information, just that he knew it, and if he did know it he was going to keep it to himself.

My next association with germ warfare was at Camp Stoneman. I arrived there on February 21st, with five other pilots. Their names will be given to you in my statement. On the 21st February, as I said, and on the next day, about 8 o'clock in the morning, we had a lecture from a Captain Holloman. He is assigned to the Processing Squadron there at Camp Stoneman. This lecture was a lot like Laurie's, in that it was a fact that we weren't waging bacteriological warfare. Our main purpose at that meeting was to learn to deny bacteriological warfare, to deny that America was waging germ warfare. That is what he went into great detail on during the lecture. It was a short lecture, but I mean he stressed that, and stressed that again to deny germ warfare.

He stated that we did have methods of waging bacteriological warfare, however. He mentioned the V.T. germ bomb, the parachute germ bomb with the animals in it, and the spraying method and also that we could have germs carried into enemy territory by agents.

But, he went on, our job was to deny these stories. I mean the American people have a habit of always asking the military. If there is anything that is concerned with the military, they think that everybody in the service knows the answer to it. So he says our job was to deny these stories in America, in Japan, or wherever we were. Well again, the very next day after our arrival at K.46, which we arrived there on the 20th, the next day was the 21st, we attended a lecture in our group

briefing room, in a locked room by our Group Intelligence Officer, Captain McLaughlin.

Interpreter: You said 20th, 21st -- that was March, was it?

Kniss: Yes, March. Well, his story was just the opposite of what we'd been given so far. The 18th Fighter Bomber Group in his words have been waging germ warefare since January 1st, 1952. He said that at present, we are using two types of germ warfare, a V.T. bomb and a parachute germ bomb. Again, the latter type using diseased animals, the first type using germs. We are going to start spraying germs in June, that is the way he stated it. We are going to send four aircraft on the 30th April, 1952, to Tachikawa, Japan and they will.....

Interpreter: 30th of April?

Kniss: Yes, the 30th of April. And they will be ready around the 15th of June. They're supposed to be ready for the 15th of June and when they return, we will have a new briefing, a briefing for all the pilots of the group on how to spray germs.

He went on to give us the information on the germ warfare. I wouldn't say that he went very deeply into it. It's just enough to me, to appear to give us enough information to satisfy our minimum curiosity. In the V.T. bomb, he said, they were using three types of disease, that is typhoid, and the bubonic plague and the parachute bombs were using rats, mice, lice and fleas. He explained the loading of it, which would be done by special crews from the Ordnance Department at Wonju. I saw these men myself and they were as he described them. They wear a white fatigue, and they had a white mask over their nose and their mouth and they also had gloves on. One unusual thing about it, they load these bombs by hand, I mean which is very evident, the fact that it's not a normal 500-pound bomb. You can't pick up a normal 500-pound bomb, that is two men cannot, and load it.

Interpreter: You said you saw these crews as they were described by Captain McLaughlin?

Kniss: Yes sir, I saw the crew myself. Although the loading crew would wear special equipment, the captain went on, we would not wear any special equipment to fly the germ missions. The only thing different for a germ mission from any other, after we would return from the mission, we would immediately take a shower and the following day we would be given a blood test by our Flight Surgeon, by our doctor, to make sure that we were alright. He stressed all through the lecture about our secrecy. I will go into that a little more in detail later on. On the business of aborts, which means if for any reason we could not complete our mission, we did not drop our bombs as ordinarily we do, I mean, that is drop them in an unarmed position. We returned to K-46 and landed with them. If we were across the bomb line, however, I mean in North Korea, we would drop them.

The secrecy as told to us by Captain McLaughlin, was due to the fact that the American government was going to flatly deny germ warfare as long as possible. Due to that, we had various methods of doing, I mean executing, our germ missions. For instance, if the mission was successful, we would say "Mission accomplished, result unobserved." The mission would be flown as a regular mission, I mean, to all appearances, it would be a regular mission. There is no way that anybody could tell it was different from a regular flak suppression mission. And that's what, if they released anything to the newspapers about it, that's what it would be labelled, a flak suppressor mission. We even went so far as to use photographs with imaginary gun positions on them to release our bombs.

He went on to describe the V.T. missions, the V.T. bombs, when we use them, there would be four aircraft in a flight on these flak suppressor missions. Normally on a flak suppressor mission we would use the group 20. 24 aircraft or maybe more. That is one way you can definitely tell a germ mission from a flak suppressor mission. The V.T. bomb would be loaded when we went out to the aircraft. We would check it. Normally, when we check our bombs on the shackles, we shove them with our hands to

make sure they are on the shackles. With the germ bombs, we were warned never to touch them, merely to look at them and determine that they were secure on their shackles. The flight will take off, and we always used 10,000 feet as a cruising altitude. We would go to our target at 10,000 feet as a flight, and release our bombs. Normally your V.T. bombs are released seven or eight thousand feet above the ground.

The V.T. bombs, germ bombs, the way it was described to us, explode about 100 feet above the ground. The force of the explosion will spread the germs approximately a circle of 100 yards. If the bomb does not explode in the air, through some malfunction, and explodes on the ground, the germs will probably be killed, according to the captain. In the air, the explosion merely forces them out and spreads them around. On the ground, the bomb will penetrate to a certain distance before it explodes and the forced explosion will kill the germs. I noticed the first army mission that I was on, the air burst gives you a grey cloud I'd say about 100 feet in diameter, and the ones I noticed lasted about 45 seconds. We also had a couple of ground bursts and the way I could tell they were different from ordinary bomb bursts was the fact that they only threw debris and earth up to a height of about 100 feet. I believe ordinarily a 500-pound bomb will throw debris up about 500 feet or so.

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I forgot to mention in the V.T. bomb, there was no special pilot to carry it, no special aircraft for it to use, I mean use for it. With the parachute bomb, it is the same way, no special aircraft are used, but old pilots of the group are used. The two parachute missions that I knew of, were both by Squadron Commanders. The only reason I can think of, I do not recall them giving any definite reasons for it, is the fact that the bombs hit the desired, I mean, the right target, I mean hit in the target area. This bomb was loaded by the same crew from Wonju. I've never witnessed it, and it is, this bomb is easily recognizable by the fact that it has been cut in two parts, re-hinged together, and it has a small door in the rear where the parachute comes out. This bomb will be carried by one pilot in a group formation. He will be the only one in the group formation carrying these two bombs. He will dive with his flight from 10,000 feet to 1,000 feet and release the bombs. The bomb will fall, the parachute will open, and release, and I mean let the bomb come down gently.

This bomb will be reported as a "dud" when the pilot returns from his mission. I mean these bombs will be reported as a "dud" on return from the mission. One other word of caution the captain gave us was that in carrying the germ bombs in no circumstances to fly above 12,000 feet. The reason for this, the germs would be killed, the germs or animals would be killed more than likely, due to lack of oxygen and the extreme cold at higher altitudes than that. All through the lecture, the captain kept stressing the secrecy of this lecture. I mean we were told that we were never to discuss germ warfare out of that room - never discuss it even among the pilots of the group, I mean even though we all knew of it, it would not be discussed among us. He told us the contents of the lecture were labelled top secret which is the highest priority that I know of that the American government uses on any project.

At the conclusion of the lecture, he brought out some statements, I mean he brought the statements with him, but he gave them to us at the conclusion of the lecture. They were worded approximately like this as the best I remember: "I understand I will not discuss any of the information discussed at this meeting, 21st March, 1952, and if I do, I may be punished under the Article of War". I forgot the exact number of the Article of War that it mentioned. This statement was kept by Captain McLaughlin in the Intelligence Office, and if any of us pilots were overheard discussing bacteriological warfare, it would have been used as evidence against us. One other thing that I forgot to mention on the germ bombs, that we could tell them, they were germ bombs from ordinary bombs, was the loading time. The germ bombs were loaded 15 minutes before our mission, while ordinarily our aircraft are loaded two hours or more before the missions.

Well, after I left this lecture, I mean I recall, I mean I couldn't help recall, the lecture, the two lectures I'd received previously actually, but the one I mainly thought about was Captain Holloman's lecture at Camp Stoneman, about trying to convince us so hard that we weren't conducting germ warfare, and to deny the stories. Well, I was beginning to get an idea of how two-faced some people could be, I mean

even the men that were conducting the war weren't being told the truth about it. My germ mission took place on the 27th of March, 1952, and it was a V.T. germ mission.

Interpreter: 27th?

Kniss: 27th March, yes, 1952. At 5.30 myself, Captain Thomas, that's our Flight Leader, Captain Bruton and First Lieutenant Fluhr reported to the group briefing room with Captain McLaughlin. We went into the room, and he locked the door. He brought out some photographs of some hills south of Sariwon, about 10 miles. These hills, I mean the photographs showed some hills there with the railroad track and.....

Interpreter: South of Sariwon?

Kniss: Yes, about 10 miles with some bare spots on them. These bare spots are gun positions, he stated. We are going to send you men out on a flak suppressor mission. Well, they have a magnifying glass there, so that you can look at the photographs. I've often looked at them. I looked at these, and I couldn't see anything that looked like a gun position or a gun. Normally, you can see anything if there is a gun position or a gun in the photographs, such as this. As I said before, he stated our mission was a flak suppressor mission. He gave us a take-off time of seven in the morning. We were to take off, climb to 10,000 feet and proceed to the target. Over the target, dive from 10,000 to 6,000 feet, release our bombs and return to K.46. And when we returned from the mission, we would naturally report to him, "Mission accomplished, results unobserved" if the mission was successful.

Well, about 6.45, I went out to my airplane. I previously went from the group briefing room, over to my squadron operations, and put on my flying equipment. As I said, at 6.45 I went out to my airplane to check it over, and as I was out there I noticed the men loading the bombs on, and they were in the uniforms, as he had described them to us, in the white fatigues, the mask and the gloves. These men took these bombs out of a closed truck, and loaded them by hand. Normally, they've got a jack to jack them up with. These bombs were loaded by hand. I looked at them to see if they were on the hooks. I didn't shake them, naturally. I then got in my airplane and started off. We took off as briefed at seven, and we arrived over our target like I said, which was about 10 miles south of Sariwon.

There's a railroad that runs south of Sariwon, down to Haeju, I believe the name of the town is, and our target was about 100 feet to the side of the track there. We arrived over the target at the time of eight. Over the target we drove to 6,000 feet, and released our bombs. I observed six airbursts, and two ground bursts. I imagined somebody on the run had dived too low, or maybe there was a malfunctioning of the bombs - the reason for the two ground bursts.

We returned to K.46, after climbing back to 10,000 feet, and landed about nine o'clock. We went into the group briefing room and told Captain McLaughlin "Mission accomplished, results unobserved."

After the debriefing, with Captain McLaughlin, we went to a shower, and took a shower. In the shower, I made the remark to Captain Thomas at the time, the shower may clean my body but my soul would never be clean after such an incident, I mean after committing such an act. I believe that's easily understandable, and I can never be able to express in words just how much it actually sickened me, and I know the other men reacted the same way. They weren't happy and carefree as they usually are after such a mission. I mean not happy because they killed somebody, but they used to talk after a mission. They'd talk about it, how they almost got shot down or something like that. There was not much talk, you could tell by their attitude it was very distasteful to all of them.

The next day we got our blood test from our doctor. We reported to the doctor at 8 o'clock in the morning. The 29th of April, I was in the bar doing a little celebrating, it was my birthday, and in the course of the drinking I got a little high, sounding off against the policies in general, and I was talking to First Lieutenant Da Leo. He's in our squadron, the 12th Squadron, I was complaining about the living

conditions and everything, and the morale, and how we didn't like anything in Korea, I mean the war in general. I particularly made a remark about germ warfare, to the effect that I had to fly the germ mission. He stated, "Well, don't feel bad." He had waged it himself.

I knew that everybody in the group was waging it, but I didn't know when they went on the missions really. He told me that the 5th of April, himself, Lieutenant Curry, Lieutenant Jansen, and Lieutenant Randall had dropped eight V.T. germ bombs about five miles south of Sinanju, the 5th of April, 1952. He also told us, that is, told me, that Colonel Crane, that's our Squadron Commander, 12th Fighter Bomber Squadron, had dropped two "duds" five miles east of Sonchon on the 15th of April, 1952. The 5th of May, about 9 o'clock, I was in the Intelligence Office reading a bulletin there, when Colonel Crane came in and talked to Captain McLaughlin. He had just returned from a mission. He stated that they had dropped two"duds" about five miles east of Sonchon, Korea. No, excuse me, I got that wrong, it was near Pyongyang. The 21st of May, 1952, I was sitting in the barracks, when Captain Thomas came up and told me that First Lieutenant Edward Williams, he's of the 67th Fighter Squadron, had led a flight of four aircraft to Kunuri. There they had dropped eight V.T. bombs..

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That is the entire germ bomb missions that I know about in Korea. Evidently, I mean I know our group has conducted many more. I personally haven't seen any or heard of any more. But I know from the way Captain McLaughlin talked that there has been several more missions flown. I just want to say, I believe I can speak for the entire 18th Fighter Bomber Group, that those missions aren't being flown willingly. The men are actually being forced into it. I know I didn't want to, and I don't think I'm unusual or anything by not wanting to fly a germ mission. I am just an average human and I know the other men are. They're fed up and fed up with the other inhuman acts that are actually being committed in this war. The napalm bombing, the saturation bombing. It isn't the peace I mean like the war the American people are used to fighting.

Interpreter: That's all you have for the moment?

Kniss: Yes, that's all the information I have on the germ warfare.

Needham: Well, the time has come for questions. I call upon the members of the Commission to place them as quickly as possible.....

Interpreter: The questioner would like to know what you did before you became a pilot.

Kniss: Yes, that's very easily answered. My father most of his life has been a farmer, not in the true sense of owning a farm. He had been a hired hand. The majority of his life had been on a farm. I have lived around Monmouth, Illinois, practically all my life. I lived on a farm for about eight years, and the rest of the time we've lived in Monmouth, Illinois and another little town of Keithsburgs, Illinois. One was about 10,000 people and the other was a real small community of about 1,000 people.

Interpreter: What did you say was the name of the second one?

Kniss: Keithsburgs. I attended school, and country schools and these two town schools. I went to high school for a year and a half in Monmouth, Illinois, and had to quit at the end of a year and a half due to the fact that my father couldn't afford to send me. I was wearing clothes that I didn't feel were satisfactory, mingling with the other students. Call it pride or whatever you want to, I didn't care to go with them. I enlisted in the Navy in 1944, just as soon as I was old enough. I was three days over the minimum age requirement when I went into the Navy. I stayed in the Navy for two years. When I got out of the Navy, in 1946, in May, I was still unable to find any job that was satisfactory. I didn't have any chance to progress, and that was due to my lack of education and lack of abilities, so I enlisted in the Air Force in December of that year.

Interpreter: December, of '46?

Kniss: Yes.

Needham: Malterre, do you want to continue?

Needham: All right, if nobody else has any questions, I had better for the moment jump into the breach, and ask Mr. Kniss whether he came across any hint among the various conversations or anything of parachutes made of some kind of strong paper attattached to containers of paper which had an arrangement for self-destruction, setting on fire and burning after the contents had been delivered?

Kniss: No. At no time did I hear anything about that. I think it is the logical conclusion, inasmuch as they were going to such an extent to hide germ warfare, I mean, they would even, it seems to me like they would even attempt to destroy any evidence on the ground. They would.....I remember they were telling us at one time that they wanted the North Korean people to think that these diseases that were breaking out in Korea from the germ weapons were the logical outgrowth of the war, in other words, the water supply being destroyed and things like that, I mean the living standard goes down. But I never at any time heard anything about it, I mean Captain McLaughlin certainly never told us, he just stated there was a parachute in there.

Needham: Dr. Olivo?

Olivo: You mentioned that when you had to check the bombs, you were told not to shake them?

Kniss: Yes.

Olivo: Do you think that was because of the fragility of the bombs, or for the possibility of perhaps harming the insects inside the bombs?

Kniss: Well, I myself thought that it could have been many reasons, I mean, the bomb being fragile, maybe, damaging the germs inside, I had no idea how they were located inside, or how they were placed, or what state they were in there. But another one that we definitely didn't want the bomb to come off the shackles, and to the extent that another item which I forgot to mention incidentally was the aircraft was always sterilised after we returned from a mission by steam. The fact that there may have been germs on the outside of bombs, I mean they just didn't want, it was just another safety precaution, not to, so we couldn't come into contact with the germs ourselves.

Needham: I wonder if I can follow up my previous question by asking whether Mr. Kniss ever heard anything also about the bombs or the containers rather, of a very fragile material, very fragile, a kind of very fragile, eggshell-like material which would splinter into a thousand fragments on reaching the earth so that it wouldn't be discovered by anyone?

Kniss: No, I never heard anything about that type of a bomb. But again, I think they would go to any extremes, I mean, they've used so many different methods in Korea, I mean from talking to Mr. Burchett, he told me of a few of the methods, but they might well go to such an extreme to cover up their bacteriological warfare. Like I said, germ warfare was not discussed among the pilots, hardly at all. That is very unusual too, I mean, I think the Americans like to talk more than any race going, I mean they like to talk among themselves quite a bit. But that was one subject they really got the secrecy on because, other than the two instances that I mentioned, I have never heard germ warfare mentioned between the pilots unless they did it, a couple of them off by themselves.

But that was a very serious offence, I mean, no doubt we would have been very severely reprimanded if we'd ever been heard discussing germ warfare.

Needham: Dr. Andreen?

Andreen: Has Mr. Kniss any idea where the bombs were prepared? Does he think that they came all ready made, loaded with animals and insects and bacteria all the way from the United States?

Kniss: I couldn't answer with any accuracy on that question, of where they came from. One thing I do know definitely that, I don't think that they would have any such facilities at Wonju, I mean, it's just a small ordnance depot there. I know for a fact that they're not constructed there. I mean, I imagine it would take considerable apparatus to construct these bombs and to load them and so forth.

Andreen: How long would it take, how long would they have to stay in these containers do you think, the animals, and insects and bacteria, from the place in the United States until they got used?

Kniss: To bring them from America would not take very long, 36 hours. That is the time it took me to fly from America to Japan. I mean, they can fly from America to Korea in the same length of time, or I mean, I came in a DC-6, they could use another type of aircraft, I believe they call them C.97 and get them over more rapid than that even. I mean they wouldn't have to be in these bombs any length of time.

Andreen: One more question in connection with that. It seems to me that after all, the loading in America and the time bringing them over and the time before they could be used might be a bit long just the same. Had you any, have you thought ever of the possibility of there being a base in Japan to do the job?

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Kniss: Well, yes, I mean, it is a known fact that the American forces have very large bases in Japan like Tachikawa is one of the largest bases I've ever seen. I mean, I've been in there two different times, once to proceed to Korea and another time I went over there for a rest and recuperative leave, and I still never saw but a small portion of that field. I mean it's very huge, and it's very possible that they could even have it there right at Tachikawa because that is where our aircraft went to be fixed up with the germ spraying, I mean they could, they could very well be produced right there.

That is an air material command base too, I mean that is where, that is a big supply base, the supplies come in from America to Korea, the base I mean, you can tell.... I think it's about 15 miles long, I mean that will give an estimate of how large it actually is.

Needham: Any more questions, please? Dr. Malterre?

Malterre: The witness mentioned that his comrades who have taken part in germ warfare were disgusted at the part they played. Is he certain that this was so, that his observations were correct? The witness seems, is of working class origin. He has understanding for social injustice, his sensitivity on this point is already awakened. Perhaps his comrades come from a bourgeois background, and don't have the same sensitivity on this point. Is he quite sure that his observations on this are correct?

Kniss: Yes, I would say that my observations are correct in over 90 percent of the cases of the men I mean, true a few of them did come from a better background than myself, I mean, their families were better off than mine, but not in the majority of the cases. The vast majority of the pilots at K.46 were recalled from civilian life. I mean they're not what you would say regular army men and talking to them, I mean, the majority of them have just been workers all their life. I think I'm pretty safe in saying, I mean, you can tell by the small things, by the way they react. I feel like I learned quite a bit that way about the men.

Malterre: The witness is quite intelligent enough to make correct, sharp observations. What actual test did you make to know their reactions?

Kniss: Well, the one I told about was the reaction after the mission that I was on, I mean, the attitude of the men. Normally, when we come back from a mission it's always talk about "Oh! Did you see how close I came to being shot down?" or something like that. I mean, there's usually a good-natured banter I mean, like I said before, not that they take joy in their missions, but I mean, even in your worst time you've got to find something to joke about. But by the vast discontent of the men now, they weren't happy, I mean, I was overseas in the last war, and the morale difference now, between the men in South Korea now, and the difference in our morale in the Second

World War is terrific, I mean, there's just no comparison, as far as morale goes. The men today do not want, I mean the pilots of today, aren't like the pilots were heard about in the last war either, where a man was willing to sacrifice his life. Most of the pilots now have the impression that the only thing they want to do is complete their hundred missions and get home. I mean they're not willing to sacrifice their life, I mean, that to me is a big indication that they do not believe in their cause. They're against the reason that they are being employed.

Malterre: Pilots who took part in germ warfare missions, did they drink a lot afterwards?

Kniss: Yes, that is one thing that I noticed both at K.46 and K.10 - we used both bases - was the excessive drinking. And even with drinking - I believe when a man drinks you can tell more about him than when he doesn't. Usually, in America when the pilots get drinking, they get a little high, they are happy, I mean all they want to do is to have fun, or raise a little devil. Well that isn't the situation with the pilots here. They're glum, I mean, fights were frequent. In America, I don't think I saw over two fights in an officers' club in my life. At K-46 and K.10 it was very prevalent.

Malterre: Did the pilots have the impression that they were taking part in an unjust war or do they feel that they are fighting for a sacred cause similar to the Second World War?

Kniss: No. There's as much difference between this war and the last war as night and day, and I believe that is the majority of the pilots' opinion. Like I stated before, the other reason is that the men definitely do not want to die for their country. They're not eager. They do just what is a bare necessity. I've heard of cases of pilots purposely missing targets - our main targets were rails - and many's the time I've donait myself - I've broken off the attack in the face of extreme anti-aircraft fire. That would never have been the case in the last conflict, and the men, like I said before, just wanted to finish their hundred missions and return home. It was very easy to tell that their heart wasn't in the war, but they were reluctant to just come right out and make statements against the government. I mean that's the policy of the services in America, that you can't make statements against the government.

Malterre: Was this a general feeling among the pilots of not wanting to take part in the war or was it a feeling brought about by the feeling that this was an unjust war?

Kniss: Well, I believe that it was a feeling that it was an unjust war. I mean the way we were conducting it, I mean the napalm missions, and the targets, at times, I mean often would be nothing but houses, just merely Korean houses and things like this. I mean, it's easy to see that that isn't a military target. I mean, if a man has a mind at all, he can reason these things out for himself.

The Kaesong truce talk was another thing that had the men very bitter. I mean if our peace - if our country, well, wanted a peace so badly why weren't we having an armistice at Kaesong? Why continue the war, why continue having people killed on both sides, why this unnecessary slaughter that was going on. And then on top of that the germ warfare. I mean, as our policy was supposed to have been we were saving Korea from Communism. You do not kill the people you are going to save. I mean, you don't use the mass slaughter methods. I mean, so reminiscent of Fascism.

Another example of that was the probably unnecessary killing of people by the strafing methods. When we dive in on our target, we always fired our machine-guns which was a psychological factor - if there were any guns or anything around - to the people on the guns to keep their heads down and maybe not fire at us. But even when we had the rail missions where we usually cut the rails on a straight stretch of track where it was easier to bomb it, if there happened to be a little town on that stretch of track, it didn't make any difference, you strafed right through that town, I mean there was an utter disregard for any sense of decency or anything like that. I mean it was an all-out war to destroy everything was the actual policy.

Another example that I know of personally, was one napalm raid that the group conducted. I was not on it, but I was talking to the men when they came back from it, and this one character came up to the group. We were standing talking and real gleefully he came out with the expression: "Did you see me lob mine right into the building there?" It looked like a school building, he says. I remember the remark that came back. "Now that's really something to be proud of, isn't it." I mean it was a very sarcastic remark back at this person. And the conversation just stopped, I mean, right there. I've seen pilots reprimanded at our films. We used to show our films every two or three days whenever it was convenient. They'd show the combat films of the missions. When you fired machine guns there's a little hand that comes down in front of the film to show whether you are firing your machine guns. I've seen them reprimanded for not firing enough, I mean, you could see their airplane come down and maybe pass through a ... I mean the film would pass through a house or a settlement or something like that and the gun would stop firing, and the little arm would go back up. And I have personally seen men reprimanded for not firing.

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Needham: Now I'd like to ask one thing just to complete this. I mean, we're getting rather far away from bacteriological warfare I'm afraid, but it is of such great interest really, from the point of view of general background under which the bacteriological warfare is being put through that maybe it's worthwhile. What interests me about this last information is that it's obvious in my language, that the pilots are "browned off" at the situation. The thing is that so far it's been a question of methods. Now what I'm rather interested in asking is what about the question of propaganda. I mean to say, they hated the methods from start to finish that they were having to perform, but there has been from the beginning of the course of this war a great deal of propaganda, as it were, of a United Nations character, that is to say, the whole business about a collective security and all that kind of thing and only a comparatively few people in the western countries who, at least, I won't say comparatively few but certainly by no means everybody, has seen through this, and have realized all the other aspects of the thing. So what I have in mind to ask is I don't know whether I'm making it clear, but is it really so that few or none of the actual servicemen were really taken in by this propaganda, that they really felt that all the U.N. propaganda was really a cloak for aggression and domination in Asia by powers which are not Asian powers. I mean it's difficult to express entirely but I hope I made it clear.

Kniss: Yes, speaking from the viewpoint of a man who's conducted bacteriological warfare in Korea, and actually taken part in this war in Korea, the men are seeing through it in various ways. Like the, well the men go out really to destroy the buildings, I mean, what I mean by buildings, these clay huts the Korean people here build and live in. They go out on such missions, and come back and report that so many buildings are destroyed. In the news releases that our group releases, they are always posted on the bulletin board in the group briefing room - so many barracks, soldiers' barracks have been destroyed by the glorious 18th Fighter Bomber group. That's the way it goes. I mean, they don't release the fact that so many homes were destroyed, it's barracks destroyed.

Rail cuts, the only thing that comes out on that is the fact that the Air Force, the 18th Group, completed 10 rail cuts today. They like that, like the bombing of Pyongyang, or Sinanju, or any of these cities. They're always after a target in that city, they're after specific targets in there, that's a favorite term of theirs, they're after a specific target. The pilots are seeing through it just from the two faces, I mean, the fact that they go out and do one thing and the news releases it's something entirely different. The American people are having a hard time to actually determine the truth from among all these lies. The big factor of the Americans actually learning the truth are from the men who are returning from Korea that actually tell them what happened.

Needham: Are there any more questions? Dr. Olivo?

Olivo: Have you thought at all at the time you made your testimony that the very fact of having made this testimony about bacteriological warfare may, could lead to some reprisals against your family in the United States? I understand that you are married.

I don't know whether you have children or not, or whether when you yourself return, the military or the authorities might take some action against you. We know what the situation is in the United States at present, that measures are being taken against the left forces in the United States. Have you thought of that?

Kniss: Yes, I did. I gave that considerable thought. But I had to actually place my faith in humanity on the answers to that. If they, in any form take reprisals on my wife - I don't have any children - my parents, any member of our family, they will only be admitting their guilt to this method of warfare. I have enough faith in the American people, I mean the American people, I mean by that, people like myself, and the average American, that they will not allow anything to happen to my family and my wife. As for myself, they may try some sort of reprisal. Again the American people on policy, will stand behind me hundred percent. If they don't, I mean, it'll never be conquered laying down or merely accepting it very meekly. You're going to have to fight. Some people may have to make larger sacrifices than others, but I'm not worried about it. I know the American people are going to back me in it, and I don't think I could have rested, or had any peace of mind unless I had made these facts evident.

Needham: Now, if there are no more questions, I really think it's time - that we ought to bring the discussion to a conclusion. I suppose, that as on the other occasions Mr. Kniss would like to make some final remark. Do you have any other remarks?

Kniss: Yes, I would like to close with just this one small statement. I'll never be able to show my appreciation for the chance to speak with all these representatives. Due to the reason that I can't spread this news around very much by myself, I think it's something that should be known, mainly by the American people, I mean, also by the American people all over the world. It is being perpetrated under the name of the American people by a few people in America who do not care about the American way of life, or anybody else's way of life. I myself fought in the war against fascism, I lost a brother in the war. I certainly don't want to seeanother world war. I think that this is leading to it. I mean, they are just showing with this, to what extent they will go to, in a race for world domination. The time to stop it, I believe now is in the bud, to stop it before it really gets started.

I believe all the members here are contributing very largely to this effect, and maybe by the small testimony that I have given, the little bit of evidence that I've given, it will help in some way to rectify the wrongs that other pilots are being made to commit, in the name of the American people. I know I want my wife and my children to grow up in a peaceful world. I don't want my sons to ever have to fight again.

Ah, Mr. Burchett, once again I would like to thank them and to ask that they give this material and all the evidence that they've collected in Korea on all these atrocities as wide a coverage as possible to really bare this to the world, to really show the war in Korea for what it is, I mean, not to save the world but to grab the world.

Needham: Any more questions? Well, I think the moment has come for me to thank the witness, Mr. Kniss, in the name of the Commission, very heartily for his cooperative and accurate and very calm and clear exposition which we have very much appreciated. I think we've got a great deal of value from this. Then I would like to assure him that this Commission is not the kind of Commission which will allow these things to remain in pigeon holes for a long time to come, but we have already a great deal of information, and shall without the slightest hesitation publish it in the near future, so that everybody in the world may know what is already beginning and what has such incalculable dangers for the future. And lastly, I'd like to express the hope on our behalf that when this present situation is over, and certainly we hope it will be very soon, Mr. Kniss in going back to civil life may have a better chance than he had at the beginning, and may be able to do whatever he wants, whatever he'd like to, in the way of education, and that he will have a real opportunity of contributing to the world, in whatever way he'd like to.....

EXCERPTS FROM THE TESTIMONY OF LIEUTENANT KENNETH ENOCH

Enooh - My name is Kenneth L. Enoch. My age is 27 years. My address is 18 South Osborne Street, Youngstown, Ohio. As to germ warfare, my knowledge about [illegible] on the 22nd of August , 1951, given at the ground school by a Mr. Wilson, a civilian, who ;ectured on the ways and means of waging bacteriological warfare, also on the ways of protecting yourself against it. Mr. Wilson told us that the lecture was quite secret, that we had no idea of using bacteriological warfare at that time, though we might at some time. However, we might sometime, and not to divulge the contents to anyone.

He discussed three diferent ways to employ germ warfare, firstly by dropping germs by themselves, or secondly, by dropping germs with insects, thirdly by dropping animals carrying the germs and insects

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If you drop the insects, you may drop them in a bomb that looks quite like an ordinary bomb, which wi ll open on contact with the ground and alson release its cargo. You may drop a paperboard container which of course will burst on contact with the ground, and also release its cargo. Or you may release germs with insects that is on animals.

To drop the insects, the germs with animals, you may drop them firstly by parachute container which wi ll open up by contact with the ground so that the animals, small game such as rats, rabbits and so forth may escape and spread the disease. Also you may release these insects and germ bearing animals from ships behind the enemy's shoreline.

You may also drop germs by paper envelopes, leaflets, toilet paper articles. As I recall, you could drop germs by fountain pens with germ-laden ink or by germ-laden soap and clothing or you might drop germ-laden food behind the enemy lines..... The very nature of germ weapons is such that they should be employed at low airspeed and low altitudes to avoid damage to the insects. I'd say-- as I recall 200 miles an hour and 500 feet altitude was the speed and altitude that we employed.....

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On the 6th of January, 1952, I was scheduled to fly a B-26 Number 247 with Captain Amos as pilot, Captain William Ames and Sergeant WRichard Tracey as gunner. I was the navigator. We were to fly Green "8" route between Pyongyang and Sariwon. Our takeoff was to be 0300 hours, the 7th of January.

At 0200 hours 7th of January, Captain Amos and I reported to the Group Operations Section to see if there were any changes in our mission or any late information on the weather. This was a usual procedure. At this time we were given the order by the Briefing Officer of the Group Operations section, Captain Robert Stuart that we were to drop our two outboard wing bombs at Hwangju. Having dropped these bombs, we were to drop the rest of our load as quickly as possible, and return immediately to the base. We called his attention to the low altitude we were to drop two 500 pound high explosive bombs. He said that was alright, these were germ bombs. .... We took off... and proceeded directly to Sariwon where we let down...to 500 feet altitude and proceeded north to Hwangju about 10 mile there, where we dropped our two outboard wing bombs, at 0400 on the western edge of Hwangju at an airspeed of 200 miles per hour, 500 feet altitude.

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On the 10th January I was again scheduled on the same aircraft with the same crew.... We dropped our four germ bombs on the western sector of Chunghwa, at 0410 hours.

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Maltzarre- Would you say something of your social origin, or more exactly what you were doing before you entered the Air Force?

Enooh- I'll give you a brief resume. After I graduated from high school I took a job in a steel mill in my home town at Youngstown. It was from this job that I entered the airforce in 1943 and I served for 45 months, 20 missions, 16 of them in B.24s in China and five missions in Okinawa against Japan. After I left the service early in 1947 I again took a job in a steel mill- as a matter of fact, two steel mills in the first summer in order to earn money to help pay my [illegible] needed spending money.

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and my course was electrical engineering. February 1949 I took a job with the power company in Youngstown, we have only one electric power company. I still went to college at nights, night school. It was in 1950, September 1950, I was recalled from this job at the power company, September 1950, ~~September 2d~~ I was recalled to Langley Field....

EXCERPTS FROM TESTIMONY OF LIEUTENANT JOHN QUINN

Quinn- My name is John Quinn. I am 30 years old. My home is Pasadena, California. As a B-26 pilot I came to Korea on the 1st of December, 1951. Shortly thereafter I got my first introduction to germ warfare. I had never heard about it in the service before that I can recall. I had no idea at the time that I went to the lecture that there were those people in my country that were actually thinking of using germ warfare in Korea. We were given several lectures. One was on the atomic bomb and I did not think that would be used either. Germ warfare has been. I took part in it. I dropped germ bombs twice. I dropped them on Pyongyang on the 4th January. I dropped them on Kunuri, two germ bombs on Kunuri on the 10th of January. I heard about it actually, that I was going to take part in it just prior to my takeoff, as I recorded in my statement. Gentlemen it was a shock to ~~me~~ me to even consider, although they did not tell me at the time, that I was dropping germ bombs.

... At the time I took part in it, germ bo,bs were referred to as "duds". At the time I took part in it, it was considered very highly secret, and we weren't to talk about it even among ourselves. We overrode that regulation to the extent that I did talk about it with the people in my own house. Out of the seven people that were living in the house with me, I know that four of us took part in germ warfare, that is up to January 13, when I was shot down.

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Interpreter- If I remeber rightly you said there were orders not to check the bombs in these cases.

Quinn - That's right, the guard told us the bombs had already been checked. Ordinarily, the bombardier or the navigator will get up on a box and remove the pins from the bombs, and actually all it amounted to was seeing the pins had already been removed, because that was the only operation that was neglected. And there were no fuses for four of them, and no fuses for two of them in the second case, so there was no need to crawl up and take the pins out. As pilot I could check to see that the pins were out in the two bombs, wing bombs, that I didi have in the second case. The answer to the second question. As far as th the order to drop the bombs at 200 feet was extremely low, but it was merely that tied in with all the other details that added to my being able to make up my mind that I was carrying germ bombs, the fact that I was dropping them from perhaps a dangerous altitude played very little part in my thinking.

Excerpts from the Testimony og Lieutenant Floyd B. O'Neal

O'Neal- My full name is Floyd Breland O'Neal. I'm Second Lieutenant, United States Air Force Reserve, Serial Number AO 184875. My home address is Box 66 Moye Avenue, Fairfax, South Carolina. The instructions which I received in regard to bacteriological warfare consisted of two lectures. One lecture was g given at Luke Air Force base in the United States at Phoenix, Arizona, on December 1, 1951. This was a short lecture lasting only thirty minutes. The second lecture was given at K.46 the advanced base of the 18th Fighter Bomber Group in Korea here. The lecture was given on the 22nd of January 1952. This lecture was much more complete on the bacteriological weapons which we would be using. This lecture lasted approximately two hours. Then the only other instruction I received, of course was the order to carry out my germ warfare mission.

Andreen- At the lecture you attended did they wuite clearly tell you that bacteriological warfare was taking place?

O'Neal- My answer to that question is at the first lecture, at the lecture at Luke, no ma'am. At the second lecture, at K.46, yes ma 'am.

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Andreen- Yes, it would perhaps be interesting to know both the date and the place when you wnet on missions of bacteriological warfare.

O'Neal- The date of my first and only bacteriological mission was the mission of the 15th February this year, 1952. Our target was the town of Sybyonni, in North Korea. There were four of us in the flight, each of us carrying two germ [illegible] total of eight germ bombs. We did not know what type of bacteria they

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Needham- Could Mr. O'Neal tell us something about the containers what were mentioned in the containers? For example, was there anything said about self-destroying containers, either which would break into a very large number of minute fragments or which might be made of some paper-like material which would set itself on fire?

O'Neal- No, Sir, no such self destroying weapons were mentioned. The first lecture was only a generalities lecture, covering the general features of it. The second lecture, only weapons of bacteriological warfare which were described were the germ bombs of the various types which were in use in the U.S. forces at that time, There was mention of infected leaflets and papers, but that would be the only weapons besides the germ bombs and artillery shells which were mentioned.

.... The captain began the lecture by telling us that although our regular missions which we flew were classified as secret, we were still allowed to talk about thm,among ourselves. He told us however, that what he was about to tell us now, the subject he was bringing up was top secret. Top secret is the highest classification given to military information in the Air Force- U.S. Air Force. He stressed this point several times, that it was top secret, and then he began telling us the technicalities, technical side of germ warfare. He said that insofar as the Air Force was concerned there were two methods of waging bacteriological warfare, two general types of bombs, that is. There are the airburst type, that is the bomb that bursts in the air. This type is used for carrying bacteria. no insects. The second type was the prachute-type bomb which is let down to earth by a parachute. This type of bomb carries bacteria-infected insects. Of course, aside from the bomb, there are insectsp bacteria-infected insects - or the bacteria themselves could be sprayed from aircraft.

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The Captain next covered the spraying of the bacteria or bacteri-infected insects from the plane. The spraying apparatus is mounted in the aircraft behind the pilot in the tail end of the aircraft... Normally there is a fuselage gasoline tank situated directly behind the pilot. This gasoline tank has to be removed and in its place is put the spraying apparatus.... The tank which is placed in the aircraft is approximately three feet high and two feet wide. The bacteria or infected insects- in other words the entire germ cintainer is made of tin. Of course the germ jelly is diluted with some solvent for spraying... (here follows further technical details of the spraying technique)

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For safety measures at the base at K.46 there was a spraying truck, a truck which would spray disinfectant on the ground behind the aircraft. In other words after the aircraft landed after a germ spraying mission and taxied to its parking area, the spray truck would follow that aircraft everywhere it went and spray the ground behind it. The aircraft was taken to the parking area and sterilized by a special crew for that purpose. The pilot himself would immediately remove his clothes, his flying clothes. They would be streilized and the pilot would take a hot shower immediately as a safeguard.

There were according to Captain McLaughlin, four aircraft at K.46 base which were equipped for spraying ~~xk~~ either bacteria or infected insects...

Malterre- What did you study before you jpinad the Air Force , Lieutenant O'Neal?

O'Neal- In college I studied chemistry ,sir. I got a B.S. degree in Chemistry from the Citadel College in Charleston, South Carolina in June, 1948. The following two years right up until June 1950, I studied chemistry at the Graduate School of Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana. I held an assistantship there while I was studying. That is, I graded papers, supervised lab work, that sort of thing. I received a Master's degree in Physical Chemistry from Tulane in June , 1950.

EXCERPTS FROM THE TESTIMONY OF COLONEL FREANK H. SCHWABLE, CHIEF OF STAFF, FIRST MARINE WING

... The general plan for bacteriological warfare in Korea was directed by the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff in October, 1951. In that month the Joint Chiefs of Staff sent a directive by hand to the Commanding General, Far East Comman (at that time General ~~KK~~ Ridgeway) directing the initiation of bacteriological warfare in Korea on an initially small experimental stage but in expanding proportions.

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The B-29s from Okinawa began using bacteriological bombs in November, 1951, covering targets all over North Korea in what might be called random bombing. One night the target might be in Northeast Korea and the next night in Northwest Korea. Their bacteriological bomb operations were conducted in combination with normal night armed reconnaissance as a measure of economy and security.

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During March, 1952, the Banshees of Marine Photographic Squadron 1 commenced bacteriological operations, continuing and expanding the bacteriological operation over North Korean towns, always combining these operations with normal photographic missions. Only a minimum of bomb supplies were kept on hand to reduce storage problems and the Fifth Air Force sent a team of two officers and several men to K.3 (Pohang) to instruct the marine specialists in handling the bombs.

The navy's part in the probram was with the F9F's (Panthers), AD's (Skyraiders), and standard F2H's (Banshees) as distinct from photographic configuration using carriers off the east coast of Kroea.

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(The colonel describes a staff meeting at which a number of Marine officer's were present to hea directive from General Barcus)

A contamination belt was to be established across Korea in an effort to make the interdiction program effective in stooping enemy supplies from reaching the front lines. The marines would take the left flank of this belt to include the two cities of Sinanju and Kunuri and the area bewteen and around them. The remainder of the belt would be handled by the air force in the centre and the navy in the east or right flank.

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During the first week of June, Squadron 513 started operations on the coneentrated contamination belt, using cholera bombs. (The plan given to General Jerome indicated that at a later, unspecified date- depedning on results obtained or lack of results- yellow fever and typhus in that order would probably be tried out in the contamination belt).

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Security was far the most pressing problem affecting the First Marine Aircraft Wing, since the operational phase of bacteriological warfare, as well as other type combat operations, is controlled by the Fufth Air Force.

Absolutely nothing would appear in writing on the subject. The word "bacteria" was not to be mentioned in any circumstances in Korea, excot initially to to identify "super-propaganda" or "suprop".

Aside from the routine replenishment operations of Squadron 513 which required no scheduling, bacteriological missions were scheduled by separate top-secret, mission orders (or "frag" orders). These stated only to include "super-propaganda" or "suprop" in mission number so-and-so of the routine secret frag order for the days operations.

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I do not say the following in defense of anyone, myself included, I merely report as an absolutely direct observation that every officer when first informed that the United States is using bacteriological warfare in Korea is both shocked and ashamed. I believe, without exception, we came to Korea as officers loyal to our people and our government and baieving what we have always been told about bacteriological warfare- that it is being developed only to be used in retailiation in a thrid world war.

For these officers to come to Korea and find that their own government has so completely decieved them by still proclaiming to the world that it is not using bacteriological warfare, makes them question mentally all the other things that the government proclaims about warfare in general and in Korea specifically.

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S. Amer

CALL TO THE AMERICAN CONTINENT PEACE CONFERENCE

The menace of a third world war imposes on our American peoples, as on all other peoples of the world, the duty to defend peace. Even though negotiations have been engaged to settle peacefully the Korean conflict, the hostilities have not been stopped and the danger of an extension of the conflict is ever present. Moreover, the establishment of military formations in Germany and Japan, the production of ever more murderous weapons, the multiplication of air and naval bases as well as the appearance in the Near East of potentially-worsening conflicts, seriously heighten international tension. The consequences of such a situation are already being sharply felt by our peoples.

American mothers weep for their sons dead in Korea, and in spite of the opposition of the people, the sending of new troops is still being demanded. Economic and military engagements compromise the independence of American nations. Military bases are multiplying on our national soils. The agreements signed by the various American governments at the Conference of Foreign Ministers at Washington impose very heavy sacrifices on our countries. The burden of armaments weighs heavily on the shoulders of our peoples. Military barracks are taking the place of schools and hospitals. Bread and books are being taken from the hands of the youth in order to give them rifles and machine-guns. The natural resources of our countries are being used for the production of weapons of mass destruction. The rights of the people and the liberties of the individual are being continually reduced. Finally, an intolerable atmosphere of fear and insecurity has been created.

The people can change this state of affairs, however, by uniting all their forces to save peace.

It is the people's will for peace, ever more strongly expressed, which forced the opening of negotiations for a cease-fire in Korea and obtained the first victory of the spirit of negotiation over the methods of force.

A great effort by the people is necessary to strengthen this victory and to achieve the peaceful settlement of all differences from which arise the present international tension.

History shows us that the policy of seeking to settle international differences by means of a system of force always leads to war. The peaceful settlement of the problems between two different social systems is possible. The present situation demands such a settlement in order to save peace and to ensure the welfare and progress of mankind. It is for this reason that the people's will for peace is being expressed in the idea of a pact of Peace between the five great powers : the United States, the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, France and Great Britain. This Pact of Peace, open to all states, can be the road to general disarmament and to the ending of the cold war. For the American nations, the peaceful settlement of international problems represents the guarantee of the national sovereignty of our homelands and the possibility of a broad and free economic and cultural exchange with countries the world over.

So that the American peoples can make effective their will for peace, we are calling an American Continent Peace Conference, which will be held from the 22th to the 27th of January in Rio de Janeiro.

This conference shall seek ways befitting the peoples of the American continent to help bring an end to wars now being waged and to obtain the guarantee of a peaceful settlement of international problems in order to preserve the national independence of our countries, to advance the welfare of our peoples and to save our cultural traditions.

We call to participate in this Conference all those who sincerely want peace, regardless of their political opinions, their religious beliefs or their ideas on the cause of the present crisis : workers and farmers, mothers and youth, intellectuals and churchmen, scientists and technicians, men and students, industrialists and small businessmen, artists and writers- all men and women of good will in all countries of the American continent.

We issue this Call with the certainty that the American peoples will make this Conference an historical event for the peace of the world.

Below is a list of some of the 120 eminent personalities who have signed the Convocation of the Conference:

GABRIELA MISTRAL, Nobel Prize of Literature (Chili); BENJAMIN CEVALLOS ARIZAGA, President Supreme Court of Justice (Ecuador); ROBERTO ALVARADO FUENTES, President, National Congress (Guatemala); JOAS PEREIRA SAMPAIO, Magistrat, Appeals Court of Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil); SALVADOR ALLENDE, vice-President of the Senat (Chili); ARTURO URQUIDE, Rector, "MayorUniversity", San Simon (Bolivia); Dr. JOSEPH FLETCHER, Professor, Episcopal Seminary, Cambridge (USA); LEONIDAS BARLETA, Director, Peoples Theatre, Buenos Aires (Argentine); Dr. ENRIQUE PEREZ ARBELAEZ, Priest, Member Academy of Sciences (Columbia); ELIAS ENTRALGO, Professor, Havan University (Cuba); JEAN-JULES RICHARD, writer, (Canada), ALBERTO NAVARRO, Mayor of the Capital (Panama); HUMBERTO BRUNO ESTABLE, Professor of Medecine, (Uruguay); JOSE GALVEZ, writer former President of the Republic (Peru); General HERIBERTO JARA, former Minister of the Navy (Mexico); JOAQUIN GARCIA MONGE, writer, director of the "American Repertory Theatre" (Costa-Rica); BALDOMERO SANIN CANO, philosopher (Columbia).

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[World Peace Council]

PROTEST OF THE CHINESE DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AGAINST BACTERIOLOGICAL WARFARE, CONDUCTED BY THE AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS

During nearly two years of aggressive war in Korea, the American imperialists, whose brutality is unprecedented in history, have suffered disastrous blows. Over eight months have now elapsed since they were forced to accept negociations for a cease-fire.

Today they not only have no intention of improving the position, but are using every means to obstruct the peace talks. Moreover, they are unscrupulously violating international conventions and are making themselves enemies of human justice in committing the terrible crime of launching bacteriological warfare on a large scale.

Since the 28th January military aircraft of the American invaders have repeatedly spread large numbers of germ-laden insects over the frontline positions and in the rear of the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers, which has aroused unbounded indignation on the part of the Chinese and Korean peoples as well as peace-loving people throughout the world.

The Chinese and Korean Governments have already made strong protestations in their respective communiqués against these actions. The peoples of China and Korea and of the whole world are protesting one after the other, but the American Government is making every effort to disclain its responsibilities. On the 4th of March, Mr Acheson, Secrétary of State, issued a shameless statement in which he gave the following lie: "The United Nations forces are not using and have never used any sort of bacteriological warfare".

However, the facts prove that not only do the American aggressors continue to spread germs in Korea, but have further expanded the area of bacteriological warfare to our territory during the 29th February to 5th March . During these six days the American invaders sent in succession 68 groups of planes in 448 fights and these planes encroached the air territory of north-east China, dropping large numbers of germ-laden insects over Fushun, Sinmin, Antung, Kwantien, Linkiang and other places.

In addition they carried out bombing and strafing over areas of Linkiang and Changtienhokow. These facts prove indisputably that the American imperialists are so barbarous and so cruel that they will stop at nothing and will employ any ruthless method in order to massacre the Chinese and Korean people. Their intrigues to prolong and extend the war in Korea have been entirely revealed.

Long before the second world war, the American imperialists had already made their preparations for bacteriological warfare. Among the great powers only the United States and Japan refused to ratify the Geneva conventions condemning bacteriological warfare. After the second world war, the American aggressors made use of numerous Japanese bacteriological war criminals, including Shiro Ishii, Ujiro Wakamatsu and Masajo Kitano, to conduct secret research in experimentation and making of arms of bacteriological warfare, using the soldiers of the Korean People's Army and Chinese volunteers as subjects for their experiments. All these facts are known to the whole world.

Because of these monstrous and inhuman atrocities committed by the American imperialists, the democratic parties and the whole of the Chinese people fully endorse the two solemn declarations of Chou En Lai, Foreign Minister of the China Central People's Government published on the 24th February and 8th March. To safeguard human justice, to safeguard peace in Asia and the rest of the world, and to safe guard our own security and that of all mankind, we must wage a resolute struggle against the American aggressors who are using bacteriological weapons. We must not cease the struggle until we have attained our aim. The democratic parties of China issue this solemn appeal to the people of the whole of China :

" The more maniacal the Americans become, the more they show their isolation and desperation. We, the Chinese people, must unite among ourselves and unite with the Asian peoples and all people throughout the world to resolutely answer the provocations of the American aggressors.

" We must continue to strenthen our just movement against American aggression , and to help Korea, to redouble our efforts to increase production and practise economies to support the Chinese People's Volunteers and the Korean People's Army so as to deal destructive blows to the criminals of bacteriological warfare. The democratic parties of China issue this solemn appeal to peace-loving people of all Asia and of the entire world, including also the peoples of America and Japan, and to all organisations which are striving for peace.

"The atrocities committed by the American aggressors constitute not only a grave menace to the security of all humanity, but an insult to human dignity. The calamity which ravages the peaceful people of Korea today strikes at the peaceful Chinese people. If effective action is not taken immediately to stop this monstrous crime perpetrated by the American imperialists, a similar calamity will fall tomorrow on the peoples of the rest of the world. For the sake of human dignity and of world peace, we must rise up and condemn unanimously the American imperialists and impose the most severe sanctions against the criminals of bacteriological warfare.

" Justice belongs to us and victory shall unquestionably be ours ".

25-27-22

The National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

The Chinese Communist Party

The Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang of China

The China Democratic League

The Democratic National Construction Association

Non-party democrats of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

The China Association for Promoting Democracy

The China Peasants and Workers Democratic Party

The Chiu San Society

The Taiwan Democratic Self-Governing League

The New China Democratic Youth League

WORLD YOUTH FRIENDSHIP & CULTURAL EXCHANGE
111 West 42nd St. Rm. 501
New York 36, N. Y.

August 12, 1955

To: Sponsors of the International Conference in Defense of the Rights of Youth

Dear Friend:

This note is to formally thank you for becoming a sponsor of the above International Conference. Your name has been submitted to the Preparatory Committee in Vienna, Austria as part of a list of hundreds of sponsors from all over the world.

You will be happy to learn that at the Executive meeting of the Preparatory Committee held in Copenhagen, Denmark July 22nd and 23rd the date, time and place for the Conference was agreed upon. This will be on February 15th, 1955 in Vienna, Austria. This extra time will thus give us additional opportunity to prepare for American participation in the Conference, thus enabling many young people of our country to fully discuss their problems, needs and desires and collect this material to be made an overall part of our participation.

We feel certain that you have many thoughts and ideas as to how this Youth Needs conference can best be introduced within the groups you are working and we would like to have your comments by return mail. We also feel that in order for people to begin to know about the Conference they should have the possibility of reading the minutes of what took place in Copenhagen at the Executive meeting. We therefore propose sending the following draft out to all schools, labor unions, religious institutions, community organizations, nationality groups etc. so that not only will they become acquainted with what is going on but we will have the benefit of finding out their opinions on what is possible in their organization, and how they feel about this conference.

We are of the opinion that this report should go out in the name of the sponsors of the International Conference in Defense of the Rights of Youth and have therefore enclosed a stamped self-addressed envelope for your confirmation of the draft, any changes you may desire and your approval of the sponsors issuing this report.

Thank you again and we look forward to hearing from you immediately.

Sincerely,

Doris Koppelman

Doris Koppelman

enc.

25-47.15

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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

October 9, 1952

COPY

Mrs. Corinne Wright
218 West 139 St.
New York, N.Y.

MAY I EXPRESS MY DEEPEST SORROW AT THE DEATH OF YOUR HUSBAND,

DR. LOUIS WRIGHT.

W.E.B. Du Bois
Youngstown, Ohio

55-45-31

Mr. and Mrs. James T. Babb
request
the pleasure of your company
at luncheon
on Saturday, January seventh
at one o'clock
in the President's Room, Woolsey Hall
Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

R.S.O.P.
Yale University Library
New Haven, Connecticut.

Yale U

25-45-29

May 29, 1952

Mrs. Ada Young
Wilberforce
Ohio

25-45-19

My dear Ada:

I did not get a chance to call on you although I rode past the old home Tuesday morning.

I just looked over the campus hurriedly because I did not want to come in contact with authorities and put them in a difficult position.

I was glad to see you looking so well, and I hope to see you this summer.

Yours, with love,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

J. A. Young
3548 R.C. Ch. Rd. N.W.
Washington 10, D.C,

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

The handbill of Appeal in your behalf has reached me.

Do you believe in prayer?

Go back to Sunday School days; Paul and Silas were bound in jail. The Church made intercession for them. They were released.

Go back to High School days; The Constitutional Congress had been in session two months, bickering without any agreement. Benjamin Franklin requested that each session thereafter open with prayer. Several compromises resulted in a Constitution for our Country.

Now, for the present time: Heaven and earth shall pass away but none of My words shall fail.

25-45

Cast thy burden upon Jehovah
and He will sustain thee.
He will never suffer the
righteous to be moved.

God is our refuge and strength,
A very present help in trouble.

O Jehovah, my God, I cried
unto Thee
And Thou hast healed me.

The Spirit himself, beareth
witness with our spirit —
that we are children of God.

There shall no evil befall thee
Neither shall any plague
come nigh thy tent.

The eternal God is thy
dwelling place
And underneath are the
everlasting arms.

During Jesus' ministery on earth, at nearly every miracle He admonished: "According to thy faith, be it unto thee". or "Go thy way, thy faith hath made thee whole."

The human answer is: "Lord, I believe, help Thou my unbelief." We reassure ourself with more of God's promises: "They that seek Jehovah shall not want any good thing." "The beloved of Jehovah shall dwell in safety by Him;" He covereth him all day long.

"Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world."

Keep these thoughts in mind. God will answer your trustful call. In Christian fellowship,

J. A. Young.

Williams, MaBelle

[Y.M.C.A. of N.Y. - Harlem Br.]

Mrs. Theodore H. Homer CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT
MaBelle White Williams EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

HARLEM BRANCH

The Young Women's Christian Association of the City of New York

179 WEST 137 STREET (30)
FOundation 8-2400

August 5, 1952

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

25-45-20

It is always good to hear from you!

I do know and greatly admire Mrs. Crawford and I shall be delighted to talk with her about the party she wishes to give on August 19 or 20. The use of the roof is impractical for outside groups because the only way to get to it is through our residence. The elevator goes only to the fifth floor, where girls move around freely en deshabille, and a flight of stairs leads to the roof. Once a year we use the roof for our summer reception, with considerable inconvenience to the girls who live on the fifth floor and with a meticulous and rather difficult system of hostessing on our part. It seems stupid to have such a handicap in the use of the roof but the cost of running the elevator all the way up has, so far, been prohibitive.

The auditorium is being tentatively held for August 19 and 20, in case Mrs. Crawford can use this room for her party. It is spacious and should be comfortable with an improved ventilation system. I will talk over all of this with her when she contacts me and cooperate with her in every way possible.

With warm affection, I am

Sincerely yours,

MaBelle

MaBelle W. Williams
Executive Director

c/ to Alice Crawford Aug 6 Aug 4-0566

MWW/w

ALBERT J. NESBITT, PRESIDENT • CHARLES U. SHELLENBERGER, GENERAL SECRETARY • JONATHAN M. STEERE, TREASURER

The Young Men's Christian Association of Philadelphia
AND VICINITY

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Christian Street Branch

1724 CHRISTIAN STREET
(Zone 46)
Phone: PE. 5-5887

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February 12, 1952

Dear Mrs DuBois:

In accordance with your assurance of some weeks ago in our telephone conversation we are looking forward to having Dr DuBois with us on March 20 or March 27 as the guest of our Emblem Club. It is our intention not only to give him a distinguished audience for whatever message he may bring to Philadelphia but also to offer him our citation of honor and appreciation for the great service he has rendered our country and the world. Please be assured that this will be an outstanding occasion. We await now only Dr DuBois's choice of the date most convenient for him.

With the hope that you have both returned from your vacation greatly refreshed and strengthened, I am

Cordially yours,
Leslie Pinckney Hill

Address: 46 Lincoln Ave.
Yeadon, Pa.

25-39-8

Gifts and Bequests Toward the Endowment Fund Will Greatly Aid and Make More Permanent the Work of the Association
Member of the Community Fund of Philadelphia

February 18, 1952.

Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill
YMCA of Philadelphia
1724 Christian Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Dr. Hill:

Dr.& Mrs. Du Bois have just left town for a month's vacation.

They have asked me to say that they will attend with pleasure the meeting of the Emblem Club, March 27th.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

March 13, 1952

Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill
46 Lincoln Avenue
Yeadon, Pa.

35-39-9

Dear Dr. Hill:

My secretary wrote you February 28th, while I was out of town, saying that I would be glad to attend the meeting of the Emblem Club March 27th.

Will you please tell me the exact hour and place of this meeting? Do I understand that you expect a talk, and if so, how long? I should imagine not more than twenty minutes.

I am speaking to the Graduate Club of Princeton University the evening of March 26th. I would come to Philadelphia either that night or the morning of the 27th. I will let you know exactly.

Moreover, Mrs. Du Bois is coming down, and will leave New York on the afternoon of the 27th. Will you please let me know where we can go and what arrangements will be made for spending the night of the 27th?

Mrs. Du Bois joins me with best regards. I shall be glad to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

My best regards to yourself and Mrs. Hill,

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh
dpowa/65

W.E.B. Du Bois

March 19, 1952

Mr. Leslie Pinckney Hill
46 Lincoln Avenue
Yeaxdon, Pa.

My dear Mr. Hill:

Please, as soon as possible, get down to brass tacks in details about the dinner.

In the first place, I got the idea that this was an organization principally of white Philadelphians. Now that it is being held at the colored YMCA, I am wondering if it is chiefly of colored people.

I ought to know before I can decide what to say. Please let me hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh
dpowa/65

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-39-9

MENU

Mock Turtle Soup

½ Broiled Spring Chicken

Candied Sweet Potatoes -- Buttered Beets

Cole Slaw - Olives - Celery

Lemon Meringue Pie

Rolls -- Coffee -- Tea

****

1951-52 EMBLEM CLUB OFFICERS

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* *Deceased*

1952

MARCH EMBLEM CLUB DINNER

Honoring

DR. WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DuBOIS

Thursday, March 27

6:15 P. M.

CHRISTIAN STREET BRANCH YMCA

1724 Christian Street
Philadelphia, 46, Penna.

1.2.46

TRIBUTE TO DR. DuBOIS

by DR. LESLIE PINCKNEY HILL

The International Emblem Club of the Christian Street Branch of Philadelphia YMCA salutes and cites for honor ***WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DuBOIS*** *with the proud confidence of the scholar in the freedom that comes only from truth, he has been privileged for more than one half a century to serve great causes.*

Master of felicitous and trenchant language, he has sounded the depths of the Souls of Black Folk, and found in their aspirations a challenge and touchstone to the intention of a turbulent human era.

Eloquent and provocative spokesman in the universal struggle for the rights of man, organizer of compelling movements for a truly democratic American society, and for the liberation of subject peoples all round the world, his influence has become a dynamic ingredient of Western culture.

In good or ill report, in solitude or in the midst of acclaim, he has kept unsullied his scholors' faith, and still, with high courage, strives onward in the race with chaos, which will not be won until all men are free.

PROGRAM

HAROLD L. PILGRIM, Presiding

Invocation -- -- *Rev. Marshall L. Shepard*
Pastor, Mt. Olivet Baptist Church

Dinner -- -- *Baptiste Caterers*

Greetings -- -- *Harold L. Pilgrim, President*

Musical Selection

Introduction of Guests -- -- *Harold L. Pilgrim*

Citation and Presentation of Speaker -- -- *Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill*
Chairman, Board of Managers

Address -- -- *DR. WILLIAM E. B. DuBOIS*

Benediction -- -- *Rev. John R. Logan, Sr.*
Rector, St. Simon's P. E. Church

****

The Emblem Club, now in its tenth year, presents outstanding national and international personalities during January-May each year culminating with the Emblem Club Award Dinner which this year honors U. N. Alternate Delegate Dr. Channing H. Tobias on Thursday, April 24.

March 31, 1952

Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill
46 Lincoln Avenue
Yeadon, Pa.

25-29-11

Dear Dr. Hill:

I want to thank you very much indeed for the occasion in Philadelphia. The citation was fine, as only you could have written it, and the audience was very sympathetic.

Shirley and I join in best regards to you and Mrs. Hill.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh
dpowa/65

W.E.B. Du Bois

March 31, 1952

Mr. Harold L. Pilgrim
c/o Christian Street Branch YMCA
1724 Christian Street
Philadelphia, 46, Pa.

My dear Mr. Pilgrim:

Mrs. Du Bois and I want to thank you and your fellow officers for the very pleasant occasion of March 27th.

We both appreciate it very much.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
dpowa/65

42-1F-8

Honorary Dinner. Dr. William Edward Burghardt DuBois, internationally-famous scholar and author, was honored on Thursday at a dinner sponsored by the Emblem Club. A citation was presented to him by Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill. Photo shows Dr. and Mrs. DuBois admiring the citation.

(Mosley Photo)

NAACP Eastern Regional Conclave Maps National Political Action Objectives For 1952

A number of outstanding national figures will be on hand for the Eastern Regional Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which will meet here on April 5 with the local branch serving as host.

All sessions will be held in the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission building auditorium, 260 S. 15th Street. Dr. Harry J. Greene, president of the Philadelphia branch, will be the presiding officer.

After registration, Roy Wilkins, administrator of the NAACP, will give a report on the 1952 Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau, and Henry Lee Moon, director of public relations, will serve as discussion leaders around, "NAACP Political Action Objectives for 1952," with emphasis on a review of current legislation, national and state, and technique for getting out the voters in line with NAACP policy.

"Branch membership and Fund-Raising Activities," will be the topic developed at the pre-luncheon session by Gloster B. Current, director of branches; Lucille Black, membership secretary; and John W. Flemer, assistant field secretary.

In the afternoon the legal redress staff headed by Attorney Thurgood Marshall, special counsel, and Robert Carter, Esq., his assistant, will lead a discussion on "Obtaining Civil Rights."

The final session of the day will start at 3:30 p.m. when "Securing Better Housing," will be discussed by Constance Baker Motley, assistant special counsel; Ed Rutledge, minority group consultant for the Public Housing Administration and Madison Jones, race relations ad[illegible] the Federal Housing Au-

5:30 p.m. after which the delegates will retire to the Pyramid Club, 1517 W. Girard Ave., for dinner. Delegates from as far south as Virginia and as far north as Massachusetts will be present for the conference.

Booker Washington Memorial Scheduled

A Booker T. Washington Memorial celebrating the 71st Founder's Day of Tuskegee Institute, will be held April 6 at Bright Hope Baptist Church, 12th and Oxford Sts., at 8 p.m. This annual celebration is sponsored by the Tuskagee Alumni of Philadelphia and vicinity.

Many graduates and former students of Tuskegee along with friends, will convene to pay their homage and respect to this greater American immortal. Dr. William H. Gray, Jr., prominent educator and minister, will be the principal speaker. The program will be informative and education. Music will be furnished by the Bright Hope Choirs. Mr. Raleigh H. Merritt, president of the local Tuskegee Club, will preside.

Williams To Head Red Feather Drive

J. Peter Williams, vice president of the Western Saving Fund Society, has been named chairman of the Districts Department for the 32nd annual Red Feather campaign of the Community Chest, scheduled to be held in the fall.

Palm Sunday In S. Africa Promises To Be Turbulent

ONLY
COLGATE DENTAL CREAM
HAS PROVED SO COMPLETELY IT
CTOPS BAD BR[illegible]

Lecture

[Youth's "Open Hearing"]

240 East 24th Street
New York, N. Y.
March 11th, 1952

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York 10

Dear Dr. DuBois:

On Friday evening, March 21st at the Pythian Temple, 135 West 70th Street, there will be an "open hearing" of the ten young people who, within the last month, have been subpoened to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Committee. The enclosed statement is based on Supreme Court Justice William Douglas' remarks, that youth is holding its tongue in fear.

25-39-5

We feel this new witch hunt is meant to create a silent generation of youth. As you know, young Americans are faced with countless problems these days such as denial of basic constitutional rights, lack of employment opportunities due to the draft and lessening of possibilities for higher education.

Because of your significant challenge and victory around the traditional rights of all American people to inquiry and free expression, I would like to ask you to speak at this gathering. I believe that the example you have set during your lifetime for the rights not only of the Negro people but of all peoples points the way to the youth throughout our country that we will not, must not and can not be a silent generation. This is what probably could be the main point of your talk and the relationship that this has with the silencing of the adults. However, I would like to discuss this with you further and hope you can call me either Tuesday night, March 11th at my home, Lex. 2-5817 or Wednesday morning before 10:00 A.M. at the same number. If it would be more convenient to write to me, my address is 240 East 24th St. New York 10.

We are, of course, prepared to cover the necessary fee and expenses.

I hope that you will do us the honor of being with us on March 21st as I believe you will render the evening your spirit, strength, warmth and the signal for our generation to be heard. If you feel that it is totally impossible for you to be with us, do you think it will be possible for your message to be read to the audience?

Most sincerely,

Frances White

Frances White

I will speak for you 20 minutes
Mch 21 at Pythian Temple 135 W. 70th St
My subject will be "The Attack on Youth"
My fee will be $25

(8)

March 12, 1952

Miss Frances White
240 East 24 Street
New York, N. Y. 10

Dear Miss White:

I will speak for you twenty minutes on March 21st at the Pythian Temple, 135 West 70 Street.

My subject will be "The Attack on Youth".

My fee will be $25.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
dpowa/C5

March 16, 1952

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

25-39-7

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

We were all thrilled to receive your letter saying you will speak at Youth's "Opening Hearing", Friday, March 21st. Mrs. Eslande Goode Robeson and Rev. Louis Kuester will be speaking, as wellas four of the subpeoned young people. Miss Foye and Miss Sanders will present a program of songs.

We are asking permission of all our speakers to use their remarks for publication. We feel that this will be an important way to reach the thousands of young people who will not be able to be with us that evening. Please give this your consideration.

On Tuesday evening we are having our final planning meeting for the meeting. I will try and reach you on Wednesday to let you know the specific time you will be scheduled to speak.

Again our warm regards and thanks for your support and participation.

Sincerely yours,

Frances White

(Mrs.)Frances White

January 7, 1952

Dear Mr.:

Will you kindly tell me of what Union Abe Feinglass is "Mid-western District Director"?

And by the way, have you heard anything lately from that leopard skin?

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[1951?]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PEOPLE'S ART CREATIVITY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

It is hardly possible to imagine life in the Czechoslovak Republic today without the ensembles of people's creative activity. Thousands of youth groups and workers' choruses from the factories, villages and schools show the richness and beauty of life in Czechoslovakia today. They uncover the creative power and the artistic values which are latent in our people. The number of ensembles is constantly growing and their artistic quality is rising.

In Czechoslovakia we are endeavouring to make our culture a truly national culture. We want it to grow out of the national folk art and to be firmly integrated with the working people. We want art to become truly the possession of the masses so that any manifestation of art in any field will be understood by the entire people, will give them pleasure and education, and inspire them in their endeavours. And we want the people to create this art themselves.

Therefore people's art creativity is developing in our country to an unheard-of extent and is supported in every way. The working people's organisations give attention to its development. The Revolutionary Trade Union movement (ROH) is primarily interested in the development of ensembles of people's art creativity in factories and in their close relation to the work process. To this end factory clubs are set up by ROH in the factories, creating the conditions for a new social life of all the workers in the plant. The factory is ceasing to be an object of fear to the workers, which they run away from as soon as the whistle blows. Instead they sit at the chess tables, having washed up after work, play ping-pong or other games. They show greatest interest in singing and dance groups, and in performing plays.

Choruses are also being formed among the young people in the ČSM (Czechoslovak Union of Youth). This organisation's competition in youth creativity pointed the way for further development of folk art in our country. In the villages, choruses are formed in the Unified Agricultural Co-operatives, and in the Cultural Centres (Osvětová Beseda) which are established by the organs of people's administration.

In order that constant care may be assured for the ideological and artistic growth of the ensembles of people's art creativity which are an important tool in the education of the people to the spirit of Socialism, the People's Democratic Government has set up an institute which is called Centre for People's Creativity, where political workers and the greatest experts in folk art centralize their activities as they travel around to advise the ensembles. They see to the quality of material furnished, collect folk songs and dances in regions where under the influence of capitalist exploitation they had almost entirely disappeared. They then give them to the ensembles who transform them into new, beautiful and joyful contemporary works.

This is how the People's Democratic Government nurtures the development of the creative forces of its peoples.

This was not always the case in Czechoslovakia. In the first, the capitalist, Republic the working people were not able to create works of artistic value because the threat of crisis and unemployment was always hanging over them, so that they were barely able to keep alive.

The children were not able to play and sing happily, for they had to go with their old and work-worn mothers, climbing on the dumps by the coal mines, and fight each other for a piece of coal, so that the family could heat a little water with a piece of dry bread in it, which they called soup. If Dad was unemployed, there was nothing to eat, and no one feels like singing and dancing on a half-empty stomach.

Such living conditions naturally did not inspire the creativity of the people. Not only that, the capitalists intentionally suppressed the creative powers of the people because they were dangerous to them. Since earliest times the people have expressed their opposition to their oppressors in songs, dances, music and various plays.

Songs and dances of revolt appeared even under feudalism, and were the means of the people's struggle against an unjust social regime. And in the even sharper class struggle under capitalism the people advanced against the police and the gendarmes to defend their social rights with the song "The Red Banner" on their lips.

Many other songs originated in the struggle against capitalist exploitation. We still see this today in all capitalist countries.

In Czechoslovakia as in all the People's Democracies, the living conditions and with them the people's creativity are now quite different.

After the May revolution, when the people of Czechoslovakia were liberated from the fascist yoke by the Red Army, they began an entirely different life. With victory, the Red Army brought to us songs and dances as well. These were the gayest songs in the world. Never will our people forget the moments they lived through on May 9, 1945. It is impossible to forget how the squares, streets and houses burst into gay dance in celebration, how song flowed forth everywhere the Soviet soldiers set foot. And their dances, their songs, their comradely, joyous amusements, their warm relations towards people released an enthusiasm which made us feel what Socialism is.

The Soviet people, who in the uniform of Red Army soldiers brought us freedom and the joyous perspectives of our future life, fired in us a strong desire to learn to sing and dance joyously and exultingly as only they can do. And the Soviet ensembles which toured in our country immediately after the liberation inspired in us the longing to achieve the artistic mastery and high ideological level that was greeted by our people in a storm of enthusiasm at every performance.

Under the direct influence of the Soviet art, our ensembles of people's art creativity began to create and to advance on their creative path. Now, six years after these revolutionary events in our history, we can say that our ensembles have learned a great deal from the Soviet people. The results of the work of our ensembles were demonstrated at the Third World Festival of Youth and Students in Berlin, for many of our youth ensembles won places close behind those of their models, the Soviet ensembles. Our ensembles grew up in the course of the competitions of youth creativity which were announced as early as 1946. Every year the number of ensembles competing has grown. The ideological and artistic level of the ensembles has also grown. In 1947, one year after the first announcement of the competitions, 5,000 young people took part. In 1948 there were already 50,000 participating.

The significance of the victory of the working people over the reactionary attack in February 1948 is manifested not only in the more rapid and joyous building of our country but also in the growth of the art collectives of people's creativity.

The number of participants in the competition of youth creativity rose in 1949 to 650,000 young people. In 1950 and 1951 the competition was divided into different categories. The children's competition was called the Competition of Joyous Work, while the army ensembles also competed separately and only the ČSM ensembles took part in the competition of youth creativity.

The development of creative artistic forces, inspired by the successes of the youth in the competition of youth creativity, by the moulding of new forms of social life in the ROH factory clubs, has extended itself to the broadest circles of workers. Choruses have grown up in factories and villages; there is scarcely a school where the art collective does not operate. The transfer of the separate societies to the mass organisations and culture clubs was completed in 1951, and so people's art creativity in Czechoslovakia acquired a unified organisational basis which harmonized with the principles of the People's Democratic regime. The ensembles became an essential part of the cultural life of our workers. Therefore the competition of youth creativity and other such sectional competitions did not correspond to the mass character and many-sidedness of development of people's art. In consequence, a system of competitions analogous to the competitions in the Soviet Union was prepared for. A combined State-wide competition for all ensembles of people's creativity without respect to the organisational base, was announced in order to ensure further ideological and artistic growth of all ensembles, indispensable for the development of people's culture in our country. This competition has the aim of strengthening the organisation, and placing the supervision of the ensembles in the hands of one body in the regions or in the district, made up of representatives of mass organisations - primarily ROH, ČSM, or the cultural apparatus.

The first part of the competition - the district preliminaries and the reviews from October 1951 to February 1952/were the introduction to the whole competition. It had the purpose of giving the ensembles at the district level an evaluation of their work - it was to discover their main achievements and shortcomings, and to gain the

confidence of all the ensembles and mobilize them for the second or main part of the competition. The district reviews of the winning groups had the aim of stressing the significance of important events in the life of our people, to teach the ensembles to choose a repertoire which had a good political aim, and to lay the foundations for correct selection of groups for the finals. The district competitions also had the purpose of ensuring that the cultural-political organisational workers in the districts, regions and central bodies should see the significance of this all-inclusive competition and draw from it experiences for the proper running of the later and more important parts. The first part of the competition has fulfilled its purpose; the best ensembles were selected for the final review of the various sections, showing the results of work over the last six years.

Immediately after liberation the ensembles began their work which led to such fine results. The May celebrations have become a happy event in the work of the ensembles of people's creativity in the last seven years. The very core of these celebrations - the people's festivals, the festive evening performances, the May Day parades and so forth - are the dance ensembles as well as the theatrical, puppet and musical groups. Even the youngest department of the people's creativity - amateur photography - has the possibility just as do all branches of people's art, to show the results of its work during the May celebrations - and to depict in photographs what is felt on remembering the May days of 1945.

For this reason the culmination this year of the second stage of the competition of people's art creativity were the gay celebrations in May.

Since our ensembles consider the Soviet groups as their models, they must learn also from them to be exponents of new forms of popular amusement. They must teach our people not only to watch dances and listen to singing, but also to participate actively in the singing and dancing. They must learn to express their happiness as the Soviet people do. This is the responsibility with which these groups were entrusted by the Minister of Information and Culture Vaclav Kopecký at the last meeting of the Advisory Council on People's Culture.

The ensembles have the best opportunity for fulfilling this joyful task in the days when the anniversary of the 1945 victory over fascism is being celebrated, when our people in recalling the unforgettable moments in May 1945, rejoice heartily at the achievements of their

constructive endeavours. Then they throw off the last remnants of bourgeois prejudices and inhibitions and amuse themselves in a gay and comradely way.

It is necessary to seize this feeling of comradeship, this healthy and popular quality in amusement, and develop it further in order that it may become a permanent part of the life of the workers in our flourishing country. To return to the people their ability to sing and dance, to teach them folk songs and dances and collective amusements - this is the task of the creativity groups today. We are not only teaching all workers to dance and sing the national folk songs and dances, but are also teaching them to understand the full beauty of collective celebrations.

The greatest goal for all the ensembles in the competition of people's art creativity is its finale -

The Festival of People's Creativity

in the capital city - Prague, which shows the high stage of development and the mass character of all the branches of people's creativity.

Thus the competition points out the promising perspectives for all the groups, inspires them to attain a higher ideological and artistic level, and at the same time raises the artistic performance of each individual. The competition, that is to say, evaluates the contributions made to the country's development by the whole collective as well as by each individual. These goals and possibilities are the reflection of the creative and constructive efforts of the Czech and Slovak people - they are the reflection of successes achieved.

Just as the groups have outlined their aim to achieve the ideological and artistic level of the Soviet ensembles, so have all our people outlined the clear goal toward which we are heading:

> To build a Socialist society in our country
> modelled after that of the Soviet peoples;
> with our successes to strengthen the working
> people of the whole world in their struggles
> so that in the nearest future the banner of
> a happy and joyful life, the banner of
> Socialism, may wave over the whole world.

Working Conditions and Remuneration of Theatrical Workers in Czechoslovakia

The People's Democratic Republic has given theatrical workers a firm basis for their work, for it has provided working conditions such as were never dreamed of before. Soon after May, 1945, theatrical workers were ensured collective agreements, and the first decree on working conditions in 1947 determined their minimum wages and work obligations. The victory of the working people in February 1948 meant that even in the field of art and culture, private enterprise and commercialisation of culture were eliminated entirely. The law of 1948 in regard to the theatre put the entire theatre at the service of the people as its national property. This law ensured the economic foundations for the carrying on of theatrical work, and made possible the great development of the professional theatre.

Organisation of the Czechoslovak Theatre:

The State Theatre is under the supervision of the Ministry of Education either directly (as in the case of the State theatres) or through the people's administration organs (as are the regional and municipal theatres).

A State Theatrical and Dramaturgical Council ("D.D.R.") is set up in the Ministry of Education as an advisory organ to the Minister. The D.D.R. goes over all important and fundamental measures which have to do with the theatre. They discuss the new plays, offer aid to the authors, advise them, and give awards to the authors of new plays. They go over the dramaturgical plans of the theatres, and their important artistic and organisational problems.

The D.D.R. is composed of foremost workers in art and literature, and the best theatre artists. The trade union of the employees in art and culture services has its representatives in the D.D.R., as members with full rights.

Thanks to the People's Democratic regime, there are now 45 theatres operating in 54 theatre houses, with 86 ensembles (46 dramatic groups 10 operatic, 10 ballet, 16 operetta groups, and four theatres for youth). In addition there are 10 professional puppet theatres.

Approximately 7,000 artistic, technical and administrative workers in the theatre have no financial worries as they help to build the Czech and Slovak national theatres and contribute toward the building

of Socialism and in the struggle for peace. There are no unemployed theatrical workers in Czechoslovakia. On the contrary, since the cultural and political needs have resulted in the establishment of more theatres, especially operas, there is a shortage of actors and singers.

The governmental budget of the People's Democratic Republic allots more than 700,000,000 crowns yearly toward the support of the Czechoslovak theatre.

At the head of every theatre is a director who is a competent actor himself, and who is appointed by the people's administrative organs in agreement with the Ministry of Education. He directs the activity of the theatre and is responsible for its artistic development and economical administration. He confers in his work with a dramatic council which is composed of the heads of the ensembles and of the best dramatic workers. Representatives of the trade union body in the theatre - the "factory council" - serve on the dramatic council.

The factory council is the director's partner, aiding him in his work, criticizing shortcomings, and helping the trade union members to fulfil their tasks properly.

The fundamental rights and obligations of theatrical workers are determined by the Theatre Law of 1948, which was mentioned above, and the working and salary conditions are established by the decree of 1949.

Actors sign permanent contracts with the theatre administration, not contracts valid for only one season as they did formerly. Thus the artist has his work and livelihood ensured. If he should decide himself to change engagements he can do so by giving notice six weeks before the end of any quarter, usually towards the end of June. This transfer is discussed by the director and the factory council and is decided on by the Ministry of Education according to artistic or personal considerations. The theatre administration can give the actor notice under the same conditions, in case they cannot use him for artistic or administrative reasons. These measures mean, on the one hand, financial security for the artist, and on the other, ensure the artistic development and a full complement of personnel of the collective.

Obligations in the Work of the Artists:

The regulations provide for a certain number of required performances per month, a certain number of obligatory rehearsals, and the

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setting of the hours of work (duration of rehearsals, etc.). Thus, for instance, the monthly obligations of the various members of the ensembles are as follows:

Opera soloists	10	performances
Leading actors	15	"
Ballet soloists	14	"
Members of the orchestra in opera and ballet	16	"
Members of orchestra for plays and operettas	18	"
Members of the chorus	16	"
Inspectors and prompters	17	"

Each additional performance above the monthly requirements listed above is paid as overtime, at the rate of 1/40th of the gross monthly salary. Directors, conductors and choreographers are obliged to present four premières a year and 80 regular performances. Each fifth première or 81st regular performance means work done above the obligations and is paid for as follows: for the première, up to 25% of the monthly salary; and for the regular performance, 1/40th of the monthly salary.

These requirements which are set forth here cannot be arbitrarily reduced. In a series of cases, the number of performances required of outstanding actors has been reduced in agreement with the Ministry of Education. For instance, 12, 10, 8 or even less are required. The trade union organisation cooperates in setting lower work obligations.

Social Security:

The May 1948 Constitution guarantees to all working citizens, which include theatrical workers, the right to protection of health, medical care, and support in their old age, or because of incapacity for work or inability to earn a livelihood. These rights are guaranteed by the law on National Insurance, as well as by the entire system of public health care. The law on social insurance affords all that can be offered as worth while and effective in the present stage of medical science and facilities. This is, on the one hand, a widely developed preventive care, and on the other sufficient guarantees in the case of illness or old age.

National sickness insurance offers medical treatment including medicines without cost. It provides gratis a stay in a sanitorium, health institute or spa.

The National Insurance also provides excellent care for pensioners. Every worker receives an old age pension from the age of 65, if in the five years previous to qualification for the pension he had been ensured at least four years. One should take into consideration the fact that the pensioner is always classified as ensured if he actually performed the work, and not necessarily on the basis of a statement from the employer. Everyone who attains the age of 60 years receives an old age pension if he has been employed for at least 20 years previously. If the employee loses his earning capacity or if his earnings have decreased by more than one half as a result of chronic bad health, he will receive an invalid's pension.

The so-called social pension of the National Insurance covers those who were not insured in the former capitalist system, if they have reached the age of 65 or are invalids. The pension is calculated from the average yearly earnings during the last five years before the time of pensioning, with a view to the length of the insured period. The fact that the pension is calculated on the basis of earnings immediately previous to the time of pensioning, means that the amount corresponds to the living standard of the insured, and is 40 to 85% of the earnings. A widow's pension amounts to 70% of the old age or invalidity pension of the insured husband.

The bride gets a complete outfit at the time of marriage; in case she has not been ensured for four years previous to the wedding, the bridegroom receives the outfit. Maternity care is given special attention in our country. The protection of mothers is guaranteed by the Constitution and is based on further legal measures. A woman may not be dismissed from work when she is pregnant and is assigned lighter work in view of her condition. She has a right to a birth allowance paid by National Insurance, a layette, and 18 weeks' sickness insurance as maternity allowance. In the theatre, women are retained as employees during their pregnancy and receive normal salaries. If they cannot carry on their artistic work, they are assigned other activities such as pedagogical or administrative.

The National Insurance provides the so-called family allowances, the amount per child increasing progressively when there are larger numbers of children in the family.

Approximately one-third of the insurance costs are paid by the employee and two-thirds by the employer. Thus we see that the National Insurance is a large governmental contribution toward the employee's standard of living, considering the high quality of medical and health care given. In this way National Insurance becomes a genuine protection for all the workers. Under the general wage regulations, theatre workers have the same rights as other workers with regard to paid vacations at a recreation centre. The minimum for each worker is 14 days; after five years in the profession three weeks, and after 15 years in the profession four weeks. Theatrical workers have the theatrical holidays of about one month, when the theatre is not open. During this time each worker receives a salary which equals the average monthly earnings of the past six months.

The law ensures that theatrical workers will have one day's rest per week. In addition, they will either have time off on State holidays, or if they must work on a holiday, they get another day off or overtime pay. (There are seven State holidays in Czechoslovakia). The law ensures that they will have three days' holidays at Easter and two at Christmas. Technical and administrative workers receive 25% higher pay for hours worked over 48 per week.

All the other advantages enjoyed by workers also pertain to theatrical workers. They share in the extensive recreational projects which are fostered by the Revolutionary Trade Union movement, and as public workers have advantages in securing apartments.

Artistic workers are in addition given advantages in regard to income taxes, in that they have certain reductions and are relieved of paying taxes on performances above the obligatory number.

Wages and Salaries of Theatrical Workers:

Theatre artists are paid according to the decree which sets the various rates of pay in accordance with the category of employment. Thus, for instance, actors in the theatre receive a salary varying from 3,000 to 15,000 crowns, and in opera up to 18,000 crowns. Similar salaries are paid in ballet and operetta. These salaries are established according to the average number of performances per month and are not lowered if performances do not come up to the average number, while each performance over this number is paid for

separately. The artistic ability of the theatrical worker is taken into account in setting the salary. Trade union organs cooperate in setting salaries.

In addition there are various bonuses for special activity. For instance, bonuses are received for tours.

When theatrical workers perform on the radio, they are paid according to the established fees for radio work. Those who take part in the films are paid according to the regulations for film work, which is, according to the quality of the performance, from 800 to 2,000 crowns for a day's filming, with the possibility of earning a 50% bonus for an artistically outstanding performance, or for difficult work which sets a strain on the artist, etc.

In carrying out all the work regulations and financial measures, the trade union organisation cooperates fully. No measures are undertaken bearing on the social and work questions of the employees, without the trade unions.

There are various prizes and premiums for artists in the Czechoslovak Republic, the highest of which are the State Prizes. The State Prize confers the honorary title of State Prize Laureate. The State Prize first degree brings a premium of 100,000 crowns, and second degree of 50,000 crowns. Last year 35 theatrical workers and dramatists won such prizes; this year there were 20. The most distinguished artists are given the title of National Artist by the Government, and receive a permanent allowance which guarantees a good standard of living. Next in importance to the State Prize are the prizes awarded in the "Theatre Harvest" competition. These are given every year to individual ensembles or individual artists on the basis of a review of the whole year's work. Staging is considered as well as artistic performance. The winning ensembles go to Prague for a series of performances, where they are warmly welcomed by the workers. In the Theatre Harvest 1951-1952, the jury attended more than 400 performances and discussed the work with the members of the ensemble, helping them to solve their artistic and creative problems.

Trade Union Bodies in the Theatres (Factory Councils)

The factory councils co-operate closely with the theatre administration and help in the fulfilment of cultural, artistic and economic tasks. They advise on the dramaturgical and economic

plans, which are worked out for a whole season in advance, and comment on these plans after a broad discussion among all employees of the theatre.

The trade union organs also see to it that the wage and working agreements are adhered to.

The trade union bodies are party to the decisions in regard to the engagement and dismissal of the employees - their agreement is required in each case.

The trade union bodies criticize any shortcomings in the theatre and help the management to eliminate them by mobilizing the employees in the effort to attain a higher artistic level and to practise economy through socialist emulation, the use of new work methods and suggestions for improvement.

The trade union organizations provide training for the employees, professional as well as cultural and political. They arrange discussion groups and work consultations. The trade unions have a central training school for trade union officials where they attend special four to six weeks' courses. As they learn, they live at the school, with full salary payments. More than 200 trade union officials have attended this school, of which about 80 were theatrical workers. Besides this central school there are many other training schools.

The factory councils see to the employee's interests in many ways. They organize factory clubs with hobby groups - cultural, sports, social - and propose the best workers to take part in the recreation projects and other advantages offered by the trade union organization.

The trade union bodies take part in considering the transfer of employees, the solving of safety problems at work (this they have now taken on themselves completely), health measures and so on.

There can be no conflict between the administration of the theatre and the trade union organization in the proper carrying out of the tasks, for they have a common aim: the greatest possible artistic development and economical management, and ensuring of the widest advantages to the employees. The trade union members are everywhere mature builders of a new theatre, of a new social order.

All the trade union bodies in the theatres (shop stewards, shop councils and factory councils) as well as the higher bodies such as the central committee of the union, are elected by all the membership. Elections are held in the theatres every year, are secret and

require an eighty percent majority to elect the factory council. The theatrical workers' high level of political maturity is shown by the fact that in this year's elections only 10% of the theatres required run-off elections to elect the factory councils. Factory councils in the theatres have their auxiliary organs which are commissions attending to the various sectors of the trade union work, such as wages, national insurance, services, safety regulations, culture and supply. Many leading theatre artists hold trade union functions. Theatrical workers show their confidence in their trade unions by the fact that all voluntarily join.

Development of the Czechoslovak Theatre:

The theatre workers have complete liberty in their work. The theatres themselves freely and independently work out their repertory according to the needs of the working people, and the plays are not subjected to censorship as they were in the capitalist republic, for no such censorship exists today.

The great progress made by our theatres is shown by the fact that daily ten ensembles of the Village Theatre make a tour of villages with a population of less than 1,000. There are operas even in towns with a small population - for instance Liberec, a town of 60,000, and Opava with 50,000. Our theatre workers are received with pleasure at the factories and in the villages where they sing, recite and dramatize plays for thousands of workers. There are four permanent theatres and ten puppet theatres for the young people.

All these great advantages were gained by the Czechoslovak Theatre thanks to the liberation of our nations by the Soviet Union and thanks to its generous aid, thanks to the people's democratic government of the Republic, thanks to the victory of the working people led by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

All theatrical workers carry out their great and fine mission of building their country and fighting for peace, devotedly, freely and with enthusiasm. They are surrounded by the affection of the working people who are carrying out their constructive tasks with success and who aid in the development of a national culture. The theatrical workers never had such security in their history, never were guaranteed such freedom in their creative work as today.

For this they owe thanks to their working class, to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, to President Gottwald and to the great Stalin.

THE SECOND PUPPET FESTIVAL IN CHRUDIM

By Dr. Erik Kolár

Puppets have a long tradition of over 300 years in Bohemia. They have very often played an important part in the history of the Czech people. During the Czech national renaissance in the first half of the 18th century, when after a long silence Czech intellectual life was rekindled in the towns, families of puppeteers travelled throughout the countryside with their actors carved from wood, and brought a reflection of town culture to the villages. They played scenes from classic plays, from operas and outstanding dramatic pieces by Czech authors. This is precisely the reason why we count these people's puppeteers, especially the most famous of them, Matěj Kopecký, among our revivers of national culture.

Puppets also played an active part during the First World War. They fought on the anti-Austrian front by arousing the Czech people, reminding them of their glorious past, and poking fun at the decaying Austro-Hungarian regime. This is when we first come across the name of the contemporary national artist Josef Skupa, and when years later the people were again threatened, this time by Nazi occupation, puppets again became a weapon. Since every open expression had been made impossible, they took to more subtle ways of inspiring the people with faith in a better future. This is a brief picture of the great past of Czech puppetry.

After 1945 all the forces of a liberated people began to develop rapidly. And the puppeteers also, true to their progressive past, volunteered to do their share in the building of socialism. But it was not until the new law in regard to the theatre was passed, after the conclusive victory of the working people in 1948, that puppetry was placed on a basis of equality with the other dramatic arts. Several professional puppet theatres were established, and the amateur puppet theatres were given a new organizational basis in the factory clubs and the agricultural co-ops, just as the dramatic, musical and dance amateurs had been aided. The Government generously supports the people's creativity in art and sees to it that ideological and artistic help is offered as well as financial.

A demonstration of this is given by the annual review of people's art creativity. Just as the professional, dramatic, operatic, ballet and puppet groups compete in the annual review called "Theatre Harvest", the best professional musical groups make yearly appearances at the International Music Festival called Prague Spring, the theatrical amateurs gather at Hronov, the folk singers and dancers at Strážnice, and the musicians in Bratislava, so do the puppeteers have their

P U P P E T F E S T I V A L I N C H R U D I M.

This year's festival was the second. At the end of June, ten of the best groups of Czech puppeteers performed in this historic little town. The Czech groups were chosen from among 1,800 puppet theatres in the People's Art Creativity programme, and the two Slovak groups from 350. They showed the puppeteers who had gathered in Chrudim from all parts of Czechoslovakia, the German and Hungarian delegations of puppeteers, and large audiences of children and adults, the improvement in the level of Czechoslovak puppetry.

The review took place in a modern theatre building which bears the name of the distinguished cultural worker, the present Minister of Education, Science and Art, Zdeněk Nejedlý, who in addition is such a great connoisseur and lover of the puppet theatre. There were afternoon performances for children and in the evening for adults. The large hall was sold out for all performances even before the festival began.

The programme was made up of original plays with a contemporary theme, also the classical heritage of Czech and Slovak puppeteers, as well as Soviet plays. The first group mentioned strives primarily to teach children to be good members of human society and to transmit to them in an artistic form which is understandable and entertaining, the endeavours which inspire the adults around them: to work so that all people will have a better life and peace will be preserved. This idea and its formulation is, of course, graded according to the age for which the play is designed. For the smallest spectators the most suitable form is that of a fairy-tale. Thus the play "The Little Red Auto" by Vladimir Simanov describes the fate of a haughty auto which falls apart. Only the car, together with a rag doll, helps the machines in the factory and saves them time, do the machines repair the car and set his pride to rights.

For the slightly older children there is a play by the State Prize laureate and painter Vojtěch Cinybulk called "Kaima's Adventure". Kaima is a little Negro boy who because of his disobedience gets into many difficulties in the huge African forest. For the nine-year-olds there is the play by Jaroslav Lukeš, "The Red Tulips" which urges children to cultivate good comradeship, to help the grownups willingly, and to be courageous. "The Red Tulips" is not a fairy-tale but a poetic ode to human labour.

A play which was a great success at the Puppet Festival was "The Most Beautiful Dove", on a peace theme, by Antonín Hirsch. This is a modern fairy-tale which combines unreal elements with the reality of life today - a petrol pump, a tractor, an aeroplane and a parachutist who saves a paper peace dove which was made by a schoolboy.

The puppets had a message not only for the children but also for the adults. This was shown in the evening of one-act finger-puppet plays, of which one was a satire on rumour campaigns, the second promoting the socialization of a village, and the third exhorting the workers to be careful in their work in the factory.

From the classic heritage of Czech and Slovak puppetry, there were plays by the puppeteer revivers of people's culture, also some of the classics of the professional theatre, and finally dramatizations of folk tales. Puppeteer dramaturgists chose the finest of the Czechoslovak and foreign folk tales and adapted them for the puppet theatre, in the attempt to develop the ideas of the children in the audience as fully as possible. There were examples of all types of plays in the classic heritage at the Puppet Festival in Chrudim, such as the charming play "Oldřich and Božena", which is attributed to the people's puppeteer Matěj Kopecký. It describes the adventure of a Czech king while he was hunting, when he got lost in the forest and took refuge with a simple charcoal burner. The overture to this play was performed, composed by the great Czech composer Bedřich Smetana.

The ensemble from the Ostrava region made a clever adaptation of the play "The Obstinate Woman" by Josef K. Tyl, a classic Czech playwright. This is a folk tale of the revolutionary period of

1848, describing the troubles in private life and the political difficulties of a patriotic teacher. Then there were played two dramatizations of the folk tale "Salt is Better than Gold", adapted by Bedřich Svatoň from a tale by Božena Němcova. It is a famous tale of a princess who loves her father better than salt. The Slovak author Martin Jančuška developed in "The Woman Outdid the Lawyer", a theme about a girl who came from the common people, who judged better and more justly than a nobly born and noted judge.

The Soviet puppet plays are the model for Czechoslovak puppet dramaturgy, because the USSR devotes great attention to the ideological training of children by means of the puppet theatre. Therefore three Soviet plays were also chosen for the Puppet Festival in Chrudim. There was the play for finger puppets, designed for the tiny folk by G. Matveyev, which is called "The Adventure of Misha the Bear". It describes what happened to a bear who ran away from his keepers. Marshak's play "The House of Kitty Blue-Eyes", is partly a fairy-tale for children about the fate of a proud cat who loses in a fire all her possessions and all her fine friends, and who was taken in and cared for by her poor relatives. It is also partly a social satire on the morality of the "better society". Finally in the Soviet group there was the allegory by S. Preobrazhensky and S. Obrastsev, about "Big Ivan", which shows the invincible power of the working people symbolized by Big Ivan and his victories over Czars, soldiers, merchants and popes. This is a play which is very deep in its thinking, written in a very effective and dramatic way, and interesting technically in that Big Ivan is played by a real actor, whereas the other figures are represented by Javanese stick-puppets.

The plays for the Chrudim review were chosen in such a way that all types of puppets which are customary in Czechoslovakia could be represented: finger puppets, stick puppets, and puppets on strings (marionettes).

The level of performance in the plays was on the whole very good. Without doubt this was largely owing to the fact that instructors were assigned to the puppet groups from the ranks of professional puppeteers, and who supervised the working out of the plays. This collaboration between experienced professionals and artists who were close to the roots of people's creativity, greatly benefited both parties.

At the morning performance there was a discussion with the children in the audience. In addition, discussions were held among the experts about every performance. Those interested, especially the puppeteers, held discussions with any authors who were present and with the puppet group which had presented the performance, conversations which often lasted until late in the night. Among those taking part were the Rector of the Academy of Musical Arts in Prague, numerous professional puppeteers who rightly considered the Puppet Festival in Chrudim as a training school, cultural and educational workers, and members of delegations from the German Democratic Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic.

The ensembles which performed at the festival were chosen by means of a competition. Naturally each ensemble considered it an honour to appear at the review of puppetry. Each ensemble on the occasion of its performance made various pledges; for example, that they would help in the building of new puppet theatres in their

regions, that they would arrange trips to agricultural cooperatives, that they would perform in health institutions for children, that they would organize training for puppeteers in their region, that they would present a certain number of performances for the benefit of the Korean children, and so forth.

The workers in the Chrudim district showed great interest in the performances of the ensembles. They demonstrated this in the fact that various industrial enterprises and agricultural cooperatives assumed the patronage over individual performances. The ensembles visited the patron factories, some of them even putting on performances there. Before the official performance in Chrudim, they ceremoniously exchanged gifts. The Puppet Festival in Chrudim really became an event which concerned the whole region. The daily papers gave regular reports on the course of the festival and thus kept all the Czechoslovak people informed as to how a small puppet can become a great aid in the education of the new man.

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25-23-49

Dr. B. H. Hester, Box 285, Fredericksburg, Va. 1.

Dr. Eugene T. Hinson, 1333 So. 19th St., Philadelphia 46, Penna. 3.

Mr. Dotts Johnson, 420 W. 130th St., New York City (27)

Georgia Douglas Johnson, 1461 - S - St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 1.50

William M. Johnson, 1512 Bellefontaine St., Indianapolis, Ind. 2.

George Joshua, 10 W. 98th St., New York City 2.

James William Lucus, 6210 Rhodes Ave., Chicago 37, Ill. 2.

Miss Margaret McCaden, 107 Monroe St., New York City 1.

Rev. Edward D. McGowan, 1190 Tinton Ave., Bronx, New York

Dr. Cecil Marquez, 125 W. 121st St., New York City 5.

Julian Mayfield, 69 W. 99th St., #2A, New York City

Alexander Moroz, 220 Hartford Ave., New Britain, Conn. 2.

William L. Patterson, 409 Edgecombe Ave., New York City 1.

Rosa B. Read, R.D. 1, Manchester, Penna. 1.

35-23-50

Dr. Samuel E. Robertson, 1801 W. Berk St., Philadelphia, Penna. 5.

Atty. James H. Rowland, 338½ S. Fayette St., Beckley, W. Va. 1.

Cecil L. Rowlette, 4727 McDougall Ave., Detroit 7, Michigan 1.

Mrs. Emma Sager, 512 - 6, Anacortes, Washington 2.

A. O. Steele, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C. 2.

Mr. Al Taborn, 7807 Cedar Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio 1.

Dr. Alva W. Taylor, 3628 Richland Ave., Nashville, Tenn.

Mrs. Ida S. Taylor, 421 - T - St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 2.

E. Thomas, 10519 Englewood Ave., Cleveland 8, Ohio 1.50

Ernest Thompson, U.E., 11 E. 51st St., New York City 1.

Charles White, 240 E. 24th St., New York City

J. Harold White, 6437 S. Ingleside Ave., Chicago 37, Ill.

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1-26 19 52

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1-26	TICKETS:		
0 26-52	188051 - 124 - San DuBois W/m -	$ 64.	—
"	188052 - San - 124 - " "	64.	—
"	188053 - 124 - San - DuBois Shirley -	64.	—
"	188054 - San - 124 - " "	64.	—
	483776 DuBois W/m San - 5th - San -	14.	40
	483765 " Shirley " "	14.	40
		$ 284	80

25-32-73

Recibido Conforme:

Nº 2100 A

Jean Kalé

Bath rue

SOVIET MILITARY ~~KKK~~ EXPENDITURES

1937	18 billion roubles
1938	27 do.
1939	40,885,000,000
1940	57,000,000,000
1941	91,465,000,000
1942	108,400,000,000
1943	124,700,000,000
1944	137,900,000,000
1945	128,239,000,000
1946	74,000,000,000
1947	60,000,000,000
1948	60,000,000,000
1949	55,000,000,000
1950	63,000,000,000

58 60

Two sources: "Economic Survey of Europe," published by the United Nations; and Budget Discussions of the Supreme Soviet

85-30-111

UNITED STATES MILITARY EXPENDITURES

1937	$ 1,184,778,000	Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1947, p. 316
1938	1,240,394,000	do., p. 316
1939	1,074,000,000	do., p. 320
1940	1,497,000,000	do., p. 320
1941	6,370,000,000	do, 1949, p. 331
~~1941~~	~~26,847,000,000~~	~~do, 1949, p. 331~~
1942	26,847,000,000	do, 1949, p. 331
1943	70,243,000,000	dO, 1949 331
1944	83,736,000,000	do, 1949 331
1945	84,532,000,000	do, 1949, 331
1946	45,103,000,000	do, 1949, 331
1947	14,281,000,000	do, 1949, 331
1948	10,924,000,000	do, 1949, 331
1949	13,869,912,420	World Almanac, 1950, p 706 from U S Treas Dept
1950	12,333,000,000	Federal Budget in Brief, Bureau of the Budget p. 11

85-30-112

The Council of Ministers of the USSR decreed the exchange rate of the rouble to be 5 roubles and 30 kopecks to the dollar, and this rate obtained from July 1937 to March 1, 1950, when the Council of Ministers changed it to 4 roubles to the dollar.

Translating the roubles into dollars according to this exchange rate, we find that in 1937, the Soviet Union spent $3,396,226,411 for military purposes, about three times the sum spent by the United States. In 1940, we find that the Soviet Union spent $10,754,716,981, or about ten times the sum spent by the United States.

This kind of figuring is worthless, because the rate of exchange set by the Soviet Union is arbitrary. Roubles do not exchange on the world market like dollars, pounds, etc.

A better comparison would be: what percentage of the total budget was spent in each case, in each year, on military expenditures?

[illegible]

I figured only the two years, 1937 and 1940, and stopped there when I saw the results. I can continue with this if it is desired.

25-30-114

NEGRO VOTE

The New York Times, Monday, August 11, 1952, makes the following estimates of the Negro vote in these states:

In 12 southern states; 1,180,000 Negroes registered

ARKANSAS: 75,000 Negroes eligible; Total vote all races 1948: 242,475

ALABAMA: 40-50,000 registered Negro voters. Total vote all races 1948: 214,980

FLORIDA: 120,913 total registered Negroes; 112,868 of these are registered as Democrats. Total registered all races 1,213,000; Total vote all races 1948 was 577,643. Negro registration may be 200,000 in 1952.

GEORGIA: 125,000 Negro voters. Total vote all races 1948 was 418,760

KENTUCKY: Total vote all races in 1948 was 822,658.

LOUISIANA: Total registration January 1952 all races was 1,014,877. Of these 95,740 were Negroes and colored. Total vote all races 1948 was 416,326.

NORTH CAROLINA: Present registration all races 1,600,000. Estimated that 95,000 Negroes will be registered and 65,000 will vote. In 1948 55,000 Negroes had voted overwhelmingly Democratic. Total Presidential vote all races in 1948 was 791,209.

OKLAHOMA: About 60,000 Negroes voted in Oklahoma, about 40,000 Democratic. In 1948 the total vote all races was 721,000.

TEXAS: Eligible Negro voters are between 175,000 and 200,000. Of these 135,000 will vote. Negro population is 886,000. 1948 votes all races 1,147,245.

TENNESSEE: Negro vote will be between 150,000 and 200,000 of a total registration of 1,339,259. Abolition of the poll tax is increasing Negro registration. Most of the Negro vote will be Republican. Total vote all races in 1948 was 550,283.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Republican party now predominently white. 100,000 Negroes registered. This may reach 130,000. Presidential vote in 1948 all races was 142,571.

VIRGINIA: Expects 750,000 registered voters with about 71,000 Negroes. Total vote all races cast 1948 was 419,256.

25-40-1

N.Y. TIMES:

Truman, Nov. 9, 1950: 2% more women votes than men.

Rep. Nat. Comm., April 25, 1952: Voting population: 100,000,000
Voted: 49,000,000 males 51,000,000 females

League of Women Voters:

No information on number of women voting. Suggestions on why they stay away:

Culture of community - women in politics or voting frowned upon
Poll tax
Great amount of moving and new residences - women and men
Babies and housework
Lack of information and education (which League is supposed to help)
Suggest National Committees on further information

25-40-2

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N. Y.

8-51-55

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD
THIRD FLOOR · 125 WEST 72 STREET · NEW YORK 23, N. Y.

2 photostat
Wanderlabor
Wm R Leiserson
Louis Hollander
Rosenblum

25-38-47

Income of Whites About Twice that of Nonwhites

Money income of white persons in 1952 was about twice that of nonwhites, the U.S. Census reports. (Consumer Income Series P-60, No. 14.) "The median income of white males was $3,300 as compared with $1,800 for nonwhites, and the median income of white females was $1,300 as compared with $500 for nonwhites."

Of the white males it was found that 7% had incomes of less than $500 a year, while 13.6% of the nonwhite males were in this category. Also, 24.2% of the white females received less than $500 a year, while about half (49.1%) of the nonwhite females were in this lowest income class.

The term "nonwhite" is used by the Census Bureau to cover Negroes, Mexicans, Indians and others. Latest Census shows that over 96% of "nonwhites" are Negroes.

45-10-9

[1952]

When the VP nominee first came with I sought the views of a man [illegible] when I happened to be called. He declined. Then a decent case for a Col. VP ended. That was a mistake. I recalled a mistake Dewey [illegible] Gen. Bradley was unimpeachable. But the further down we [illegible] was Eisenhower. There they would not accept. They might [illegible] Eisenhower rather than N + S. 23 at the first vote. Then the Colonel when [illegible]

Blessed are the
Peacemakers for they
shall be called Sons
So what?
Is that the share of
the P on the glory of the
C.

45-7-85

I heard the change in Com.
No - The exact change
But C → Left behind us

See Mark
& Thank C → L
— Curious logic

C. as dinner
our Light
Democracy
Freedom
Property
Who is attacking their freedom
Soviet
Robin on our doorstep
War
Aggression - Syria
What are N. doing
Troubled
What we need to do
Floods, schools

Guardian

Norman Thomas
The Negro Vote
Colonies in UN
Negro bench

Ads as negative guide
Clogging fish; dead chestnuts
Macleish article

45-10-10

There is in the world absolutely no physical, racial or social unity that can logically be called by one name "Africa"

My subject therefor at the start has a deceptive simplicity, and consequently my talk will disclose an ~~unexpected~~ awaited variety touching as it well

Continued & Black Africa has little

Many as B.A. is not a mere

has content

Political
Racial
Social
Economic } area of concentration

25-39-4

AÉROPORT DE PARIS
Nº 461405
REDEVANCE
POUR L'USAGE DES INSTALLATIONS AMÉNAGÉES POUR LA RÉCEPTION DES
PASSAGERS
Décrets des 24 sept. 1953 - 25 av. 1954
4. N.F.
41/8D/7a

AÉROPORT DE PARIS
Nº 461406
REDEVANCE
POUR L'USAGE DES INSTALLATIONS AMÉNAGÉES POUR LA RÉCEPTION DES
PASSAGERS
Décrets des 24 sept. 1953 - 25 av. 1954
4. N.F.
41/8D/7b

7/6 987457
Received the sum of seven shillings and sixpence against the
AIRPORT SERVICE CHARGE
(MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT AND CIVIL AVIATION OR MANCHESTER CORPORATION OR BRISTOL CORPORATION)
Valid for one departure from the United Kingdom
PLEASE RETAIN AND SHOW ON DEMAND
T.679
41/8D/26

CARIBAIR

Caribbean Atlantic Airlines Inc.

The Route of the Trade Winds

Identification Coupon **No** 58965 **B**

Expiring date

R. T. .....

O. W. .....

From	San Juan	Ponce	Mayagüez	St. Thomas	St. Croix	C. Trujillo
To	San Juan	Ponce	Mayagüez	St. Thomas	St. Croix	C. Trujillo

VIRGIN ISLANDS TOURS, INC.
MAR 5 '52
ST. THOMAS, V.I.

Date 3/5/52

Fare 185.00

Form of Payment CASH

Total 185.00

Mrs. Shirley Duffy

Passenger Name 41/8D/39

GENERAL REGULATIONS

Reservation will be automatically cancelled if ticket are not presented at the airport at least 15 minutes before schedule departure and a service charge of 25% will be assessed on the one-way fare of destination to which space has been reserved.

Lost ticket will not be refunded until after the Expiration of one month after written notice of loss has been received at the General Accounting Office of the carrier.

The liability, if any, of the carrier for loss or damage to check baggage is limited to its value, and unless the passenger declares in advance a higher valuation and pays an additional charge therefore, the value be conclusively deemed not to exceed $25.00 for each ticket.

[redacted]

B·O·A·C

EXCESS BAGGAGE TICKET

ISSUED BY

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AIRWAYS TERMINAL LONDON SWI

MEMBER OF INTERNATIONAL AIR TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION

41/8D12

Issued by

BRITISH OVERSEAS AIRWAYS CORPORATION

FOR CONDITIONS OF CONTRACT SEE [redacted] PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK

EXCESS BAGGAGE TICKET
PASSENGER
COUPON

615 455140

DECLARED VALUE Cy.

VALUATION CHARGE
On above declared value Cy.

Previously Pd. Val. Chge. Cy.

Balance of Val. Chge. Cy.

TOTAL WEIGHT 60 Kgs.

FREE ALLOWANCE AND PREVIOUSLY PD. EXC. WT. 40 Kgs.

EXCESS WEIGHT 20 Kgs.

EXCESS WT. CHGE. @ [redacted] per Kilo £31/6 d. Cy.

TOTAL CHARGES £31.10.0 Cy.

TAX Cy.

TOTAL PAYMENT £31.10.0 Cy.

Passenger ticket Form and No. 2374-0105-341

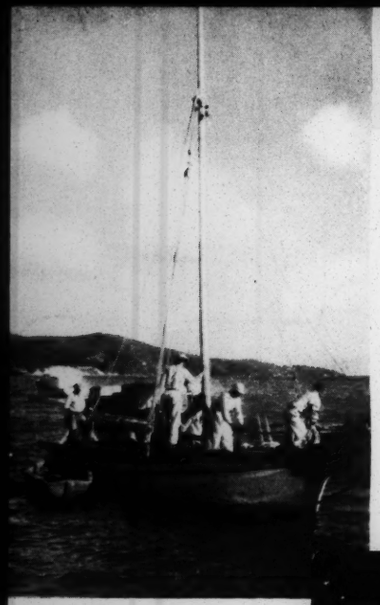
Form of payment CASH

Place and date of issue
Not good unless officially validated
OYO 8

Agent BS

From	CARRIER
LONDON	BA
To NEW YORK	509
To	
To	
To MRS. DUBOIS.	

4198D 29



← *The Cay is the starting point for boat trips to nearby islands and beaches, such as uninhabited "story book" Buck Island, for swimming and barbecue-picnic parties or moonlight sails. Fine fishing all year.*

→ *Fascinating and quaint is Christiansted's main street leading to the Cay.*

← *Relax here while enjoying the constant breeze and one of our famous planter's punches.*

→ *Ancient, picturesque Sugar Mills are typical landmarks of St. Croix.*

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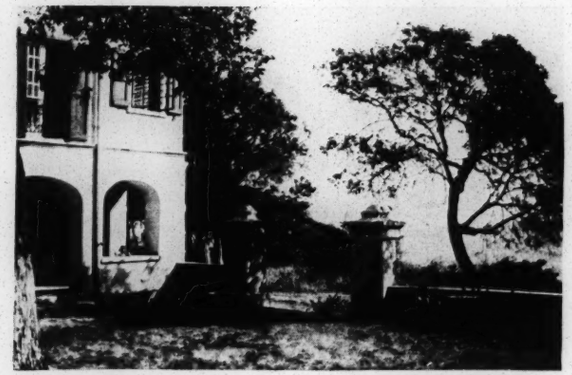


Overlooking the turquoise waters of Christiansted Bay from our South Terrace.

Hotel-on-the-Cay

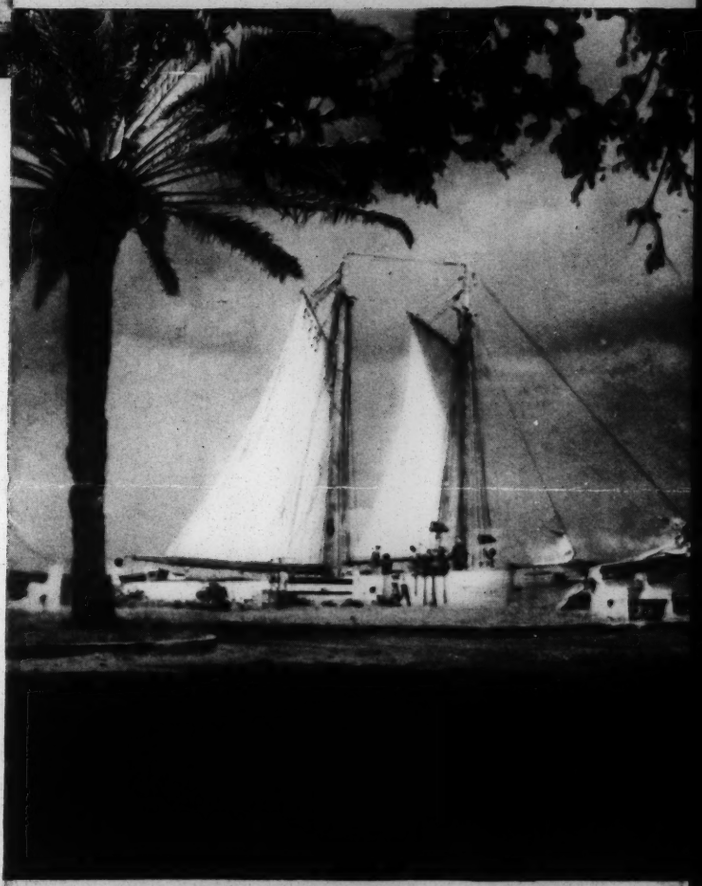
Christiansted, St. Croix, Virgin Islands, U. S. A.

PAUL J. GILLES, *Owner-Manager*

***Cable Address:* GILLESISLE STCROIX**

Come to the

Hotel-on-the-Cay



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is situated on its own charming island, covered with large tropical shade trees, and fanned by ever-present trade winds. At the lovely private beach our popular buffet luncheons are served daily under the palm trees.

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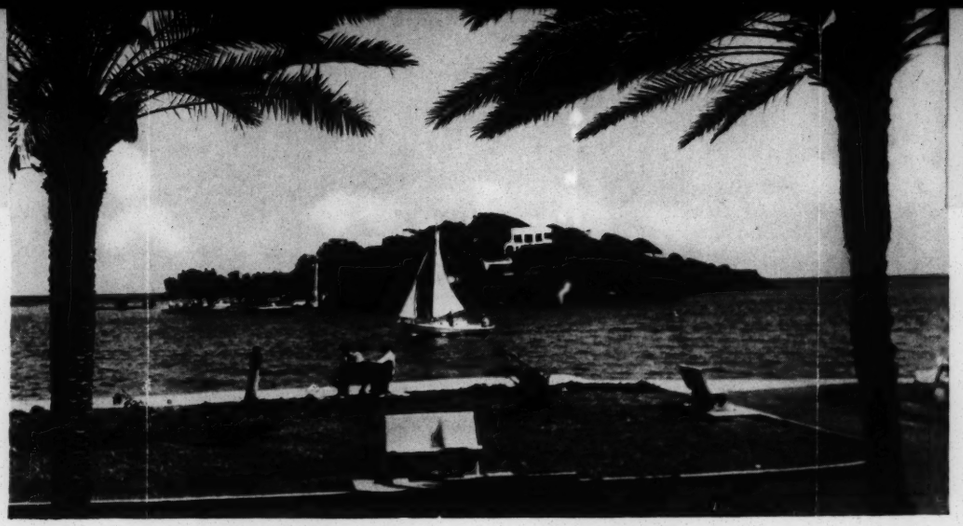
Temperatures on Cay:

Summer average	**79 degrees**
Winter average	**75 degrees**

NO HAY FEVER

The Main House is located on a hill-top, the cottages near the beach. All bedrooms are quiet, with outside exposure and unobstructed view. We have our own dock and facilities for yachts and small amphibian planes. HOTEL-on-the-CAY faces picturesque town square with its quaint band-stand, Fort Christian and other pastel colored buildings of Danish times. Relics of the Carib Indian settlement and old Fort Sophia Frederika give the Cay historical interest.

St. Croix mainland, 150 yards away, offers scenic auto tours, movies, horse-back riding, sightseeing off town square and shopping of free-port goods from foreign lands. On the wharf, sloops and schooners from other islands unload colorful wares.



Hotel-on-the-Cay as seen from the Town Square of Christiansted.

Our private beach on the Cay offers excellent, safe swimming in a setting of incredibly blue water populated with brilliantly colored fish.

The stately Main House of Danish Colonial style surrounded by mahogany trees was once the summer residence of the Governor of the Virgin Islands.

Hotel-on-the-Cay

on an island by itself...

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BY AIR

From New York: Six or more flights daily to San Juan (6 or 7½ hours) by Pan American Airways and Eastern Air Lines.

From Miami: Several flights daily to San Juan (3½ or 5 hours) by Pan American and Eastern Air Lines.

From San Juan: Two to four flights daily to St. Croix (50 minutes) by Caribbean Atlantic's DC 3 planes. Also several flights weekly by Pan American Airways.

From St. Thomas: (25 minutes), above San Juan-St. Croix planes stop over in St. Thomas.

BY SEA

From New York: Bull Line. Passenger ship S. S. Puerto Rico fortnightly to San Juan (3½ days), also accommodations on freighters to San Juan. Furness West Indies Line. Passenger ship every three weeks to St. Thomas and St. Croix. Alcoa Line. Occasional freighter accommodations to St. Thomas and St. Croix.

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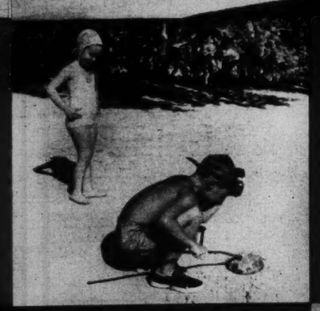

Fly
CARIBAIR
The Route of the Trade Winds
SPANISH MAIN

Feliz Viaje

y en tierra
viaje feliz de
Esso en Esso

ESSO STANDARD OIL COMPANY (PUERTO RICO)

CARIBAIR

Caribbean Atlantic Airlines Inc.

The Route of the Trade Winds

Identification Coupon Expiring date

Nº 58964 B

R. T. ✓

O. W. .....

From	San Juan	Ponce	Mayagüez	St. Thomas	St. Croix	C. Trujillo
To	San Juan	Ponce	Mayagüez	St. Thomas		C. Trujillo

VIRGIN ISLANDS TOURS, INC.
MAR 5 '52
ST. THOMAS, V.I.

Date 3/5/52

Tax 3.00

Form of Payment WE Cash

Passenger Name 41/8D/45a

Agent

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We will wrap and post your purchases for you.

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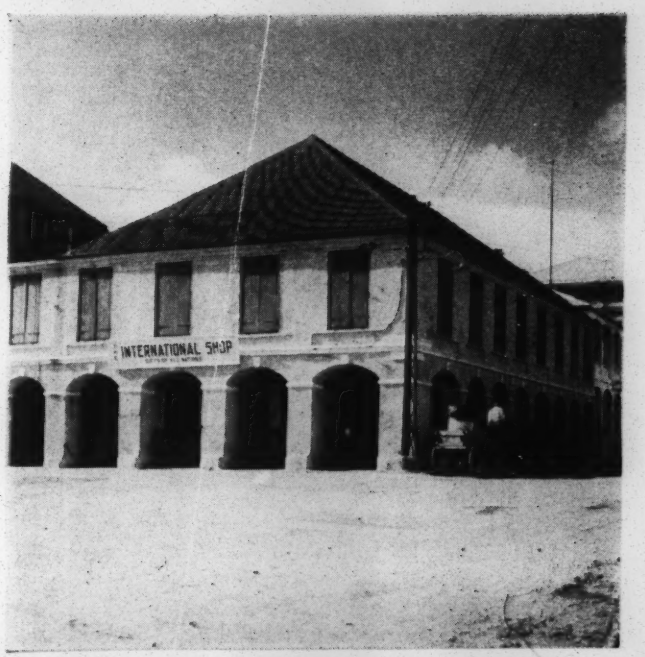
William J. Baar

Box 33 Christiansted

St. Croix, V. I.



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This applies to all of our merchandise, foreign and domestic.

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originally built by the United States government to preserve the treasured landmark of the pirate, Bluebeard's castle.

The hotel has been completely modernized, enlarged and improved. Its food is internationally famous.

High above the town of Charlotte Amalie, its famous gravestone-paved cocktail terrace commands a breath-taking panorama of the blue Caribbean, the colorful town and its harbor.

Enjoy this sublime view in the comfort of the ever-cooling trade winds while you drink a traditional toast to the unseen guest with a cocktail from the unique Pirate's Bar.

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Single occupancy, $16.50 daily
Double occupancy, $25.00 daily
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St. Thomas Virgin Islands

41 | 80 | 44.

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* WHAT TO DO *

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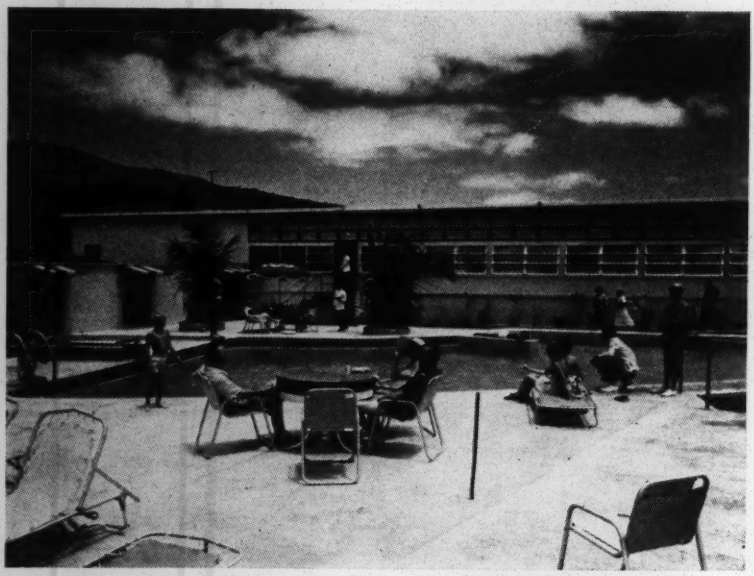

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SCANDINAVIAN SILVER CENTER

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CIRCULATION, 15,000

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FOREWORD

Summer in the Virgin Islands is not only a delightful season, but the most beautiful. Year after year, the same vacationists return to the trade breeze-swept Islands to escape torrid summer temperatures and humidity. Today, almost as many tourists come to the Islands in the summer as in the winter. Only in summer may be seen the famed flamboyant trees in all their colorful glory. Only in summer does nature display her most beautiful tropical blooms and release their heady perfumes. And only in summer does King Neptune still the turbulent waves to make every day—or night, a perfect time for sailing.

Each of the three islands has its individual appeal; St. Croix with its charm, tranquillity and old world rural atmosphere; St. Thomas with its international and fast-growing resort tempo (though still not for excitement-seekers); and St. John, quiet and primitive. Nowhere, will a tourist find the imprint of a turbulent history so indelibly evident.

Five years ago, the average continental American didn't know whether the Virgin Islands were in the South Seas, the Caribbean—or just far from the Isle of Man! Total accommodations for tourists numbered less than 200. Today, the interest of tourists in the Islands has resulted in the building of modern hotels and guest house to accommodate more than 1,000 visitors; and the permanent population of continental Americans who have come to the Islands to start new businesses has more than tripled, and is still growing!

"Why?" ask you who are visiting the Virgins for the first time.

"Because of the perfect climate," answer many. "Because we've heard the Virgin Islands are a healthy place to live," say others. "Because of their beauty," agrees everyone.

Those who have established new businesses sum up these tourist attractions—and add the new industrial tax holiday plus fast and inexpensive air transportation to their reasons for settling here. Many believe that the liberal divorce laws in the Virgin Islands will challenge the supremacy of Nevada in that field. "Freeport" shopping (Federal tax and duty free) is another advantage. Summed up, it is small wonder that the Islands are the fastest growing resort area under the American Flag.

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Bing & Grondahl
Porcelains

Spode and Wedgwood
Bone China & Earthenware

Toby Jugs & Figurines
from
Royal Doulton, England

Orrefors Glass from Sweden

Yawl 'Commanche' at Buck Island, St. Croix - photo by Fritz Henle.

It's the Delightful ALL Year Climate in ALL the Virgin Islands that make them

The Outstanding Resort Area of the Caribbean

See all three

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VIRGIN ISLANDS TOURIST DEVELOPMENT BOARD

H. W. GOEGGEL, *Executive Director*

Charlotte Amalie St. Thomas

Virgin Islands, U. S. A.

St. Thomas

To See:

EMANCIPATION GARDEN, where the abolition of slavery was announced in 1848, and all important ceremonies are still held. The statue is of King Christian the IX.

FORT CHRISTIAN, begun by Eric Smidt in 1666, first governor of St. Thomas. You will want to see the ancient dungeons and torture chamber, and the courtyard paved with marble and slate grave stones. The cannons which protected the Fort and St. Thomas in ancient times now decorate the drive to the Charlotte Amalie High School and the Coast Guard pier.

FREDERICK EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH is the second oldest Lutheran Church in the Western Hemisphere, and was established as a branch of the Danish Lutheran State Church in 1666. It was the first Christian church in the Virgin Islands.

OLD DANISH MILITARY CEMETARY. The inscriptions on the grave stones tell much about the history of the Islands.

MAHOGANY ROW, a stand of beautiful old mahogany trees which border the avenue through Berg Homes Housing development.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, where it is customary for visitors to stop and sign the guest book. There are interesting murals on the first landing of the grand staircase.

99 STEPS (photographer's stop) at the foot of which is an architecturally interesting building which under Danish rule was the German Consulate, and later, Government House under U. S. Naval administration—and still later, where lived Robert Herrick, famous American poet, when he was Government Secretary (before Robert Morse Lovett). The beautiful stairway and the crystal chandelier are museum pieces.

HOTEL 1829 beyond, was artistically restored by Mr. and Mrs. Walter Maguire. The lovely patio as seen through the central arched passageway is a favorite subject for photographers.

HOTEL 1829

Walter J. Maguire - Owner & Manager

Built in 1829 — Restored in 1939

Private beach for use of guests — Advance reservations necessary.

View of Charlotte Amalie

from the book "Virgin Islands" by Fritz Henle.

Welcome Visitor . . .

It is a real pleasure for me as Chairman of the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John to extend to you, our visitor, a sincere welcome to the Virgin Islands and to express our earnest desire that your vacation here be a most pleasant one.

We, of the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John, are constantly striving to make the Virgin Islands more attractive for the visitor and to make his stay with us a memorable one. If this is your first visit to our islands, we trust that you will enjoy yourself so much that you will join our host of friends who come back to see and stay with us through the years.

Most sincerely yours,

ROY P. GORDON,

Chairman,

Municipal Council of St. Thomas & St. John"

STEPHAN DOHANOS MURALS, which were painted while the artist was with W P A, are located in the Post Office. These murals were in a large measure responsible for Dohanos' recognition as a leading contemporary painter.

CROTON GARDEN between Riise's Gift Shop and the Stationery Store.

TORTOLA WHARF holds interest for photographers. Here sailing boats from the British Virgins bring cargoes of charcoal, bananas, plantains, cattle and fish to trade for American merchandise.

BERETTA CENTER, where 200-year old warehouses and slave marts have been transformed into attractive shops in keeping with old-world architectural traditions. Again, as in olden times, within these ancient walls one will find merchandise from all over the world.

ART CENTER, at the end of Hibiscus Alley in Beretta Center, where the work of both local and visiting artists is displayed and sold, and artist's supplies can be purchased.

CAMILLE PISSARRO birthplace, upstairs over Sears Roebuck Store. Pissarro, with Monet and Renoir, fathered the school of Modern Art. Though claimed by France, Pissarro was actually a Danish subject of Spanish-Jewish parentage. This fact, at that time, prevented his becoming a Master of the French Academy. The graves of his parents are in the Jewish Cemetery in St. Thomas. Local and visiting artists bemoan the fact that no plaque or marker of any kind identifies Pisarro's birthplace or the graves of his parents. Maybe Sears Roebuck will do something about it!

For those interested in **UNUSUAL ARCHITECTURE,** we turn right across from I. Levin store, climbing the winding road up Denmark Hill until we reach the road at the top, then down the other side, past the entrance to **SMITH'S FANCY,** a guesthouse showplace combining modern comforts with artistic decor in island tradition. The "Fancy" boasts an unnusual gift shop full of useful souvenirs and an attractive outdoor cocktail bar. Next below, we see the ancient **JEWISH SYNAGOGUE,** famous for its architecture and beauty. At the bottom of the hill is the lovely old **DUTCH REFORM CHURCH,** built in 1844.

The **OLD WELL** near the Market Square is a hand-carved marble masterpiece, imported from Italy about 200 years ago by a merchant, as a memorial for his son. Of late years it has been known as the Wishing Well.

MARKET SQUARE is best appreciated very early Saturday morning, when French and native farmers are unloading their donkeys and setting up their displays of tropical fruits, vegetables and flowers.

THE LITTLE SHOP, INC.

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French Lalique
Swedish Glass
and other Imported items

Native handcraft

Gorham Silver

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St. Thomas — St. Croix

DANISH SILVER and CHINA — ENGLISH WOOLLENS and APPAREL

On the west of the Square is the **METHODIST CHURCH.** The building on the south-east corner, now a grocery, was once an auction clearing house for slaves.

STS. PETER and PAUL CATHOLIC CHURCH and parochial School. The first Catholic Church was established in St. Thomas in 1775 when the Danish government issued a decree making the community pay for the rent of the Church room. This was done because escaped slaves from St. Thomas went to Puerto Rico (under Spanish rule then), and were baptized by the Roman Catholic Church, which refused the requests of the Danish government to return them on the grounds that St. Thomas offered them no Church of their newly adopted faith. In 1767, an agreement was made between Denmark and Spain that escaped slaves were to be turned over to the Danish authorities as soon as a Roman Catholic Church could be established there.

CATHOLIC CEMETERY and **JEWISH CEMETERY** at the edge of town tell visitors much of the old days of St. Thomas.

CARENAGE, the French Village of St. Thomas. Most of the ancestors of the French people came to St. Thomas in the early 1700s, from St. Bartholomew, and some, from St. Martins. Like their ancestors, most are fishermen and basket-makers.

LITTLE CATHOLIC CHURCH OF CARENAGE (which replaced a gibbet) on the crest of Gallows Hill. At the foot of the hill, 'Tony' Quetel's Delicatessen and his **NORMANDIE BAR** (he is the honorary mayor of "Frenchtown") are the hub of the village, and known, probably, to every sailor who has ever been in port.

VILLA OLGA, beyond "Frenchtown" was occupied by British officers from 1807 to 1815, the second and last time the British seized St. Thomas. Later, the Villa became the Russian Consulate. Before the first World War, the Imperial Russian Atlantic Squadron always spent the winter anchored off Villa Olga. In those days the Villa was the scene of the Islands' most brilliant and lavish social events. It is said that the stained glass and carved wood railings inside were brought from St. Petersburg by the Russians.

For a close-up of small marine life in the tropics, walk along the sea wall to the little dock, where you can safely see fascinating but dangerous black sea urchins, the spines of which can inflict painful wounds if stepped upon.

Directly across from the Villa is **HASSEL ISLAND.**

The channel is called **HAULOVER CUT,** because before it was dredged by the U. S. Navy, boats were "hauled over" the reef.

To the right is **WATER ISLAND,** not too familiar to many St. Thomians because, until recently, it was a part of the military establishment, and taboo to civilians.

TO SEE BY CAR in St. Thomas, **BLUEBEARD'S TOWER,** built in 1689 by Eric Smidt, and fortified by eleven cannons, some of which still decorate the upper drive. The romantic history of the tower was established when an iron-bound chest filled with mildewed and decayed papers was found, along with a rusty broken sword. The manuscript, when finally translated, was the story of Musa Ben Hassen "known to all men as Bluebeard"; and in essence, was the same story as told by French fairytale-writer Perrault, later. It is conjectured that an escaped victim may have carried the story to Perrault in France. The story is not less strengthened by the headstones of seven graves which are part of the paving of the cocktail terrace . . . . complete with names!

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NEW HERRNHUT MORAVIAN MISSION. The first Moravian missionaries sailed to the Virgin Islands in 1732. The Mission at Nisky was established in 1755.

BOVONI LAGOONS, recently brought to prominence by Twentieth-Century Fox as "location" for their latest documentary film "Frogmen", which starred Dana Andrews, Richard Widmark and Gary Merrill.

SHARK WHARF (Red Hook), is the end of the road to the East of St. Thomas, where boats leave for St. John.

ROSENDAHL HILL, where one of the finest views of all the Virgin Islands can be seen. Across Sir Francis Drake Channel, as far to the east as the eye can see, are the British Virgin Islands. The largest island to the north is Jost Van Dyke, where was born Dr. Walter Thornton, who designed the White House in Washington, D. C.

MAGEN'S BAY, reputed to be the most beautiful beach in the Caribbean, was given to the people of St. Thomas by a New York financier, Arthur Fairchild, whose half-million dollar castle crowns the mountain above. History tells us that Magen's Bay was once a pirate's anchorage, and that there are probably many treasures around its shores. Archaeologists have found evidence here of an ancient, unknown civilization, as well as many proofs that there was once an Indian village on the shore at the north end of the beach. The largest cocoanut grove on St. Thomas is at Magen's Bay, so be sure and have Etienne crack a 'jelly' nut for a refreshing drink (cost, 5¢).

LOUISENHOJ, half million dollar home of the late Arthur Fairchild, filled with art treasures from all over the world, is not at this writing open to the public. However, the tower and some parts of the gardens are visible from the main road.

DRAKE'S SEAT, built by Arthur Fairchild as a shrine to commemorate the spot where it is claimed Sir Francis Drake charted the course of the channel bearing his name, between the British and American Virgin Islands.

LITTLE CHURCH AT MAFOLIE, built by the French people in the neighborhood. Nearby is an obolisk commemorating the study of the star, Venus, by a group of Brazilian astronomers. On the ridge just beyond Mafolie is the narrowest part of St. Thomas, where by the turn of your head you can see the Caribbean Sea or the Atlantic Ocean.

THE DONK SHOP

Welcomes You to St. Thomas

May Your Stay Be Pleasant and Enjoyable

Use Our

Pasture and Watering Trough To Meet Your Friends

AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, where may be seen an unusual collection of tropical plants and flowers, including many-colored water lilies, beautiful travellers palms, and a model terraced mountainside farm.

SUGAR MILL TOWER, at the entrance of Club Contant; one of the few remaining towers which crowned almost every hilltop in the Virgin Islands. These towers with huge wind-driven wheels were used to grind the sugar cane which once covered the Islands from mountaintop to the water's edge.

BLACKBEARD'S TOWER, now surrounded by a modern hotel, was once seized by the famous pirate Edward Teach, known as Blackbeard, to scan the horizan for the heavily-laden merchantships he plundered. He was finally caught and killed on orders from the Governor of Virginia in 1718, which will give some idea of the age of the tower.

VILLA SANTANA, built and occupied (about 1855) by the famous Mexican revolutionist, Antonio Lopez De Santa Anna. St. Thomian oldesters tell tales of gay parties, cock fights and intrigue—in addition to a harem! All of which could be true, considering that Santa Anna was fabulously wealthy the last time he was exiled, and broken both physically and financially when he returned to Mexico to die in 1874. Among his extravagances was a home in the country which he called Anna's Retreat, which, it is said, he built for a favorite mistress. Today, Anna's Retreat is called Estate Tutu, and on its surrounding hills the largest herd of cattle in St. Thomas peacefully graze. The estate is now owned by one of the Island's oldest Danish families.

HAVE YOU READ THE BEAUTIFUL VIRGIN ISLANDS MAGAZINE?

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A private school of highest standards for children from nursery through tenth grades, with facilities for transient as well as permanent day or boarding students.

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St. Thomas

Deborah Finch
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The Little French Shop on the Hill

PHONE 208 **ST. THOMAS**

The elected representatives of the people of the Municipality of St. Thomas and St. John will make every effort to provide you with the best the Islands have to offer. We hope your stay will be an enjoyable one, and that you will come back again.

ROY P. GORDON
Chairman

Oswald E. Harris
Vice-Chairman

Earl B. Ottley
Secretary

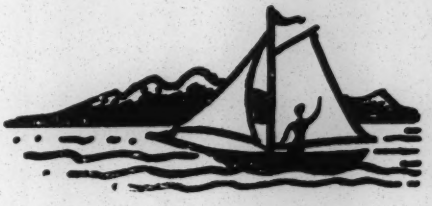
Henry V. Richards
1st Elected Member-at-Large

Omar Brown
2nd Elected Member-at-Large

Weymouth Rhymer
1st Elected Member, Country

Julius Sprauve
Member from St. John

St. John



To See:

St. John, it is necessary to ride a horse, a donkey, hike—or travel by boat.

The **FORT at CRUZ BAY,** which is now the home of Administrator George Simmons. The dungeons and cells are now used for storage, the St. John jail (one cell), and the shortwave radio which keeps the Island in communication with St. Thomas.

INSCRIPTIONS on the rocks above **REEF BAY** were made by the cannibalistic **CARIB INDIANS,** claim some archeologists, others say they were made by the peaceful **ARAWAKS.** Reef Bay is on the South Shore - and the trip must be made by donkey or horseback.

ANNABERG on a hill above Leinster Bay is the locale of Van Wyk Mason's book "Eagle in the Sky" where Peter Burham found and rescued his Baroness Trina). You will want to picture **CORAL BAY** as it was in 1780, a bustling Danish port named Frederiksvaern, with its harbor full of French, English, Danish and American sailing ships-of-war.

From **AMERICA HILL** there is a breathtaking view of Coral Bay, as well as Norman Island, (the **TREASURE ISLAND** of Stevenson's story) where several pirate's treasures have been found.

RUINS at CANEL BAY (story on page 32)

Beach scene at Cruz Bay, St. John - photo by Fritz Henle.

made in the
Virgin Islands
"CHIC PLUS BUDGET EQUALS
WEST INDIAN FASHIONS"
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Christiansted, St. Croix
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Finest food
in the Antilles
TAPA ROOM BAR
Specializing in
Tropical Drinks

St. Croix

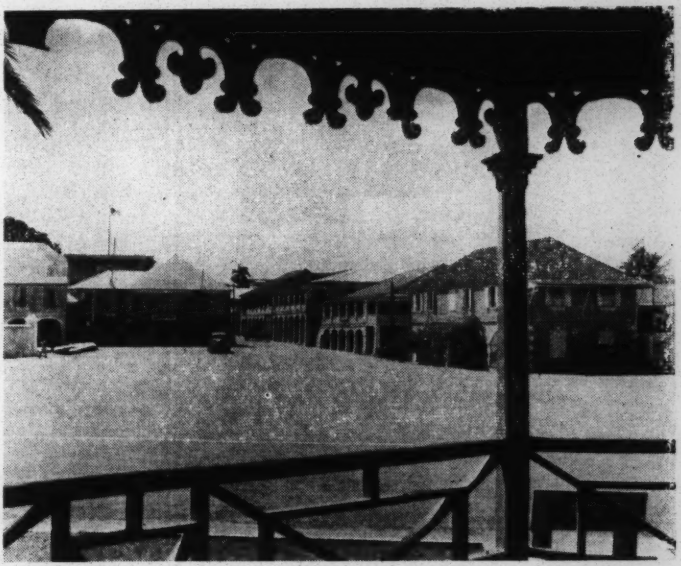
To See in Christiansted:

OLD FORT, built about 1645. The cannons which protected the fort, embedded in concrete, now decorate the street corners in Christiansted. Summer visitors will see in bloom one of the most beautiful flamboyant trees in the islands in the Old Fort.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE. Formerly the residence of the Danish Governor Generals. One of the finest examples of old world architecture in the West Indies. You will want a picture of the graceful, outside grand-stairway taken from the northeast corner of the garden (but mind the giant cactus bordering the walk!)

THE WHARF, where you will see interesting tropical cargoes being bartered from inter-island sailing freighters of all nationalities just as they were centuries ago.

PROTESTANT CAY in Christiansted Harbor, once the summer residence of the governor; now transformed into a charming hotel in keeping with old world tradition, but with modern comforts. A hail from the Wharf will bring the rowboat which ferries guests back and forth from the mainland in perfect contrast to the frenzied rush of modern transportation.



King Street from the bandstand - photo by Fritz Henle.

GREETINGS FROM HARRY E. TAYLOR, ADMINISTRATOR FOR ST. CROIX.

Dear Visitor:

"We cordially welcome you to St. Croix. If you have been here before your return evidences your appreciation of the island's personality, its beauty and distinctive charm. If this is your first visit, we hope that you will so thoroughly enjoy it that you, too, will return.

From its bold rocky eastern tip (the United States' nearest point to the Old World) to its lush verdant hills in the northwest, St. Croix offers you a great variety of interesting spots and lovely vistas. Its green hills and plains, its yellow beaches, its surrounding blue sea, and its incomparable climate constitute the setting for the romantic history still clearly evidenced by its scattered villages, its mill towers, its pastel towns, its lovely functional architecture; and also by the customs of its people— courteous and hospitable, but nonetheless observing and appraising each one of you who comes here to share our small island—our home.

St. Croix is one of the few recreational areas remaining as yet unspoiled for those not interested in high life, casinos, blaring bands and meat shows. Rather, we have chosen to offer and we shall strive to retain, unjazzed, that unique atmosphere and wholesome character which has attracted and delighted so many fine type visitors and has brought them back, with their friends—many of them to build their homes here.

We cordially invite you to share all this with us, and ask you please to help us preserve it. We ask only that our guests respect our people and our customs, and merit their respect, by observing those proprieties of dress and behavior that are natural to nice people. (Please, all you who need no such request, understand that it is meant only for the occasional few who come to be the "sights" rather than to see them.)

And we hope that no one here shall fail in courtesy or service to make your stay so pleasant that you will be back again—and maybe stay as other have done.

Cordially yours,

HARRY E. TAYLOR

Administrator for St. Croix

From Algernon Aspinwall's **"A Wayfarer in the West Indies"**

"A biscuit-throw from the shore is an exquisite island resembling one of the Borromean islands on Lake Maggiore, or more closely, perhaps, the Isola San Giulio on Orta. In a villa on this delightful island lives the pilot who must be regarded a lucky dog to be permitted to occupy such a charming residence."

NOW

HOTEL - on - the CAY

Famous for Food

Private Beach and Cottages on the Premises

CABLE: GILLESISLE STCROIX

PENTHENY HOTEL Christiansted

Famous since 1775 for Danish cuisine and Old World atmosphere

INGER HEYN, Owner

ALEXANDER HAMILTON STORE, where Alexander Hamilton clerked in his youth. Above the store, Mrs. Flavilla Losch, imaginative ex-New York business woman, has created a comfortable and attractive guest house with a wide reputation for hospitality and good food; and a gift shop.

ARCADED BUILDINGS along King Street (see photo) are famous examples of 17th and 18th Century architecture.

ANTIQUES at Pentheny Hotel are the envy of world-wide collectors. Mrs. Heyn has refused fabulous offers for many of them. 'Pentheny' is an honored name in St. Croix. Pentheny trading schooners have sailed the Caribbean for a century; and the Hotel was the first in St. Croix. The bountifulness and excellence of Pentheny menus are as famous as the antique collection.

To help you see the countryside of St. Croix, the Chamber of Commerce has arranged seven Tours, which range in price from $4. to $14. These tours cover most of the highlights of the island, and offer an opportunity to see the ruins of many interesting old estates. You will also see many which have been restored by new residents who have sympathetically endeavored to keep to the gracious architectural traditions of the island. For lack of space, only highlights of these tours are mentioned:

TOUR I. Christiansted, Frederiksted, Mahogany Road, Estate Annaly, Lower Love, Bethlehem Sugar Factory. $8. minimum.

TOUR II. same as above, with addition of Canaan Hill, Mon Bijou, Rust-op-twist, Baron Bluff, Salt River. $14. minimum.

TOUR III. Center of Island tour, Little Princess, Jealousy, Upper Love, etc., $4. minimum.

TOUR IV, Annaly, Grove Place, Church and Shrine, Estate River, Parasol Hill, North Star, Rust-op-twist, Salt River. $10. minimum.

TOUR V, Photographic Tour; Agricultural Experiment Station, Mill Tower with steps at Strawberry, Bethlehem Sugar Factory, Fredensborg, Mon Bijou, Canaan Hill, Rust-op-twist, Baron Bluff, Salt River, Morning Star. $8 minimum.

TOUR VI, to East End. Green Cay, Cramer's Park, East End (most easterly U. S. soil), South Shore, Grass Point, Lowry Hill. $10. minimum.

TOUR VII, South Shore, Beeston Hill, Estate Granard, Halfpenny Bay, Estates Longford and Fairham, Petronella, Lowry Hill. $5. minimum.

ST. CROIX IS DIFFERENT!

Visit the Breeze-Cooled

BUCCANEER

Five Private Beaches, the Nearest within 400 yards

Horseback Riding Free for our Guests

The St. Croix Chamber of Commerce suggests that tour rates be confirmed in advance, and only approved Chamber of Commerce member taxis are recommended. Mr. Ivan Chappell, Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce (by the Wharf in Christiansted) invites visitors to drop in at any time for more detailed information about St. Croix.

ESTATE SHOY, where Alexander Hamilton's family lived, is one of the interesting landmarks a short distance from Christiansted. Estate Shoy is now the site of the modern Buccaneer Hotel, which was attractively designed to blend into its richly historical background.

By arrangement, those who are seriously interested in the fascinating history of St. Croix may see the grave of Rachel Fawcett Levine, mother of Alexander Hamilton, and the ruins of Governor Peter von Scholten's home at Bulow's Minde. Governor von Scholten is often referred to as the Abraham Lincoln of the Virgin Islands though as a matter of fact, he ended slavery in the Islands more than ten years (1848) before it was abolished in the United States.

In Frederiksted, the **OLD FORT, THE WHARF, OLD CHURCHES, VICTORIAN ARCHITECTURE,** the **RUINS AT BUTLER BAY** are interesting subjects for the tourist's camera.

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A SMALL HOTEL CENTRALLY LOCATED IN CHRISTIANSTED WITH A SWIMMING POOL, BOAT, DOCK AND COCKTAIL BAR OF ITS OWN. ALL ROOMS WITH BATHS.

To Do in St. Croix

The visitor who loves beauty sunshine, swimming, hiking, tennis, fishing, bicycling, lobstering, exploring, horseback riding, picnicing, boating and learning the calypso, will love St. Croix. He will find no crass, artificial entertainment, no things that must be "done" to get the most for a vacation dollar. To fill days with interesting and unusual outdoor activities, the first "To do" is to get acquainted with the people. Each guest house or hotel owner takes a personal interest in his guests, in fact, practically makes them members of the family. So, it is mainly by arrangement of your host and hostess that you will meet the residents and have an opportunity to participate in the sports that are available in St. Croix.

HUNTING & FISHING are excellent in St. Croix (look under General Information for regulations).

EXPLORING the ruins of the many estate "great" houses is a favorite pastime of visitors.

COCKFIGHTS every Sunday afternoon, and **DONKEY RACES** (generally held on holidays, also) are unusual divertissments for stateside visitors.

The following unusual water sports described in detail (by courtesy of Jim Hurd of Sprat Hall, Frederiksted) are available by arrangement at most hotels and guest houses.

THE CAGE

CHRISTIANSTED

ST. CROIX

Cocktails

Luncheon

Dinner by Reservation

CONCH DIVING. The conch is a large sea mollusk which lives in a beautiful shell. Delicious to eat when properly prepared, and often a popular part of a tropical beach picnic menu. Found in water ten or more feet deep. Since they do not attach themselves to stones on the bottom, they are easy to get. Conch diving is the first lesson for newcomers in lobstering and spearfishing.

SPEAR-FISHING. Equipment, goggles or face mask, spear or underwater gun- Since fish look much larger through glass, beginners often miss, thinking they are much closer than they actually are.

DIVING FOR LOBSTERS. Since lobsters (ocean crawfish, or langusta) must be cooked alive, they are caught with the hands, using leather work-gloves to protect divers from sharp, spiny feelers. During the day, lobsters hide in caves, facing outward with ends of the antennae showing, and ready to run back into cave out of reach should anything disturb them. The diver grabs the lobster by the base of the antennae and wrenches it loose - heading for the boat which should be nearby, since they try to whip themselves free. Night lobstering is much easier than during the day, and is a beautiful sight with flaming lights, dark figures and white water. Torches are made by halving an old rubber tire circularly, then quartering the halves, making eight cup-shaped pieces. The fabric is soaked in kerosine, placed on pointed hardwood sticks, lit, and then placed close to the water. Since lobsters feed in shallow water after dark, the fisherman can see them easily by the blue-white flame of his torch shining through the crystal-clear water. Fish, attracted by the light are easy prey to the experienced swimmers following after the torchbearer. In some of the islands, this is called 'flambeau fishing'. A more modern method, described by Jim Hurd, is the use of head lanterns such as coal miners wear, leaving the hands free for catching the lobsters. Often "small" sea-turtles (up to two feet across) are caught, but the natives generally catch them for sport and let them go to 'grow up'.

BUCK ISLAND, a short sail from Christiansted, has an excellent beach, and is popular with Cruzians and visitors for picnicing, fishing, exploring and shell hunting.

Non-residents may swim in the saltwater pool of Club Comanche ($1.50 charge for dressingroom and towels).

Jeeps and cars may be rented for $8. per day.

SPRAT HALL

Frederiksted, St. Croix

FINEST PRIVATE BEACH in ST. CROIX

- **Excellent Honeymoon Haven**
- **Horseback Riding**
- **Lobster Catching**
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Sun, Swim, Sail in utter peace and privacy on 215-acre estate. Car, 32-ft. cabin sloop, glass-bottom boat, mile of beach, garden fresh foods, complete service.

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St. Thomas, U. S. Virgin Islands

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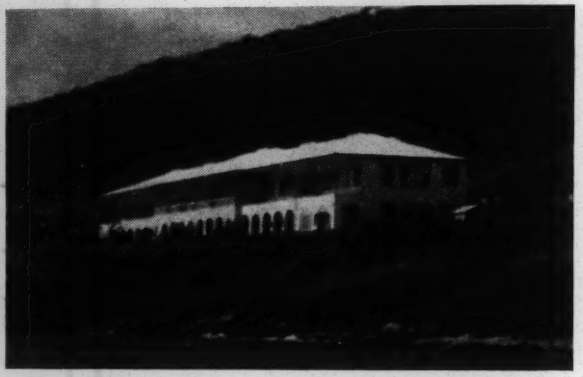
New, modern, luxurious, of fireproof concrete and steel construction . . . large enough to afford every modern convenience, yet small enough to insure every guest personal attention and gracious hospitality.



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Rates quoted include . . . three deluxe meals a day, transportation to and from airport, free golf, tennis and beach club membership, free station wagon service 9 A. M. to 11 P. M.

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ASTA

Fishing boats, sloops, canoes and glass bottom boats are available for charter; and both a 72-ft. yawl and a large diesel yacht arrange open charters for trips to Buck Island, St. Thomas, St. John, Tortola, Virgin Gorda and many other of the neighboring islands.

To sum up the tourist attractions of St. Croix: If your choice is a dressy, sophisticated, "high fashion" resort, where you can sit back and be entertained, better pass up St. Croix.

But if you prefer to join into the life of the place you are visiting; if you enjoy genuine hospitality, gracious living, and unhurried tempo this is the island for you.

SEASIDE GUEST HOUSE

AMERICAN PLAN

EASY WALKING DISTANCE TO BEACHES

REDUCED SUMMER RATES FROM APRIL — FREDERIKSTED

APOTHECARY HALL

Fredericksted, St. Croix

Modern Apartments — Near Beach

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BOATING — FISHING — HORSEBACK RIDING — PRIVATE BEACH

Ham's Bay, Frederiksted — Moderate Rates — Cable "Clocrest"

ST. CROIX SHOPPING GUIDE & SERVICES INDEX

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BARS RESTAURANTS

PROSPERITY PLANTATION CLUB, Dining, Dancing —Our Specialty "Chicken in the Basket" — Horseback Riding — Bathing Beach — Rooms for Rent.

HOTEL-ON-THE-CAY, Christiansted, St. Croix — (see page 16)
THE CAGE, Christiansted, St. Croix (see page 19)
SEASIDE GUEST HOUSE, Frederiksted (see page 18)

CHARTER BOATS

SLOOP INTREPID, $15 per day, sailing, fishing; call Anton Teytaud
YAWL COMANCHE, call Club Comanche, Christiansted, St. Croix
FLYING CARIB, call Hansen, Christiansted, St. Croix

CHURCHES

Africa Methodist
Anglican Church
Christian Mission
Lutheran Church
Moravian Church
Roman Catholic Church
Salvation Army
Seventh Day Adventist

CLEANERS

ISLAND FANCY CLEANERS "On the Wharf", Christiansted, St. Croix

CONTRACTORS & BUILDERS

McFARLANE & CO., Christiansted, St. Croix (see page 21)
OVE E. OLSEN, Christiansted, St. Croix

DENTISTS

Dr. Aubrey Anduze

DOCTORS

Dr. Brian Shorney
Dr. Melvin Evans
Dr. Ulrich Karell
Dr. Reginald Moore
Dr. David Canegata

HOTELS, GUEST HOUSES

THE BUCCANEER, Estate Shoy, Christiansted (see page 18)
CLOVER CREST HOTEL, Ham's Bay, Frederiksted (see page 24)
CLUB COMANCHE, Christiansted, (see page 19)
CLUB CRUZANA, Estate Orange Grove, Christiansted

HAMILTON HOUSE—Pension type guest house—Summer rates from $8 single, $14 double—American Plan.

HANNCHEN HUS, 10 Queen St., Christiansted, $2 per day

CLUB COMANCHE, Christiansted (see page19)

HOFFMAN GUEST HOUSE—Country home situated on rolling hillside, Connecticut with tropical flavor. — $7.50 per day per person, American Plan.

CLOVER CREST HOTEL, Christiansted (see page 24)
HOTEL-ON-THE-CAY, Christiansted, Cable: Gillesisle (see page)
NC' THSTAR, St. Croix, V. I. (see page 21)
PENTHENY, Christiansted, St. Croix (see page 17)
SEASIDE GUEST HOUSE, Frederiksted (see page 24)
SPRAT HALL, Frederiksted, St. Croix (see page 20)

REAL ESTATE

STUART, MURRAY AND ASSOCIATES, Christiansted
ALICE B. NELTHROPP, Christiansted
GEORGE VAN RIPER, Christiansted
S. PIVAR, Frederiksted

SHOPS

AY AY SHOP, Company St., Christiansted Silver - Gifts.

CONTINENTAL, Danish Silver, English Woolens see page 7)

CARIBE LINEN SHOP—Ladies' Tropical Sportswear — Children's wear — Handmade straw goods — Gift Items

DAM'S LIQUOR STORE, Company St., Christiansted (see page 21)
ELVERHOJ, Originators of West Indian Fashions (see page 14)
EST. OF D. VALLS, Wholesale, Retail, Nash Agents; Christiansted

HAMILTON HOUSE SHOP—Virgin Islands Handcrafts — Books relating to the Virgin Islands —Christiansted

INTERNATIONAL SHOP—Christiansted (see page 21)

TRAVEL AGENCIES

E. S. CRAWFORD, — Travel Agency — Member, A S T A and I A T A — St. Croix

To Do in St. Thomas:

Note: Again, we remind you that the Islands are not a tourist resort in the accepted state-side sense. There-in lies their charm. Most activities described are non-commercial, and must be arranged at least 24 hours in advance. Your outing will be planned just for you in the same manner as the visit of an honored, personal friend.

For the first unusual outing, to see expert spear-fishing, for a swim and picnic at an out-of-way beach, arrangements can be made at the Normandie Bar or the delicatessen in Carenage. An unforgettable experience at a reasonable price. . . . but don't dress up!

Magens Bay - from the book "Virgin Islands" by Fritz Henle.

For a first-hand peek at the swashbuckling history of St. Thomas, look under the harbor waters . . . and also see what National Geographic explorer Carleton Mitchell describes as "surpassing in beauty the marine gardens of both Nassau and Catalina." A glass-bottomed boat leaves Villa Olga dock every hour, with special trips for photographers. You can also see historic Frederick's Fort at the harbor entrance, which, it is claimed, the British built in one day, by conscripting all able-bodied white men as well as slaves, to repel a Spanish invasion when the British held the island in 1801.

BEST BUYS in ST. THOMAS

Glass Bottom Boat

FASCINATING UNDERWATER SCENES. Coral Gardens, 136' Sunken Ship. Tropical Fish.

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A breathtaking panorama of the old city and its fortifications, in waters the pirates made famous.

Fishing

From Row Boats to Charter Boats. Every type of fishing at most reasonable rates. Consult us for details.

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HOTEL VILLA OLGA DOCK **Phone 350 (3 Rings)**

For the most unusual fishing experience in your life . . . well, you'll get your money back if you don't get a tarpon on your hook! No fancy clothes—or fancy tackle! Only for those athletically inclined who don't mind getting wet. Big, handsome Sharky, who will take you, is the last known descendant of the Carib Indians. It's no secret that Sharky turned down an offer to double for Johnny Weismuller in Hollywood. Recently, 20th Century Fox depended on Sharky to catch—alive—the 12 foot shark used in "Frogmen" in the most exciting scene in the picture! As you can imagine, he's pretty busy, so call 657 as far in advance as possible for reservations. Price, $25 for the day for four people (no more) . . . and bring your lunch.

GOLF at the Herman E. Moore Golf Course is offered to tourists at a nominal charge. If you are staying at a hotel or guest house with membership privileges at the Golf Club, there will be no charge.

TENNIS is offered at the Municipal Tennis Courts at Long Bay, or at the Virgin Isle Hotel by arrangement with the Concierge.

SWIMMING. Eulegies have been penned about the perfect sea-grape shaded beaches (take your sun . . . or leave it) in the Virgin Islands. First,

MAGEN'S BAY, where beautiful white sand beach gently slopes into crystal-clear waters with never so much as a pebble on over a mile of beach. Your hotel or guest house may have transportation facilities. Picnic grounds, dressing rooms, but no modern showers at present writing. No visit to St. Thomas is complete without a swim at Magen's Bay.

LINDBERG BEACH, modern, for the more gregarious, complete with raft, diving platform, beach tables, benches under sea-grape shade; freshwater showers, music, bar and excellent commissary. Cost, .50¢ per person, 60¢ taxi from town, or 10¢ by bus, walking from entrance of airport road. Guests of the Caribbean Hotel enjoy membership privileges without cost.

BREWERS BAY, down the hill from the Trade Winds Hotel. Excellent beach, beautiful undersea gardens (under-water mask or goggles a 'must'). Fine lobster, spear-fishing and conch diving. (See page 20) for description of these sports in detail), Guests of the Trade Winds Hotel have free access to this beach, which is only a two minute walk.

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NEW CARS **JEEPSTERS** **STUDEBAKERS**

CLOSED AND CONVERTIBLE MODELS

ENJOY THE CONVENIENCE OF YOUR OWN CAR

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TROPICAL MOTORS

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HOTEL TRADE WINDS

On Brewer's Bay

Coolest Spot on the Island

Moderate Rates

A. M. Edwards — Manager

HIKING. Under the sponsorship of Mrs. Lela Perkins, who will tell you the names of the trees, plants, flowers, birds, and the history of the Island . . . and she will point out interesting landmarks of historical times. However, since most trips are over the mountains, this is not advised for any but the physically fit. Arrangements can be made at Virgin Islands Tours in the Grand Hotel. You will undoubtedly want to conclude your hike with refreshments in Mrs. Perkins' beautiful tropical terraced garden, where you will see practically every flower that grows in the tropics, as well as a fine collection of orchids.

MORNING STAR BEACH, next to Hotel Flamboyant, also beautiful undersea gardens. The only beach in St. Thomas with surf. Several hotels and guest houses have arrangements with the beach club for their guests. Other tourists may swim here for a nominal charge. Bar, showers, attractive dressing rooms.

MOONLIGHT SAILING in the Virgin Islands cannot be equalled. Constant, dependable trade breezes, moonlight, a troubador with a guitar . . . what more romantic way to spend an evening! (See advertisements and services index for finest charter boats.)

BEACH PICNICS, day or evening, can be arranged by the Concierge of your hotel, or the owner of your guest house.

ROLLER SKATING, daily, at the Recreation Hall located on the Main Road side of the Airport.

AIRPORT JUNGLE GARDENS, where you may ride a donkey, or walk through a beautiful collection of tropical vegetation. Every plant, flower and tree is identified by a marker for your information. Educational, as well as loads of fun.

BICYCLING. Bicycles can be obtained at the Caribbean Import Corporation (around corner to left, east of Tourist Development Board.)

HORSEBACK RIDING. Horses can be obtained at Sugar Estate, east of town. Horses are good (most have racing blood); equipment safe, but not comparable with that of riding academics in the states.

CHESS AND CHECKERS. Every night at the Hideway Club, but Monday night brings out the tournament players. Entrance to the Hideway Club is across from the airport.

DANCING, nightly at the Virgin Isle Hotel, featuring state-side music under the stars. Excellent native music at the Caribbean Hotel with emphasis on the calypso and latin rhythms. Dancing week-ends at the Flamboyant Hotel. Visitors interested in learning the native dances should watch the local papers for announcements of dances, generally held on Saturday nights and holidays.

BE SURE TO VISIT **ST. THOMAS**

The Famous

HIDEWAY CLUB

REFRESHMENTS **STARLIGHT DANCING**

ESTATE CONTANT CLUB

RANSOM HOUSE

Fine Food Excellent Drinks

Home of Goddard's Rum

A Fine Collection of Imported & Domestic

Wines & Liquors

The Coolest Spot in Town (Airconditioned)

YOUR FIRST STOP

CARIB INDIES INFORMATION SERVICE

in the Airport

Reservations — Charters

ASK US

St. Thomas, Virgin Islands

To Do in St. John:

Since accommodations for tourists on the Island of St. John are limited, most tourists will visit that Island by public boat for the day only, or will charter a boat for cruising around the Island at leisure.

The Caneel Bay Boat makes three trips daily, with trips originating at Virgin Islands Tours travel agency in the Grand Hotel. A stop is made at **CRUZ BAY** for mail and passengers. Tourists may take the first boat in the morning, (take your lunch, or pot-luck at Mrs. Keating's, where you may also dress for the beach), explore the ruins a few minutes walk inland, see the old Danish Fort, hike or hire a donkey for a ride over the hill to Caneel Bay, swim and return on the afternoon boat.

Or, you may wish to continue to **CANEEL BAY**, spending the day exploring the famous ruins of that plantation where in 1733 during the slave uprising, plantation owners and managers and their families were besieged for many weeks until troops from the French islands came to their rescue. Today, a modern resort there, offers its guests beautiful modern cottages or hotel rooms on the beach.

Another guests house on a beautiful beach in St. John offers its guests excellent native, Danish and American cuisine.

Sports include: swimming, exploring, badminton, tennis, horseback riding, fishing, lobstering, conch diving, spearfishing and weekly dances with typically native music (native instruments).

All arrangements must be made for accommodations and transportation at Virgin Islands Tours, Inc., in the Grand Hotel, St. Thomas, or Puerto Rico Tours, Inc., in San Juan.

Or, you will charter a boat in St. Thomas ($50 per day for ten people) and visit beautiful **HOG'S NEST BAY**, where the hurricane palms on the beach have been photographed to illustrate the travel literature of many other tropical islands . . . ideal for private beach parties.

If you do not linger too long at Hog's Nest, you will circle St. John and visit **NORMAN ISLAND**, the **TREASURE ISLAND** of Robert Louis Stevenson's story, where four of the treasures have already been found (according to the story, there should be eleven more). Though Cuba claims that the Isle of Pines is the original Treasure Island, the only Dead Man's Chest in the West Indies (where Long John Silver marooned his crew) lies a short distance east of Norman Island. The evidence of treasures already found lends credence to the local claims that Norman Island is the real Treasure Island.

On your way to Norman Island, you will see **MARY'S POINT** where the slaves of the 1733 insurrection were driven, and chose suicide to capture by the French troops who helped the Danes to quell the uprising.

HAVE YOU READ THE BEAUTIFUL VIRGINS ISLANDS MAGAZINE?

Day Sailing — Accommodates 10-12 **Overnight, Extended Cruises — Sleeps 4**

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YACHT "ZINGARA"

40 ft. Chesapeake Bay Bugeye - Auxiliary Motor

For Reservations, The Sea Chest
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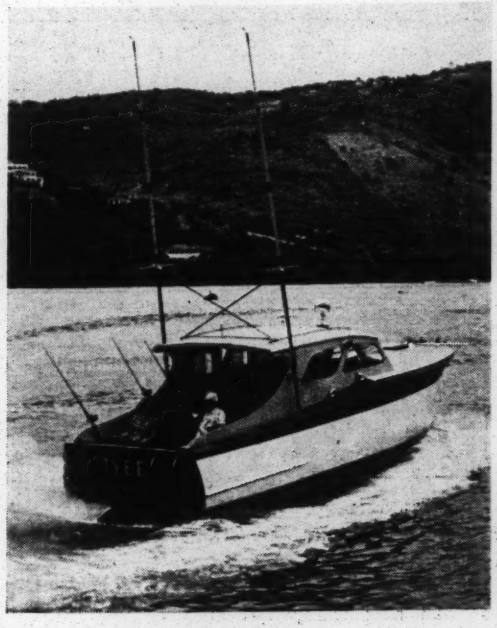
The SPANISH MAIN

Hibiscus Alley — On the Sea
Top-to-Toe originals in Handpainted fabrics. - Gifts of unusual design and beauty.



CHARTER BOAT

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For **Fishing**
Cruising
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Capt. Dick Cheek

GENERAL INFORMATION

ARCHITECTURE AND AESTHETICS. Danish, French, Dutch, English Victorian and Spanish architecture blend attractively, mellowed by antiquity, in St. Thomas and St. Croix. Stone walls of warehouses and residences over two feet thick, are the relic of a Danish building code which was enacted after two disastrous fires (1804-1806). In an effort to keep the unique charm and old-world atmosphere of the Islands, the people have endeavored to keep new architecture in the old tradition; and they have absolutely guaranteed to restrain any outcropping tendency toward such modern "improvements" as neon lights and blaring roadside signs. They also take a short-sighted view of women wearing brief shorts on the main streets!

BANKING. The Virgin Islands National Bank, with two branches in St. Croix, is a Federally insured bank, and can perform all services of state-side banks. Checks from outside the Islands are held for collection and can generally be cashed within five business days. There is a charge of one quarter of one percent of amount drawn.

.BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES in the Virgin Islands are limited only by the imagination of the seeker. Enterprises in the agricultural line are suggested for those interested in St. Croix (advice and assistance can be obtained at the Agricultural Experiment Station there). On all of the islands, there is still room for expansion in the guest house or small hotel business, entertainment, or other resort enterprises; though a limited water supply and inflated real estate values (in some cases) must be considered. However, this is more than offset by an eight year industrial tax holiday for businesses that do not presently exist, provided there is a capital investment of $10,000 or more. This applies also to guest houses or hotels where there is an investment of $100,000 or more.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES are few; available jobs, as in most communities, being filled by local people—at salaries far below those paid for similar work in the States.

LIVING CONDITIONS comparable to stateside standards are approximately 36% higher, due to the fact that most necessities are imported. However, luxuries are less expensive than in the states, due to the Islands' "free port" status. (A loaf of stateside bread costs .35¢, but a bottle of the best name-brand Scotch is only $2.50 for 4/5!

CLIMATE in the Virgin Islands is said to be the most equable in the world. Lowest recorded temperature (U. S. Air Weather Service), 63 degrees at sea-level; highest, 91 degrees. Average winter range, 71 degrees to 82 degrees. Average summer range, 76 degrees to 88 degrees. There is no rainy or dry season—rain generally falling in short showers of five or ten minutes duration. Constant trade breezes keep humidity low, except for occasional days between September 1st and October 31. Average humidity at noon, 36; 8 P. M., 42.

CLOTHING suggested for visitors: For women, sport dresses of washable materials, two or three bathing suits, and a couple of informal evening dresses, with a light jacket for evenings. Men should have the equivalent in attire. It is advisable, though, not to bring too many clothes from the States, because the Virgin Islands are a center for summer and tropical fashions; with no less than four shops having outlets in leading stores from coast to coast. Their men's and women's fashions can be obtained here at less than half the prices charged for them in the States.

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OLD ST. CROIX RUM

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Est. 1838

IMPORTS

Danish Silver

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Chinaware Perfumes

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Jewelry Blouses Ties

DIVORCE INFORMATION. On liberal grounds, divorces can be obtained after a six week residence period. Cases are heard in a Federal District Court by reason of its jurisdictional capacity to function as a local territorial court. Decrees are valid throughout the United States; none yet, having been successfully contested.

DRIVER'S LICENSES. Major Earle Charles, Director of Police in St. Thomas, extends his greetings to all visitors to the Island, and an invitation to call at Fort Christian for a courtesy driver's permit, which is issued for a period of 30 days without cost, provided the visitor has a currently dated driver's license from his home state. Visitors are asked to note that driving is on the left, that our streets and roads are narrow, and extraordinary caution is advised for those unaccustomed to European driving customs.

The same courtesy driver's permits are available at the Old Fort in Christiansted, and like St. Thomas, driving is on the left in St. Croix.

There are no automobile roads on the island of St. John.

EDUCATION. The Virgin Islands had the first public schools and the first compulsory education for slaves in the Western Hemisphere. Free education for slaves in public schools was inaugurated in 1787 . . . almost a hundred years before it was available in the United States. All children, 6 to 13 years of age, were required to report to school. Failure of estate managers to report names of parents and vaccination records resulted in a fine of $1 per child per day for each day's delay; and absence of a child except for illness resulted in a fine of 8¢ per day. As a result of this early emphasis on education, school attendance today is approximately 95%, and public school standards are comparable to those in the States, in spite of lack of equipment, lack of books in many cases—and over-crowded class-rooms. There are excellent parochial schools, and a fine private school in St. Thomas (The Antilles School) for pre-school to high school age children, with rates beginning at $20 per month.

FISHING, HUNTING, BIRDS, REPTILES, INSECTS. Good salt-water fishing is to be had around the Islands, though the potential is not definitely known, due to the fact that the sport has not been developed yet. Amberjack, mackerel, kingfish, bonito, barracuda and shark are the commoner species taken. Tarpon, sailfish, dolphin, salmon, tuna, swordfish, carrang, red snapper, yellow tail, jewfish, hogfish, grouper, angel fish and butterfish are often caught.

DEER HUNTING is good in St. Croix, and they may be taken from October 1 to December 31. Each hunter is allowed six deer during the season. A non-

EVEREADY GARAGE

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GOODYEAR DEALER — Tires — Batteries — Accesories
ESSO SERVICE — Gasoline — Lubrication
AVIS RENT - a - CAR SYSTEM — Good cars at reasonable rates

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D. O. BORNN & SONS

Manufacturers' Agents Commission Merchants

IMPORT — EXPORT — INSURANCE

P. O. Box 177
St. Thomas

Phone 34
Virgin Islands

resident license costs $15. Doves and pigeons are in season from August 16 to March 14 in St. Croix.

DEER HUNTING in St. Thomas and St. John is closed until 1953; however, doves and pigeons may be hunted from July 15 until September 30. Licenses for non-residents are $10, and may be obtained from the Game Commission, which is located in the Harbor Master's office in St. Thomas. Permission to shoot over property must be obtained from owner.

SEA BIRDS. Seventeen recorded species breed within the waters of the Virgin Islands. Among them are such rare specimens as the bluefaced booby and Audubon's shearwater. Others are the pelican, booby, hurricane bird, cormorant, sand piper, heron, crane, tern, white gaulin, egret, and a variety of gulls and ducks.

LAND BIRDS. Nature lovers will find hawks, flycatchers, doves, pigeons, sparrows, hummingbirds, honey creepers, parrokeets, orange and black orioles, black witch, thrush, doctor bird, chincharee, yellow breast, wild canary and mocking bird.

THERE ARE NO POISONOUS SNAKS OR INSECTS IN THE ISLANDS, due to the mongoose and three varieties of harmless lizards. There are iguana and rabbits in some parts of the Islands.

HEALTH. Due to the efforts of a fine Danish physician, and the United States Navy (after our purchase of the Islands in 1917) tropical diseases originating here are practicaly unknown. The discovery that arthritis victims find relief from pain in advanced stages of the disease, and complete cure in earlier stages (so far as known, up to three years' history) has resulted in an investigation being made by the local health authorities. Heart diseases are far down on the list of fatal illnesses. Ulcers are practically unheard of.

HISTORY. The Virgin Islands were discovered by Christopher Colombus in 1493 on his second voyage to the New World, when he landed at Salt River in St. Croix, in search of fresh water. Greeted by hostile Carib Indians who called the Island Ay Ay, Columbus gave it the name Santa Cruz. Spaniards eventually drove away the Indians; and in 1625, Dutch and English settlers, presently joined by French refugees from St. Christopher drove away the Spaniards. After a brief period of English domination, followed by another Spanish invasion, the French occupied the Island from 1651 to 1695, renaming it 'St. Croix' (Holy Rood, or Crucifix). Christiansted under the French was called Bassin (Harbor-valley), and Frederiksted was called West End.

THE NORMANDIE BAR

Liquor and Liqueurs of all descriptions and Brands — Agent for Schlitz "The Beer that made Milwaukee Famous" and Don Q, the fastest selling Rum, which stands out in price and quality.

ANTHONY QUETEL, Proprietor

The first Danish settlement in the Virgin Islands was established in 1653 in St. Thomas, which was then named Taphus. In 1671, by virtue of a Charter from King Christian of Denmark, the Danish West Indian Company owned St. Thomas and St. John. St. Croix was purchased by the Company from the French in 1733.

The latter part of the 18th century St. Thomas was the world's largest slave market, and the richest center of commerce in the Western Hemisphere. Doctors charged $100 a visit! A half pail of water cost 60¢! Estate great-houses were fabulously luxurious. Gold and silver dishes, crystal glasses, gilded mirrors, oriental rugs, tapestries from Asia, teakwood with inlaid mother-of-pearl and mahogany furniture, the world's finest wines, liqueurs, spices and foods were commonplace. Social life, was gay and carefree. Wrote Alexander Hamilton on the occasion of his first visit to St. Thomas "Gold is moved through the streets in wheelbarrows!"

However, life for the early settlers of the Islands was not always gay and carefree; attacks by the English, Dutch and Spanish, all of whom at some time claimed sovereignty over them; pirate's attacks, slave uprisings and epidemics took their toll of lives and fortunes.

In 1754 the Danish Government purchased the West Indian Company for 2,200,000 pieces of eight ($1,418,000), thus placing the Islands under the jurisdiction of Danish law for the first time.

The English language has been spoken in the Virgin Islands since 1802, when St. Thomas was first occupied by the English.

The first settlement in St. John was established in 1717 at Coral Bay by a group of Danish and Dutch planters, who named the village they established 'Frederiksvaern'.

The Virgin Islands were purchased by the United States in 1917 during the first world war to prevent their falling into the hands of the Germans, thus menacing the Panama Canal. For the history of the Islands in detail, the Public Library (near Market Square) has a section devoted to this subject.

POSTAL RATES are exactly the same as in the United States. It must be remembered, though, that regular mail is transported by ship, and may take two to three weeks. Airmail from St. Thomas to the Eastern seaboard is generally delivered within 24 to 36 hours.

VEGETATION, of course, is tropical. Trees such a guava, genep, breadfruit avocado, sour sop, licorice, silk cotton, capok, kalabash, papaya, mamee, sapedilla, mango, tamarind, bay, yellow cedar, lime, mahogany, turpentine, flamboyant, almond, custard apple, sugar apple, pineapple and banana, date, royal and traveller palm are common. On beaches, seaside grapes, which are good to eat; and the mangineel, which bears a yellow lime-shaped fruit which is poison, are found. Carib Indians distilled poison with which to tip their war arrows from mangineel. Hibiscus oleander, jasmin, bougainvillea, wild gardenia, frangi pani and wild orchids are the commonest flowers. There is no poison ivy or other poison weeds.

YACHTING. The discovery of the Virgin Islands as an ideal resort area under the American Flag, will inevitably result in their discovery as a yachtsmen's paradise. Since the early prosperity of the Islands was due mainly to ideal sailing conditions, it is only to be expected that many famous yachts are now making the Virgin Islands their headquarters while cruising in the Caribbean. The facilities of the West Indian Company docks, the Creque Marine Railway in St. Thomas, and a new raildock in Road Town, Tortola, only two hours away, added to all-weather safety in the

48-lb. tarpon caught near St. John.

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protecting bays of the many islands of the Virgin group give promise of the Islands becoming the ideal yachtsmen's resort. Visiting yachts are invited to drop anchor by the St. Thomas Boat Yard for all information.

DOING THE CARIBBEAN ON A SHOESTRING. This suggestion is not for those with a limited amount of vacation-time at their disposal, or those who expect the luxury of cruise ships—or even the much-publicized freighter-trips. This is for those with adventurous hearts, plenty of time—and a thin purse. Trips are uncheduled, so if you happen to be in St. Thomas or St. Croix (Frederiksted) when they call, you may be able to obtain passage (including meals and bunk) to Guadalupe, St. Martins, St. Bartholomew and Martinique. Price, $10 from one port to the next. St. Thomas to Martinique, $30. (One boat charges $20). For full information, go to the Normandie Bar, Carenage, in St. Thomas; or, at the Wharf in Frederiksted, St. Croix.

No visit to the Virgin Islands is complete without seeing the British island of Tortola. Regularly scheduled passenger launches make the trip between Road Town and St. Thomas for $2.00 round trip. Overnight accommodations are available in Road Town. For passage by boat to St. Croix and Fajardo, Puerto Rico, information can be obtained at the New Market Wharf at 8:30 A. M. for current schedules. Trips require from five to seven hours.

TAXI INFORMATION. All taxis in St. Thomas are required by law to post tariff sheets in full view of passengers. Major Earle Charles, Director of Police in St. Thomas suggests that visitors refuse to take cabs not displaying the tariff sheet. In case of dispute, to request driver to drive to the police station. The Tourist Development Board issues a seal of approval (displayed on windshield) to drivers who have attended a course of instruction in courtesy, cleanliness and conducting sightseeing tours.

The St. Croix Chamber of Commerce recommends the use of Chamber of Commerce member taxis, who will show visitors an approved taxi-rate sheet upon request.

The taxis listed in this booklet are approved and dependable.

WOMEN'S LEAGUE. Though there have long been women's charitable organizations in the Virgin Islands, in 1946, under the dynamic leadership of Mrs. Irene Bayne, the present Women's League was formed, and has become, in the words of Governor Morris F. de Castro "a sounding-board for general public improvement." Through the efforts of Mrs. Bayne, Women's Leagues have been organized in St. Croix and St. John, as well as in St. Thomas. With her wide experience as a civic worker in Brookline, Massachusetts, Mrs. Bayne has made the League (again in the words of Governor de Castro) "a potentially powerful influence in our public affairs . . . . ." Visitors to St. Thomas who are interested in civic affairs should not fail to meet Mrs. Irene Bayne, who has not only given of her boundless energy to improve her chosen community, but has also been largely responsible for the recognition of the Virgin Islands as the ideal vacationland.

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From Norway: Norwegian sterling.

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Moonlit beach, Sprat Hall, Frederiksted.

ST. THOMAS GEOGRAPHICAL SHOPPING GUIDE

Because of their "free port" status, *for custums purposes,* the Virgin Islands are not considered part of the United States, therefore, a customs declaration is necessary upon return to port of entry to the United States (*which, from the V. I., is usually Puerto Rico*).

Visitors are permitted a $200 customs exemption after an absence from continental United States or Puerto Rico of 48 hours. An exemption of $500 is permitted after an absence of 12 days. Articles made in the Virgin Islands (keep your sales slips) are not considered foreign merchandise, and need not be included in your customs allowance.

There is a limit of 5 bottles of liquor and 1½ cartons of cigarettes under the $200 and $500 exemptions.

Visitors from Puerto Rico are allowed a $10 customs exemption after an absence of 24 hours.

The GEOGRAPHICAL SHOPPING GUIDE lists the leading shops which sell merchandise of special interest to tourists, in sequence, beginning at King's Wharf.

THE VIRGIN ISLANDS COOPERATIVE—at King's Wharf—The Native Shop—Handmade hats, bags, dolls, etc.

THE CONTINENTAL, INC.—next door to Co-operative—Danish Silver - Liberty Fabrics - Camels-hair Coats and Doeskin Suits

(see page 7)

BAMBOO ROOM, bar, restaurant, faces harbor in Grand Hotel Bldg.
GRAND GIFT SHOP, corner, Grand Hotel Building (see page 9)
GRAND NEWS, entrance, Grand Hotel
MAISON DANOISE, Georg Jensen Silver—next to Grand News (see page 2)
CARIBAIR OFFICE, across street (see page 23)
PAN AMERICAN OFFICE, next door East (see back cover)
VIRGIN ISLANDS TOURS, INC., across street (see page 23)

THE CALYPSO RECORD SHOP—east about five doors (across street)—Buy your records of the colorful Native Calypso music. — All songs guaranteed to be native — Steel Bands, Home-made instruments.

DONK SHOP, by traffic light, corner Back St. (see page 10)
LYNE'S BEAUTY SHOP, Back St., next to Donk Shop
ELVERHOJ, look for sign of the Elf, Main St. West of Post Office (see page 14)
BOLERO, next gift shop west (see page 41)
SCANDANAVIAN SILVER CENTER, across street west (see page 1)
RIISE'S GIFT SHOP, across from Center Theatre (see page 35)
RIISE'S APOTHECARY HALL, drugs, bakery, sodas, liquor, on corner
RIISE'S LIQUOR STORE, west, across street from drugstore (see page 35)

TRADE WINDS GIFT SHOP, turn at corner to Back St., 3rd door west—Imported Linens—Scarfs — Handkerchiefs — Porcelain — Crystal — Baskets — Antiques — Follow the Yellow Sign for Gifts of Distinction.

LOCKHART'S DEPT. STORE, returning to Main St. (see page 9)
COFFEE SHOP, across street (see page 40)
DAILY NEWS, next door, for your 'VIRGIN ISLANDS MAGAZINE'
BERETTA CENTER, entrance across street.
SPANISH MAIN, end of Hibiscus Alley, Beretta Center (see page 33)

BEAUTY BAZAAR, Hibiscus Alley, Beretta Center —Phone 553—Coiffure Artists — Skillful Manicurists — Facial Treatments — Complete line of Leading Cosmestics.

LITTLE SHOP, first shop to right on corner of Hibiscus Alley — Danish China and Silver — Danish Porcelain — Native Handcraft

(see page 6)

MADAME SOUFFRONT, follow sign to Back St. (see page 12)

RITA'S SHOPPE, same building, at corner — "Exclusive Native and Miami fashions at reasonable prices" — West Indian Straw Work.

BON MARCHE, on corner, returning to Main St. —Locally made Summer Fashions, Native crafts, English Linens, Madras. — Distributor for Maxant Button & Supply Co.

TOURIST DEVELOPMENT BOARD, three doors west (see page 3)

CRISTY'S across street, west.—Only children's store in Islands. — Gifts for little tourists and their friends back home. — Native and foreign handmade kiddy's togs.

LIBRARY, across street from Cristy's.

IGLOO, four doors west. — Famous for the finest French ice cream in the West Indies. Sandwiches, pasteurized milk. — Open 24 hours a a day.

EVEREADY GARAGE (Avis Rent-a-Car System), next door (see page 36)

THE PEPPERMINT STICK, across street.—Modern Candy Store. — Native & stateside candies — native preserves — Hallmark Greeting Cards, Picture Postcards, Magazines.

MARKET SQUARE — Native vegetable and flower market.

SEA CHEST, on south corner across street — Aquatic Sportsgear — Fishing Tackle — Paints, Land and Maine — For Charter, schooner "Zingara" (see page 32)

D. O. BORN & SON, two doors west (see page 39)
RANSOM HOUSE, liquor store, restaurant, bar, next door. (see page 31)
STONER & BELLOWS, across from Sts. Peter & Paul School (see page 29)
PATIO & TAPA ROOM, across from Sts. Peter & Paul Church. (see page 14)

ESTATE CATHERINEBERG, next corner—Telephone 126 — Fresh native and imported fruits and vegetables. — Wholesale distribution only.

STEVE'S, a mile out, by Contant Gardens — Telephone 114—Restaurant - Bar—Specializing in chicken and steak dinners — Try one of Steve's famous planter's punches.

Have you read the beautiful Virgin Islands Magazine?

ST. THOMAS SERVICES GUIDE

AIRLINES

Caribbean Atlantic, Main St., nr. P. O., Phones 174, 518, 28
Pan American World Airways, Inc., Main St. nr. P. O.—Phone 319

ATTORNEYS

Bryan, Clarice A.—Phone Bourne Field 274
Christian, Alphonso A.—Phone 557
Corneiro, Francisco—Phone 295, 638
Dench, Eustace V.—Phone 115, 341, 549
Dries, Harry—Phone 485
Dudley, Hoffman & McGowan—Phone 323
Maas & Bailey—Phone 336, 188
Michael, Cyril—Phone 310 (3 rings) 640
Rodríguez, Jorge—Phone 115

BAR & RESTAURANTS

Bamboo Room—Phone 200
Flamboyant Hotel(dancing weekends) Phone 544
Grand Hotel—Phone 35
Hideaway Club—Phone Bourne Field 265
Hotel Caribbean (dancing nightly— Phone Bourne Field 235
Hotel 1829 (by reservation only) Phone 313
The Patio & Tapa Room—Phone 68 (3 rings)
The Ransom House—Phone 482
Trade Winds Hotel—Phone Bourne Field 221
Virgin Isle Hotel (dancing nightly—Phone 356, 357
Wheatley's Beach Club—Phone Bourne Field

BEAUTY PARLORS

Beauty Bazaar, Beretta Center—Phone 553
Lyne's Salon of Beauty, Back St. by Donk Shop—Phone 421

CANDY SHOPS

Peppermint Stick, Main St., nr. Market Square

CHARTER BOATS

Harmon Boat Yard—Phone 350 (3 rings)
Night Wind—Phone 558, 18
Tyee—Phone 482
Zingara—Phone 495

CHURCHES

All Saints (Episcopal) Garden St—Phone 217
Lutheran—Phone 57
Methodist—Phone 21
Moravian—Phone 71, 72
Sts. Peter & Paul Church (Catholic) Phone 201
Synagogue—Phone 130, 106

CLEANERS

Jack's Cleaners—Phone 70
M & M Dry Cleaners—Phone 139

CONSTRUCTION COMPANIES

Sibilly & Son, Contractors, Builders—Phone 384

DENTISTS

Corbiere, Dr. Ptolemy M. Back St., center of town—Phone 446
Lanclos, Dr. Rudolph U. Across from Dutch Reform Church—Phone 193, 312, 215
Singleton, Dr. John A. Near Ransom House — Phone 525
Van Maltzahn, Edward R. Back St., above Daily News—Phone 586

DOCTORS

Anduze, Dr. Roy A. (Clinic nr. F. D. R. Park)—Phone 473, 477
Kilk, Dr. Nikolai—Phone Bourne Field 131
Moorhead, Dr. John S.—Phone 267, 369
Rice, Dr. Earle M.—Phone 606
O'Neal, Dr. Eric L.—Phone 400, 527
Tam, Dr. Arkadius—Phone 91
McDonald, Dr. Sylvester—Phone 233
Salgado, Dr. Enrique—Phone 99, 91
Szepessy, Dr. Zoltan (Eye Specialist)—ask operator

DRIVE-YOURSELF CAR RENTALS

Eveready Garage, Main St. by market — Phone 84, 150
Maguire's Drive-U-Self Service (also conducted sightseeing) — Phone 313, 130 (3 rings)
Rent-a-Car Inc., Tropical Motors—Phone Bourne Field 281

GOLD & SILVERSMITHS

Callwood, C. W L., Handmade jewelry, gold, silverware, gems, Beretta Center

HORSEBACK RIDING

Caneel Bay (Island of St. John)—Phone 517

HOTEL, GUEST HOUSES

Flamboyant Hotel—Phone 544
Harbor View Manor (Miss Gertrude Gardner)—Phone 55
Grand Hotel—Phone 35
Hotel Caribbean—Phone Bourne Field 235
Hotel 1829—Phone 313
Miller Manor (Mrs. Aida Miller)—Phone 535
Smith's Fancy—491 (3 rings)
Trade Winds Hotel—Phone Bourne Field 221
Virgin Isle Hotel—Phone 356, 357

OPTOMERISTS

Bloch, Dr. Harold, Back St., by Don Shop — Phone 537

REAL ESTATE

Major William Kennelly—Phone 139

SCHOOLS

Antilles School—Phone 318
Department of Education—Phone 615

STEAMSHIP COMPANIES & AGENTS

Alcoa—Phone 440, 441
Furness-Withy (Emile Berne)—Phone 18, 158, 558

TAXIS

Bourne Field Taxi Service
Phone Bourne Field 228
Silver Streak Taxi Service—Phone 333
Streamline Taxi Service—Phone 396

TOURIST BUREAU & TRAVEL INFORMATION

Virgin Islands Tourist Development Board, Harry Goeggel, Director—Phone 605
Virgin Islands Tours, Inc., Grand Hotel Bldg.—Phone 517

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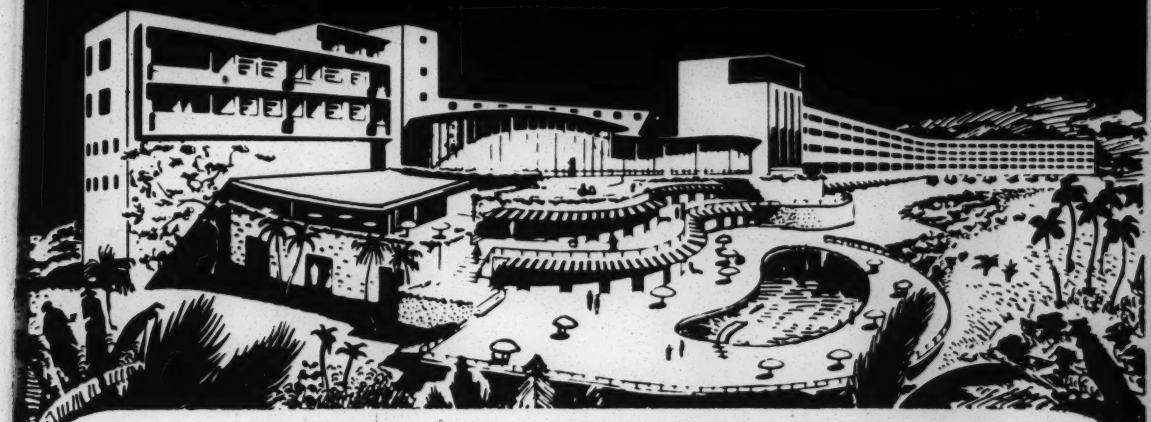

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NEW TIMES AND ETHIOPIA NEWS
FOR LIBERTY, INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY

Founder and Editor
E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

London, November 15, 1952
2d. Weekly. No. 861
Founded 1936

Emperor Visits Battlefields of Ethiopian War

The Emperor Haile Sellassie I is known to all the world as the able managing director of his country and the architect of its modern progress. In this capacity he naturally made use of his journey northward to celebrate the federation of Eritrea to Ethiopia, to visit also the adjoining Province of Tigré.

Aksum, the historic capital of the dynasty of that name, and Adowa, where the Italians were defeated by Ethiopian troops in 1896, were visited by the Emperor and Empress on their way to Eritrea. Makalle, Quorani, Waldia and Dessie were visited on the return journey.

The Emperor's return journey to Addis Ababa thus covered the ground of the Ethiopian resistance to the Italian invasion of 1935 and of his own heroic exploits on this route. The making of the road to the north in order that the Emperor and his forces could advance to confront the invaders, the bombardment of Dessie by the Italians, and particularly the destruction of the Red Cross hospital tents and the wounded being treated therein, are well remembered in the locality, and the gassing and bombing of all the area now traversed by the Emperor and Empress on their home journey.

Poison Gas

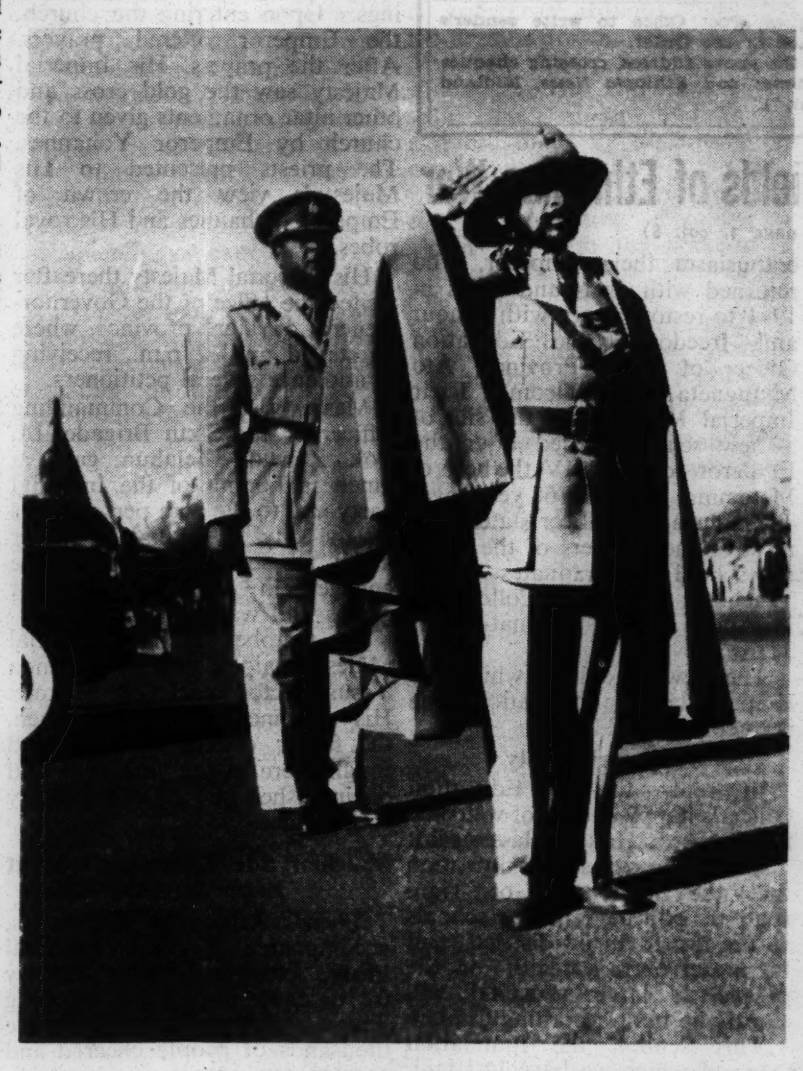
"Waldia was bombed," wrote Dr. Macfie, "on January 15, 1936. The casualties treated by the Red Cross as a result of this bombardment numbered well over a hundred, including women and children. About sixty operations were performed the first week, and every night found us still at work, often till well after midnight. Many of the patients had multiple wounds—one man had twenty. As time went on the Italian bombing raids in the vicinity increased. As soon as the planes were gone the Red Cross sent out parties to find the wounded and the rest of the night was spent operating on them. Already they had to treat some cases of gas burns."

When Macfie and others moved on to Alamata they found Empey and Perverseff had performed two operations and had treated "over eighty cases of burns caused by mustard gas."

"The out-patients were collected under a tree, scores of them, and Chandler and his dressers feverishly covered them with bright yellow gauze and rolls and rolls of bandages. The patients were a shocking sight."

"An old man sat moaning on the ground rocking himself to and fro, completely wrapped in a cloth. When I approached he slowly rose and drew aside his cloak. He looked as if someone had tried to skin him clumsily; he had been horribly burned by mustard gas all over the face, the back and the arms. There were many others like him, some more, some less affected; some newly burned, others older, their sores already caked with thick brown scabs. Men and women alike, all horribly disfigured; and little children, too. And many blinded by the stuff, with blurred crimson apologies for eyes. I could cover pages recounting horrors, but what would be the use?"

(continued on page 2, col. 1)



H.I.M. Emperor Haile Sellassie taking the salute at Addis Ababa Air Port before setting forth for the Tigré and Eritrea

History on Postage Stamps

The history of the nations is being written on their postage stamps. An historical epoch is epitomised in the latest issue of Ethiopia.

Nine in number, they commemorate the federation of Eritrea, the former Italian colony on the Red Sea, with Ethiopia. This took place under the United Nations on September 15, although the stamps were actually put on sale at Addis Ababa on the 11th, and at Asmara, the capital of Eritrea, two days later.

Through the new set-up Ethiopia after centuries, gains direct access to the sea, a fact that has inspired four out of the eight pictorial subjects, which are engraved and recess printed by an English firm in reverse rectangular format.

Customs Barrier Raised

A broad highway leading to the sea, with a Customs barrier raised in the middle distance and the national flag of Ethiopia floating from a flagstaff opposite, appears on the 15c. and 30c. values with the inscription:

"The way which leads us to the sea is free."

The 25c. and 50c. denominations present a distant view of Massawa, the port of Eritrea, with broken shackles trailing from two pillars on either side of the roadway and the inscription:

"The barrier to Massawa is opened."

An outline map of united Ethiopia on the 65c. stamp delimits "Ethiopia with her sea borders." An allegorical picture of a child returning to its mother, in a characteristic scenic setting (80c.), symbolises the quotation from a speech made by the Emperor Haile Sellassie on December, 1950:

"Our only wish for a longer life is to have time to gather into one those countries and people who have been dispersed."

(continued on page 3, col. 5)

KENYA: LAND OF ROYAL COMMISSIONS

TAXATION AND LABOUR

(Extracts from "Africa: Britain's Third Empire," by George Padmore.)

(continued from last issue)

To achieve their ends—the economic enslavement of the Africans—the European settlers in Kenya have applied the well-tried technique of Imperialism in operation in South Africa and the Rhodesias. Having secured the best part of the Highlands as their exclusive possessions, they got the local government to impose direct poll and hut taxation upon the African. Supporting this measure the "East African Standard" wrote:

> We consider that taxation is the only possible method of compelling the native to leave his reserve for the purpose of seeking work. Only in this way can the cost of living be increased for the native, and as we have already pointed out, it is on this that a supply of labour and the price of labour depends. [1]

Before 1937, Europeans paid no Income Tax and when the Income Tax Ordinance was introduced in that year, it met with strong opposition from the white settlers, and produced very little revenue.[2] In the first year of its operation only one in seven paid it. In the same year, Mr. Ormsby-Gore (now Lord Harlech), speaking as Colonial Secretary, informed the House of Commons that the Kenya Government had decided to exempt the mining companies from payment of royalties on gold production for two years, as such payments were too large a proportion of the companies' profits! The Africans, whether employed or unemployed by those companies, were compelled to pay their hut and poll taxes amounting to about 24s. per annum. Wages vary, but the average is about £2 a month. Many squatters get between 6s. and 18s. However, they have to work 240 free days every year for the landlord. The effect of the planned retention of low wages and high taxation is to make it imperative for Africans to give up their traditional occupations — subsistence farming and cattle-rearing — and seek employment on plantations and mines. This is the only way Africans can secure enough money to pay the Government taxes. For

(continued on page 4, cols. 1 and 2)

Atu Tedla Bairu, Chief Executive of Eritrea

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MECHANISED AGRICULTURE FOR ETHIOPIA

BY G. WOLDE EMMANUEL

Ethiopian Agricultural Student in Britain

The prosperity of any agricultural country is dependent on the fertility of the soil. The soil is one of the three main sources of plant nutrition, viz.: air, water and soil. Carbon and some of the oxygen are obtained from the air, whereas hydrogen, some of the oxygen and possibly some carbon are taken from the soil solution.

Essential Plant Nutrition

From the practical farmer's point of view the essential elements required by the plant are: Nitrogen, phosphorus, potassium and, to a certain extent, calcium. These minerals are liable to become deficient in the soil when the land is under cultivation. The decrease in these elements is caused mainly by "leaching" the activity of the soil organism, and of the plants themselves, which make a great demand on these elements.

Many other minerals needed by the plant for healthy growth are also apt to become deficient. They are termed the "minor" elements, not to imply that they are not essential, but rather that they are found in small quantities in the soil, and that the demand for these elements by the plant is not so heavy as for the minerals first mentioned. These "minor" elements include magnesium, manganese, zinc, copper, cobalt, boron, sulphur and iron. The deficiency of one or more of these minerals may affect the growth of plants. Besides these, the soil contains millions and millions of

(continued on page 3, cols. 1—5)

1. Ploughing with the Fordson Tractor

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Emperor Visits Battlefields of Ethiopian War

(continued from page 1, col. 5)

Red Cross Bomber: Dr. Macfie's Account.

On March 4, the British Ambulance Unit camped on the Ashangi Plain. There were 22 cases waiting for operations and 100 out-patients mostly waiting for gas burns and bomb wounds to be treated.

Dr. Melly had just begun to operate when an Italian aeroplane was heard approaching "near and low." Presently there was an explosion "dangerously near." Dr. Empey appeared in the entrance to the tent, shouting, "He's bombing us!"

"The bombing lasted over half an hour." "Not less than forty high explosive bombs fell, and a great number of incendiary bombs." "The operations tent and the warrant officers' tent were completely wrecked, and a lorry standing near them smashed. The dispensary tent had been riddled and the drugs lay strewn on the ground. One ward tent had been burned down." "An adjoining tent was half wrecked. Under the flap lay two shapeless bloody bundles, which had been living men a few minutes before. The journalists' camp was completely destroyed and one of their lorries was ablaze. Everywhere were bomb craters: and one in the middle of the Red Cross ground flag. Outside, a little way off, was a group of incendiary bombs still burning."

Seven patients had been killed. "Many had been wounded a second time. Many were terribly mutilated."

These experiences recorded by Dr. Macfie afford but a glimpse of the tragic experiences of those times—tragic experiences which continued for the Ethiopian people till the liberation of 1941!

Adigrat.—On Sunday, October 19, at sunrise, His Imperial Majesty visited St. Kirkos church in Adigrat, the Adigrat Palace, and later the Abuna Aregawi church on the outskirts of the city and the newly-built hospital.

On the journey from Adigrat to Makale, Their Majesties were enthusiastically cheered by the people of Tigré. Crowds lined the roadside, gaily applauding. The populations of the towns of Wogro and Quiha gave His Majesty tremendous ovations.

Makalé. — At 3 p.m. Their Majesties and the Imperial Party arrived at Makalé, where the residents extended to them a joyous reception under the leadership of His Highness Ras Seyoum.

In the Palace at Makale, His Imperial Majesty received in audience dignitaries, church leaders and high Government officials of the provincial government of Tigré, after which, in the late afternoon champagne was served to these guests.

Foundation Stone Laid for New School at Makalé

On Monday, October 20, at 10 a.m., His Imperial Majesty laid the foundation stone of a new school, to be called the Emperor Yohannes School, which is a gift to Makalé by His Imperial Majesty.

It may be well understood that the people of this area who suffered in the war hailed with enthusiasm their Emperor, who returned with arms and allies in 1941 to restore peace with honour and freedom The Education Officer of Tigré Province, Ato Mulugueta Imru, welcomed Their Imperial Majesties at the site of a new school named after the Emperor Johannes IV, the hero of Metemma, who died 68 years ago. The Education Officer stated that most of the teachers of the existing school are graduates of the Teachers' Training College in in Addis Ababa and natives of Tigré Province.

The new school, of which the Emperor laid the foundation stone is to cost Eth. $110,000

Emperor's Reply

In reply to the Education Officer's happy speech of welcome the Emperor Haile Sellassie said:

Generally, it is our intention that the inhabitants of Tigré shall be educated in the schools to be opened in all districts, and to preserve the health of the people, a larger hospital will shortly be built according to plan.

This school, the foundation stone of which we have just laid, shall bear the name of the martyr, Atsé Yohannes.

We are very pleased to have the opportunity of visiting our distinguished territory of Tigré, and of having the opportunity of seeing those of our beloved who have longed to see us.

For many years we have desired to visit our people of the Tigré. The present visit is occasioned by the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia, which we all celebrate with great rejoicing.

During the days of our fathers and during our own time the Tigré was used repeatedly as an enemy base and battle front.

The unification of Eritrea with Ethiopia, for which we have striven for many years, has made it possible now to erase the frontier line between Tigré and Eritrea. Consequently, Tigré now has the opportunity of living peacefully and of transacting her commerce unhindered and this great end for which we have long worked is now achieved. We have opened Tigré to free access to the sea.

We depend much on education for improving the position of the Ethiopian people and for enabling them to progress by the methods of modern civilisation. A mind infused with education enables one to think more of one's country than of self.

In order to leave a heritage of knowledge to forthcoming generations, we have decided to establish this school in Makale, capital of Tigré, in order that the students of this province may obtain better education.

His Majesty then paid a visit to the existing Yohannes IV School, stopped in several of the classes and questioned the pupils from the first to the eighth grades, and gave prizes to the children who excelled in their answers.

At 1 p.m. His Imperial Majesty gave a lunch to Government officials, distinguished citizens of Makalé, and military officers.

At 5 a.m. on the morning of Tuesday, October 21, His Imperial Majesty went to the Takle Haimanot church in Makale to pray, His Majesty noted the ancient design and construction of the church edifice. From there the Emperor went to the Medhane Alem church for prayer. Afterwards His Majesty continued on to the Kidane Mihrat church where, under the guidance of His Grace Abuna Basilios, Head of the Ethiopian Church, the monks and the priests of the monastery awaited and received Him with church songs and ardent greetings. Upon entering the church, the Emperor offered prayers. After the prayers, His Imperial Majesty saw the gold cross and other altar ornaments given to the church by Emperor Yohannes. The priests presented to His Majesty's view the crown of Emperor Yohannes and His royal robes.

His Imperial Majesty thereafter visited the office of the Governor-General of Tigré province, where he stayed until 2 p.m., receiving in audience several petitioners.

Meanwhile, the Commanding Officer of the Sixth Brigade, Lt. Col. Zawudé Telahun gave a lunch in honour of the Imperial party and to the high personalities of the city of Makale. After lunch, the soldiers of the Brigade engaged in some tactical war games and water sports.

On October 22, His Imperial Majesty paid a visit to the Inda Yesus sector east of Makale. His Highness Ras Makonnen, the father of His Majesty, had fought here in the year 1896 and distinguished himself as a military commander.

Maichew, Site of Emperor's Great Battle in 1936

Their Imperial Majesties, accompanied by the Imperial Party, continued their journey to Maichew during the morning hours. All along the route thousands of people cheered and sang as Their Majesties drove by.

At 11 a.m. the Emperor arrived at Maichew and was greeted by the Governor of the district. Maichew itself was adorned with flags and was fully prepared to welcome the Imperial visitors. The people of the town and outlying areas received the Emperor with tremendous applause and repeated ovations. This was the site of the Emperor's battle with the Italians in 1936.

At noon, His Imperial Majesty gave a luncheon to officials of the local government and important personages of the province. He then drove to the historic battlefield of Maichew and laid the foundation stone for a new monument commemorating the heroes who sacrificed their lives for their country in 1935-41. His Excellency Lidj Araya Abebe presented His Majesty with a gold trowel with which to spread the mortar as the stone was laid.

Heroes' Names "Will Live for Ever in the Hearts of Ethiopians."—Haile Sellassie.

On that historic and hallowed ground the Emperor spoke, recalling the heroes who gave their lives for the independence and integrity of Ehiopia. "Their names will live for ever in the hearts and minds of the Ethiopians," His Majesty said.

Among the crowds gathered at Maichew were veterans who fought on the battlefield beside the Emperor. For them, this was an unforgettable moment.

His Imperial Majesty, after the ceremony, viewed the various battle areas in the vicinity.

Ashangé and Quoram

At 4.15 p.m., His Imperial Majesty and the Imperial Party were welcomed at Ashangé by His Imperial Highness the Crown Prince and by Abuna Gabriel and officials of the Wollo province.

Their Majesties and party left Ashangé for Quoram at five o'clock. When they arrived at their destination the entire population of the town, including the

(continued at foot cols. 4 and 5)

(continued from col. 3)

clergy and schoolchildren, welcomed Their Majesties with songs and applause.

Quoram for Woldia

On October 23, Their Imperial Majesties and the Imperial party left Quoram for Woldia. Thousands of people lined the routes shouting, singing and cheering.

From Woldia to Dessie crowds of people had gathered along the highway to welcome Their Imperial Majesties. They entered the city amid great ovations and tremendous applause.

School children, soldiers, men and women lined the streets to welcome their Emperor. Thousands of Eritrean residents of Dessie lined the streets wearing the Ethiopian tricolours as bands across their shoulders. A banner with the motto inscribed on it: "Unity or Death," was displayed.

Their Imperial Majesties were presented with bouquets of flowers by two girls as they left their car.

A multitude cheered them when they appeared on the Palace balcony.

FLASH-BACK FROM ADDIS ABABA MASSACRE, 1937

SUFFERING OF LITTLE CHILDREN

Blatta David Ozbazgui is an Eritrean by birth who has held several important positions under the Ethiopian Government. His brother and other members of his family still reside in Eritrea. Blatta Ozbazgui relinquished the office of Governor of Adua in order to devote his full time and energy to work for the restoration of his native province to the Ethiopian Motherland. His affidavit affords a sad and poignant picture of the suffering of little children deprived of their mothers in the great massacre of February 19, 20 and 21, 1937.

Extract from Affidavit No. 10

I, the undersigned, name: Blatta David Ozbazgui, age: 40 years, profession: Ex-Governor of Adua, President of the Ethiopico-Eritrean Unity Association, Addis Ababa, do hereby take oath and say as follows:

(9) Then in 1937, on the 19th of February, I was in Addis Ababa. I was just going home at 12 o' clock when a carabiniere got hold of me and asked me where I was going. I told him that I was going home. He took me to the carabinieri station. As I passed through the streets I noticed that there was some disorder. People were running up and down and troops were moving, especially the fascists.

I was examined at the station and was asked if I had been at the Palace in the morning. Then they told me to go out into the compound. There I found about a thousand people. This was close to Ras Makonnen Bridge, where the Police Station No. 2 is nowadays.

Then the same day people were brought in lorries; they were taken without distinction and most of them were bleeding from hits. The fascists used to throw them down from the lorries. Some of them rolled down to the river, because they were thrown from the lorries, and these the Italians shot in front of us. All houses and tukuls, which were in front of us, were burning.

Next day, while I was still in that compound, the burning of houses continued and more people were brought to our compound. In the evening, however, the commander said he could not receive any more people; there was no room for more.

On Saturday they also took away the corpses of the persons they had killed on Friday in the river. There were about ten.

Some Greeks and Armenians who had found Ethiopian babies coming from the burning houses came to our compound with these children to ask if their mothers were there. I especially remember one case when an Armenian carried a little baby in her arms, asking for the mother. She was allowed to come to us with the baby and went around in the crying crowd (most of them were injured) and tried to find the mother. One woman took care of the child. Whether it was the mother or not, I do not know.

At first we were about a thousand, and now we were so many we could not move. For three days, Friday, Saturday and Sunday, we were not given any food, or any water.

On Sunday evening we heard the Italians saying that an order had come from Italy to stop the massacre, and about 6.30 they released a part of us. Those who were without identity cards were still kept there; and we were told later that a good number of them died from thirst and hunger. We, who were released, got a piece of bread and a little water when we left the place. When I got home houses were still burning, and in two cases I noticed that people had been burnt in the houses. I made a special investigation on Monday to be sure that they were burnt and not shot.

(10) When we were in the compound I understood from the talk of the carabinieri and the ascaris that Graziani himself had given the order for the massacre. I had learnt Italian for five years at school. They said that when the bomb was thrown and Graziani wounded, somebody approached him and asked if they should make reprisals. Graziani did not say much, but he answered: "Fate" (do so).

After the Massacre 10,000 Men Joined the Patriot Resistance

(11) One result of the massacre was that the patriot leader, Ras Abebe Aregai, who operated some 40 to 50 kms. from Addis Ababa, had his forces increased immensely, at least by 10,000; also other patriot forces received reinforcements, because when people heard of what had taken place in Addis Abab, and that the city was burnt, they also left their homes and went away from the neighbourhood of Addis Ababa Very few Ethiopians stayed in Addis Ababa. Very many had also been, or were sent to Italy, and the rest to Danane. In Italy I think were about 10,000 . . . .

The Debra Libanos Massacre

The two young Eritreans, Abraha or Abraham Debotch and Moges Asgedom, who had made the ineffective hand grenades and thrown them at Graziani caused but little damage to him, escaped in the subsequent terrible confusion. They left in their home an indication that they were the authors of the defiant deed and fled across country to take part in the resistance.

Debotch, for a time, had placed his young wife for safety at Debra Libanos, the seat of the famous monastery of that name. She had now left the monastery, as her husband had passed that way to warn her to escape.

To punish the monks for having sheltered her, and on the possibility that they might have been aware of the act Debotch intended, a hideous massacre was perpetrated by the Italians at the monastery, as is recorded by the renowned patriotic resistance leader, Ras Abebe Aragai, in an important sworn statement.

(to be continued)

MECHANISED AGRICULTURE FOR ETHIOPIA

bacteria, fungi, actinomyces, protozoa, algae, and many small invertebrate animals. For this reason the soil is described as the living soil.

These organisms contribute to the soil fertility in many ways. For instance, the fixation of nitrogen, oxidation of sulphur, the decomposition of minerals, the antibiotic effect they impart, also the formation of humus. All the beneficial factors of these micro-organisms is dependent on the management of the soil. If the object of the farmer is to keep his land on a high level of productivity, he must contrive a method by which the humus content is kept at a high level. This can be achieved under livestock management by making proper use of the organic manure produced by the animals; by the application of artificial fertilisers; by green crop manuring, and by a sound rotation of crops.

Farmyard Manure

The livestock will provide the cultivator with farmyard manure, which will serve as a valuable plant food, and will also improve the texture of the soil. The quality of the plant food provided by farmyard manure is dependent on the kind of livestock and the manner in which their droppings are stored. Usually the manure produced by young stock and dairy cows is poor, because they absorb all the calcium, phosphates and protein contained in their food for the process of growth or the production of milk. The manure from a fattening bullock is more valuable. Manure obtained from animals in the shed should be preserved under cover until it is ripe, in order that the urine may be retained and not washed away by the rain.

Green Crop Manuring

Leguminous crops, grown specifically as manure, when ploughed into the soil, increase the humus content. Our Ethiopian farmers are well acquainted with what would be the result if they were to grow only one type of crop continually year after year. They know the yield would decline rapidly. The explanation of this is that the food requirements of different plants are not the same. For instance, if one were to grow barley continuously the amount of nitrogen in the soil would decrease greatly in proportion to other plant foods because barley takes a high proportion of nitrogen from the soil. This would lead to unbalanced nutrition; the crop would be starved of nitrogen. To avoid such a disaster the farmer has to grow a rotation of crops which will be financially sound and will also maintain the fertility of the soil.

2. British farmers inspecting the performance of the Fordson Tractor

How to Work the Soil

To keep the land in good condition and to ensure high productivity the soil must be well worked by the plough and such other farm implements as may be required by the season and the local conditions. For example, in a northern country, like Britain, for winter grown wheat the plough only is used; but it is customary to graze sheep over the autumn sown winter wheat crop, which if it tends to grow high in mild weather is called "winter proud." The grazing sheep consolidate the ground and add valuable manure, but most important of all, they nibble down the growing wheat and thereby encourage "tillering" or shooting from the side which increases the ultimate yield of the crop.

For spring sowing in the northern countries the land is ploughed in autumn and left to the action of the severe winter weather and the disintegration of the clods of soil which results from freezing. The deep furrows shown in the two illustrations

(continued from page 1)

are valuable for autumn ploughing, whether sowing be in winter or in spring, because they expose the soil to the action of the frost, which produces the desired disintegration of the soil, thus rendering it light and friable, and because freezing exterminates weeds and insect pests; moreover, at all seasons deep furrows prevent puddles and caking as a result of heavy rain, and provide the ventilation required by the micro-organisms in the soil, which are of importance to agriculture. Autumn ploughed land in the cold climates requires neither harrowing nor rolling; this is a valuable saving of labour and, consequently, of expense.

Sub-Tropical Farming

In sub-tropical countries, such as Ethiopia, where water conservation is particularly essential, ploughing of furrows four to seven inches deep would be valuable, but subsequent rolling would be required. Seeds sown in furrows of this depth, which are subsequently closed by rolling would be protected against drought and birds. By ploughing to this depth the soil is rendered more productive by exposure to the air, from which it obtains nitrogen; the roots of the weeds, being exposed to the hot sun, will die, and their roots being buried in the earth will decay and produce humus. The consolidation of the soil by rolling will make a fine seed-bed and will encourage the germination of the plant thus rendered intimate with the soil. The inorganic plant foods formerly locked beneath the surface will be made available to the growing plants in the deep furrows. Harrowing may be used for breaking up clods, dislodging weeds and, at times, to cover seeds, or to render the soil friable in preparation for sowing with a drill.

The Tractor-drawn Plough; its advantages

The advantage of a tractor-drawn plough, such as is shown in illustrations 1 and 2, is that the depth and width of the furrow can be exactly set. This is important to prevent irregular depth of the furrows, from which inevitably results uneven germination of the seeds and consequent ultimate uneven ripening of the crop.

The Ethiopian home-made wooden plough, which lacks any sort of mechanical determination of the depth of furrow, however great the skill of the operator, will be subject to fluctuations in depth owing to variations in the soil.

For the ploughing of virgin soil, or soil which has long lain fallow, when using one of our home-made ploughs, the labour is grievously arduous, but with the tractor-drawn implement the work is comparatively easy. Much more land can be ploughed with less labour and in a shorter time if machinery is employed.

The excessive labour required for the ploughing of fallow or virgin soil with the home-made wooden plough too often causes the farmer to persist in growing crops of the same character in the same field for many years in succession, with the regrettable result of a decreasing production.

The Farmer Needs Help and Self-Help by Mutual Co-operation

How can the Ethiopian farmer purchase a tractor-drawn plough which would emancipate him from the hard and often frustrated labour involved in using the inefficient home-made implement, which may have seemed good enough in the Middle Ages when modern machinery was unknown?

In my opinion, the average Ethiopian farmer will need help —from the Ministry of Agriculture or the Development Bank. Otherwise there can be no progress in the Ethiopian farmers' agriculture unless they will group themselves in co-operative societies for the purchase and use of agricultural machinery, as has been done with outstanding success by the now remarkably prosperous peasants of Scandinavia.

As an agricultural country which depends for the greater part of its revenue on the labour and produce of its farmers, Ethiopia must mechanise its agriculture. Our wonderful climate and potentially rich soil should be put to the fullest possible use by employing the very latest and most efficient equipment. This is an ideal towards which we must work with unremitting determination.

Efforts are now being made to improve the standard of Ethiopian cattle, but in this respect, as in the case of agriculture, we must begin with the soil. If the soil is not adequately worked we cannot produce the requisite fodder crops for the cattle.

Similarly, efforts are being made to import improved seed, but however good the seed may be if the potentiality of our soil is not released by adequate cultivation the crop will be a failure.

Maintenance and Repair

If even 10 tractors a year were imported for purposes of demonstration to the Ethiopian farmers, a valuable innovation would be effected. The farmers who witnessed the remarkable results obtained by the aid of this machinery would be eager to obtain this aid on their own land and would be encouraged to join in sharing the cost and the use of such machinery.

Assuming that 10 tractors were imported, and two Ethiopian technical students were trained to care for their maintenance, to repair them if and when necessary, and to teach the farmers or some of their sons how to use them, a helpful beginning would be made.

If an order for 10 tractors a year were placed with one of the large manufacturers in Britain, the firm would be willing to train Ethiopian students to use and maintain the machinery at the expense of the firm.

It is certain that for Ethiopia to-day one tractor-drawn plough would be of infinitely greater value than several stream-lined motor-cars.

Now that our country has won access to the sea, full use must be made of the ports we have regained after centuries of struggle and longing. The ports can only be used as they should be by increasing our production, Organised marketing and transport should be undertaken by co-operation between our farmers, with the assistance of our Government. In the near future I hope to visit Scandinavia to study the farmers' co-operatives there. I propose in a subsequent article to describe their activities.

I observe in my article on Cattle Feeding in Ethiopia a printer's error; in the table showing Maintenance Ration of Cattle the first item is given as 100lb., it should be 1,000lb. — G. W. E.

Mr. STEED AGAIN

Unfortunately many British editors who are unwilling to find space for a genuinely informative article take so poor a view of British public opinion that they are always ready to devote space to sensational material and particularly to attacks on individuals and institutions. Any sort of condemnation of freedom and self government in Ethiopia or any other part of Africa appears to be particularly welcome.

Therefore it is not surprising that Mr. W. Steed has been able to carry his complaints concerning the Ethiopian Press Department from the "Manchester Guardian" to the "Newspaper World" and thence to the "News Chronicle," though ordinarily the last of these newspapers would not have been willing to publish a feature article most of which had already appeared elsewhere.

A couple of inches, stating inaccurately "A New State Has Been Born," was considered by its editor sufficient for the "News Chronicle" to spare for the important event of the Federation of Eritrea to Ethiopia as an "autonomous unit under the Ethiopian crown," and to signalise the regaining by Ethiopia of her ancient ports of which she was deprived in the 16th century. But Mr. Steed's petty "storm in a teacup" is splashed with a three-column wide headline in bold type extending over two lines and Mr. Steed's name also prominently displayed.

The fact is that the author of the attack thus given importance has much reason to be grateful to the Ethiopian Government for their forebearance in retaining his services for more than three years, according to his own account.

The only allegations in his "News Chronicle" article which had not appeared already in his writing in other newspapers are the following:

1. No public meeting can be held without police permission.

We do not know whether this is the case, but we do know that in London anyone who desires to hold an open air meeting or procession must notify the police.

2. All members of both Houses of Parliament are appointed.

This is definitely untrue. The members of the House of Representatives are elected. The people of villages and towns elect representatives, who meet to elect from their number the members who are to represent their province in the National Parliament. This is a method found convenient in other countries also; it accords with Ethiopian ideas and is found to be well suited to that vast country.

The members of the Senate are nominated, but not without consultation with the areas they represent. They include governors of Provinces, generals and others who have given notable service to their country. They are selected because they are believed to be able to advise with competence concerning what requires to be done for the welfare of the area of which they have first-hand knowledge, in respect of roads, bridges, water supplies, light, education, public health, agriculture and industrial development.

"No political parties exist," complains Mr. Steed. Is that really to be regretted? Is it necessary to the welfare of a people that instead of working unitedly together for progress and development they should have two or more political parties, striving against each other to obtain power, and fighting each other's proposals, not because they are bad or insufficient, but simply because they are sponsored by the other party? Is the European political scene necessarily the acme of ultimate perfection?

Measures prepared by the ministers at the head of the various Government departments are submitted for discussion, adoption, or rejection, by both Houses of the Ethiopian Parliament. They are freely discussed by the members; the Ministers are not present unless sent for at the request of the Senate or House of Representatives. There is no Party Whip or Minister to overawe the debate. Legislation has to be passed by both the Senate and House of Representatives before being submitted to the Emperor for the Royal Assent.

Legislation can be, and frequently is, initiated by members of either House, as well as by the Ministers who are in charge of the various Government departments.

The Parliament of Ethiopia is an Ethiopian Parliament, not a Parliament of foreigners, such as is found in the typical colony.

Not having had the opportunity of hearing what the Ethiopian official of the Press Department could reply to the bitter attacks Mr. Steed is making against him, we can but add: there are two sides to every story, and in this case one side only has been given publicity.

Footnote.—It is interesting to observe that there are no political parties among the whites in Kenya and that all "native" newspapers are at present banned. In British Somaliland there are only official publications; "New Times and Ethiopia News" is banned there. Many observers believe that the existence of twenty-three political parties in the Sudan is a drag on political and economic development.

Radio—Addis Ababa

English Programme

Daily:

8:00—8:30 News about Ethiopian and varied musical programme beamed to the Americas and Europe.

13:00—14:00 Dinner music, news about Ethiopia and announcement of day's radio programme—beamed to India, East Africa and the Middle East.

18:30—19:30 News from Ethiopia and popular music—beamed to the Middle East, East Africa and India (exceptions: Tuesday the first half hour, Sunday the last half hour, only).

21:15—22:15 Ethiopian news and diverse musical programme throughout the week—beamed to West Africa and Europe.

History on Postage Stamps

(continued from page 1)

The 1-thaler stamp of the series depicts the ceremony of raising the Ethiopian flag on the Emperor's return from exile on January 20, 1941, while the 2-thaler shows the banner, charged with the heraldic "Lion of Judah," waving over the Red Sea, on which three dhows are floating.

Geneva 1936 Recalled

Finally, the fateful scene, when, in a poignant address, the Emperor Haile Sellassie told the League of Nations assembly at Geneva, "God and history will remember your judgment" (June 30, 1936), is recalled by the design of the 3-thaler value. This completes the series, each stamp of which incorporates a medallion portraying the Emperor and Empress of Ethiopia.

British stamps over-printed "B A Eritrea" ceased to be sold from September 12, 1952.

ERITREA ON THE EVE
by E. Sylvia Pankhurst
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KENYA: LAND OF ROYAL COMMISSIONS

(continued from page 1)

even those fortunate ones who still have access to land are not allowed to cultivate crops such as coffee, because the relatively high prices paid for export crops would enable the African cultivators to meet their financial obligations to the Government without the necessity of working for the white settlers and because their produce would compete with that of the European planters.

Quite true there exists the serious problem of soil erosion in the Reserves. Equally true is the primitive method of agriculture practised by the vast majority of the tribes. But as long as the Africans have no voice in the expenditure of the Colony's revenue to which they make substantial contribution — directly or indirectly by their labour — the settlers will always see to it that little or less is done by the Government to ameliorate conditions in the Reserves, although European farming is heavily subsidised. "Five times as much is spent on roads, bridges and so on in the European areas as in the other areas. All expenses are borne by the Government. No money is raised by local rates in European areas. In native areas funds are raised by tribal rates; no Government funds are allotted."

For example, in 1943 the Kenya Government voted the sum of £117,000 to European farmers to stimulate increased production of foodstuffs and other wartime essentials, Africans were refused any such aid. Instead, they were conscripted by the Government and forced to work on European plantations for 8s. to 10s. per month!

To augment their numbers and help bolster up their precarious minority position, the political leaders of the settlers' community always urge the Government to discourage Indians from entering Kenya, while at the same time they are demanding an extension of European settlement in the Highlands. Large tracts of fertile land confiscated from the Africans but not yet under actual cultivation were handed over to new European settlers recruited from among former British civil servants in India, Burma and other colonies, as well as demobilised officers who desire to escape from "socialist austerity" in Great Britain. The Kenya Government will spend £1,600,000 in subsidising these landless gentry in order to enable them to buy their farms and start development. Another method is the tenant-farmer scheme under which the Kenya Government will provide the newcomers with land and permanent improvements, while the settler will pay rent and can obtain a loan on whatever colateral he has to offer.

A special agricultural school was established to train the new arrivals. The policy of the great majority of the Europeans in Kenya, which has the tacit approval of the bureaucracy, is to keep the Africans poor. It is in their economic and political interests to do so. For only by keeping the Africans down to the status of "hewers of wood and drawers of water,' can they be assured of an abundant supply of cheap labour. For what's the use of land to the white man in Africa without black labous? The whites have created such a black labouring force by alienating their land, taxing them out of their Reserves into the employment market, and finally by restricting their movement from one part of the country to another. For here again, as in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, there is a form of control which hedges the African's freedom of movement.

"The very highest officials of the British Government in Kenya are materially interested in land in Kenya. The Governor, the Member for Agriculture and Native Resources, the Chief Native Commissioner, the Commissioner of Labour and Manpower are all landowners in Kenya. This team of four settlers backed by the Colonial Office, make a powerful blockade of all African legitimate demands for land, labour affairs and human rights."

Every single African in Kenya who had passed his sixteenth birth day was not fully clothed unless he wore his Kipande, a certificate of identification upon which was inscribed not only his name, but his fingerprints, the name of his employer and his rate of wages. The Kipande was the British gift to the African, his Magna Carta of freedom, so precious that it was worn well padded and enclosed within a wallet to secure protection against sun and rain. It was designed primarily to control the movements of Africans outside the Reserves. Deserters from European plantations could be arrested and brought back to their employers in just the same way as runaway slaves in America were returned to their masters. By some, however, who are not Africans, it is asserted that the Kipande should be proudly regarded as a symbol of citizenship, of course it all depends from which end you look at it. If you are the slave, it is perhaps quite natural that you should resent the brand. If you are the plantation owner, it is also quite normal that you should want to prevent your field hands deserting you.

Speaking from this latter standpoint, the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, at one time Under-Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs, assured the House of Lords that the Kipande is "a thing which a man of good character is only too anxious to produce, but which a man of evil character, who would very much like to disappear as conveniently as possible, and if possible, with an advance of wages in his hands, would like to be without." British Socialists must not run away with the idea that Kenya is a workers' paradise. In Kenya, as everywhere else in the world, no worker ever receives "an advance of wages," least of all the African, tied to his employer by law, for an average of 18s. per month of thirty working days.

Those who exhort the African to regard his Kipande with the same pride as the Englishman takes in his British passport might do well to reflect that the Jews were obliged by the Nazis to wear a yellow band. Were the Hebrews in Central Europe supposed to delight in this mark of ostracism. Whatever the British overlords may think, the Africans detest the Kipande system and demand its complete abolition. Their reasons were emphatically stated in the Memorandum[4] presented to Mr. Creech Jones on the occasion of his visit to Kenya in the summer of 1946.

First, because it is an indirect device for controlling wages. Second, because we resent having our fingerprints taken, which seems to brand us as a criminal race. Third, because the system subjects the whole African population to affront by the police. If some form of identification is necessary, as in other states, it should have nothing to do with wages and labour.

As a result of agitation by the Africans, supported by a few Labour backbenchers in Parliament, the original Kipande was withdrawn in 1948. A new system of registration of all races has been instituted in its place.

Footnotes:

(1) Norman Leys, "A last Chance in Kenya," p. 186.
(2) Lord Hailey, "An African Survey," pp. 550-551.
(3) Alexander Campbell, "Empire in Africa, p. 81.
(4) "Memorandum to the United Nations by the Kenya African Union," p. 4.

(to be continued)

IN THE PRESS . . .

Christian Science Monitor, Boston. Mass., U.S.A.

POLITICAL PERSECUTION

Recent reports that "political persecution is rampant in Somaliland and 6,000 members of the Somali Youth League are in jail" are most probably somewhat exaggerated, but Italian officials cannot deny that a number of native functionaries have been dismissed.

Moreover, the Italian administration has deported many so-called "members of the underworld" from the capital of Mogadiscio to remote villages in the desert region. Many petitions against such arbitrary arrests, imprisonment, and departations are reaching the United Nations.

Eritrea

The Somali claim for more rapid development of self-governing institutions has received a new lift from the opening of neighbouring Eritrea's first elected legislative Aseembly.

Eritrea's new representative Assembly has voted the country's first Constitution which establishes the former Italian colony as "an autonomous unit federated with Ethiopia."

This political merger has also greatly stimulated economic activities in Eritrea. Eritrea's main Red Sea ports of Massawa and Assab are the natural outlets for the Ethiopian hinterland.

In the past year Eritrea's foreign trade has exceeded all previous records. Exports increased by 72 per cent. This increase is mainly due to increased shipments from Ethiopia including hides, cotton, textiles, coffee, and other colonial goods. Although imports have been rising fast as well, Eritrea is expected to have an export surplus by the close of 1952

Montreal Daily Star, Canada

ERITREA NAMES STATE LEADER
Election Conducted in Secret Ballot

Asmara, Eritrea, Aug. 28 (Reuters). —The Eritrean Representative Assembly to-day elected its 38-year-old chairman, Ato Tedla Bairu, to be Chief Executive of the new autonomous government.

The election was by secret ballot. One or two other candidates, Saleh Hineet, political adviser to the administration, was not admitted to the ballot because he was not of the requisite age—35 or over. The third candidate, unsuccessful in the ballot, was Dedjatch Abraha Tesemma, adviser for native affairs to the administration.

Tedla Bairu speaks six languages—English, Italian and French, Tigrinya (spoken in Eritrea and Northern Ethiopia), Amharic (the state languge in Ethiopia), and Arabic.

After early studies at an evangelical school at Samara, he graduated in Florence, Italy, as a teacher before returning to follow this profession in Eritrea. He later became assistant civil affairs officer to the British Administration.

He was one of the original founders of the Unionist party known here as Mabher Fekri Hager, and became its secretary-general.

He went three times to United Nations headquarters at Lake Success to represent his party at discussions on the future of Eritrea.

THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS AND ITS ETHIOPIAN MEMBER
By Wilfrid de St. Aubin
(From The Red Cross Magazine)

When Haile Sellassie, "King of the Kings of Ethiopia, Lion of Judah, the Elect of God," returned from exile in 1941, his country had suffered for five years under an imperialistic occupation. Schools, hospitals, better communications, transportation and technicians were needed. And Ethiopia needed the services provided by the Red Cross.

Ethiopia knew something of the Red Cross. The Ethiopian Red Cross Society had been started in 1935, just before the invasion by Fascist forces. Headquarters was established in Addis Ababa, the capital city, and funds collected locally and in other countries were deposited in the Bank of Ethiopia. Ambulance units had been equipped and sent to the battle fields as quickly as possible.

Ethiopians Helped

Help came from the Red Cross in many countries, including a Red Cross airplane ambulance. Although the Ethiopian Red Cross found it necessary to call on foreign doctors, and a large amount of supplies had to be brought in from abroad, there were about 300 Ethiopian citizens engaged in these units. Many of them lost their lives. Behind the lines in Addis Ababa, members of the Red Cross organisation made bandages, stretchers, and other necessary equipment. With the end of the invasion, the Ethiopian Red Cross became powerless, and units from other countries were forced to leave. But many of the people who helped in Ethiopia's struggle returned after the liberation in 1941.

Varied Progress

The writer was assigned to Ethiopia in 1947 to help get the Ethiopian Red Cross So iety going again and to help draft a charter that would meet the requirements necessary for membership in the League of Red Cross Societies.

What Ethiopia is doing to safeguard the health of its people, under the Emperor's leadership and with expert help from many other countries, is matched by progress along other lines. With American airplanes and American pilots, the state airline has become one of the most dependable in the world. Before World War II, Addis Ababa was 40 days by slow rail and slower boat from Cairo, Egypt. To-day it is only 12 hours away. A new modern hotel, supervised by the Swiss, completed with baths of hot mineral water in every room was completed during the year 1948. A modern technical school, where boys learn the various mechanical skills, has opened in Addis Ababa. A national university is planned.

As for the Ethiopian Red Cross Society, it is now a member of the League of Red Cross Societies. Born of international co-operation, it was admitted as a member of the international group at the League meeting in Monaco late in the summer of 1950.

The Chemist and Druggist

INSULIN PRODUCTION IN ISRAEL

Making of insulin was started recently in Israel by a subsidiary of the Jerusalem Laboratory for Antibiotic Research. The raw material is imported in concentrated form, but it is later intended to obtain pancreas glands from cattle imported from Ethiopia.

Farnham Herald

ADMIRED AND LIKED ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE
Seven Years in Eritrea

Capt. L. M. Brans, son of Mr. F. M. Brans, of The Gables, Whitehill, returned to this country with his family by plane from Eritrea. In the last Birthday Honours List in June, he was awarded the M.B.E. for his work as senior assistant superintendent in the Eritrean Police Force.

Capt. Brans told a "Herald" reporter that he liked and admired the Eritrean people. It is only the recent federation of Eritrea, formerly under British rule, with Ethiopia, that has ended his work there and brought him back to this country.

Wire Production, London.

WIRE MARKET

Ethiopia is showing a more lively interest in the wire market, especially for wire nails and barbed wire.

Correspondence

"I must say I am very thankful to God to see that your indefatigable and self-imposed efforts have borne fruit. The Hospital has been opened and Eritrea and its people have been restored to the Motherland Ethiopia. Your Editorial of the N.T.E.N. dated September 27, 1952, shows you have started up the next rung of the ladder; may God help you in your undertaking, and may He defend the right of Ethiopia and that of His Majesty Emperor Haile Sellassie. In reading the N.T.E.N. dated September 8, 1952, I note with pleasure Dr. Richard Pankhurst's review of the History of Nigeria by Sir Alan Burns . . ."

George Nedd.
New York City, U.S.A.

Ethiopian-Eritrean News-Briefs

The Ethiopian Foreign Minister, Ato Aklilou Haptewold, accompanied by the Chief of the Protocol, Lij Endalkatchew Makonnen, and Adviser John Spencer, has been in Eritrea recently.

* * *

Ato Aklilou later left for Lake Success, accompanied by the Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, who deals specially with Eritrean affairs and is himself an Eritrean, Blatta Dawit Ogbagzy, and by Ato Michael Imru.

* * *

Saleh Kebire, Seyoum Haregot Abbai and Yassein Aberra have left Asmara for study in the American University of Beirut. Their studies are part of the Technical Aid Programme of the U.S. Government.

A LATE CONVERSION

The establishment of a European Investment Bank to enable West European countries to trade with underdeveloped areas in Africa and the East and to share in the cost as well as the benefit of developing such countries has been prepared by a group of Europeans for debate by the Council of Europe. "So far," says "The Times," "the study has been from the European angle; an oversea voice has yet to be heard." This is habitual. We recall the amazing Ground Nuts scheme which received extravagant grants of unheeded millions of £s sterling under the auspices of Mr. Strachey. We observed at the time of this enormous expenditure that a mere fraction of the money, material and personnel thus lavished on hitherto uncultivated territory, if placed at the disposal of Ethiopia to obtain improved transport would have produced far more ground nuts and other oil seeds from land already under cultivation than would ever be shipped from the ill-conceived groundnuts scheme.

We now observe in relation to the meat shortage in Britain and elsewhere that if Ethiopia were not left to pay out of her own resources the cost of the injections to eliminate rindypest and contagious abortion, now being imported by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation, the progress towards a substantial meat export from the Ethiopian Horn of Africa would be substantially accelerated.

The above mentioned Report by a group of Europeans adds that capital from the "Metropolitan" countries has hitherto tended to go to the more developed areas, such as South Africa, Australia and Canada instead of to the really undeveloped territries though Switzerland has made loans to the Belgian Congo and Sweden has sent equipment to Ethiopia. We would add Britain has remained largely unaware of the rapidly-developing Ethiopian market whether for export or import.

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ETHIOPIAN WORLD FEDERATION

CHICAGO 9, ILLINOIS

At a meeting of the Ethiopian World Federation of Chicago, Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Piper, who have lived for some time in Ethiopia and have returned to Chicago for a brief visit to their home, gave an interesting account of their adopted country. Their description of the wonderful life and opportuntities in Ethiopia aroused great enthusiasm.

The birthday of the Emperor Haile Sellassie I was commemorated by the Federation at a meeting addressed by the Rev. H. C. Barber, and by the President and Vice-President of the Federation, Mr. Frank Lynch and Mrs. Candasia P. Broome.

The return of Eritrea to Ethiopia was celebrated by a meeting at which the guest speakers were Mr. Edgar G. Brown and the Rev. J. P. Jones.

The Princess Tsahai Branch (Local 34) held a Memorial Service in honour of the late Princess Tsahai, which was opened by the singing of the American and Ethiopian National Anthems and prayers offered by the International Chaplain, Mr. M. Mattavous. The president of the Local, Mrs. C. Price, gave a brief account of the life of the Princess. Mrs. M. Richardson, the International Organiser and founder of the Princess Tsahai Branch, also spoke very touchingly on the life of the late Princess. During her recent visit to Ethiopia, Mrs. Richardson saw the desperate need for doctors and nurses there.

Dr. V. DaSala spoke on the history of the Egyptian Queen, Cleopatra, and on the great work of Florence Nightingale, the founder of the modern trained nursing profession in Britain. Her influence had been felt throughout the world. Dr. DaSala said Princess Tsahai was the Florence Nightingale of Ethiopia, and told of the heroic work she had accomplished there.

Mr. G. A. Bryan, International Secretary of the Federation sang a song, said to have been one of the Princess Tsahai's favourites. "Within the Churchyard Side by Side."

Mr. Mattavous recalled the great spirit of the late Princess Tsahai, her deep devotion to her father, the Emperor, and to her country. He continued: "I remember reading an article in the "New Times and Ethiopian News" that the late King George VI. of England visited the hospital where she was training and the Princess Tsahai said, 'He made me feel so happy; he did not ask me how I was getting on with my work, but only, "How is your father ?"'" Mr. Mattavous urged that Ethiopia suffered a great loss by the death of Princess Tsahai, and the members of the Ethiopian World Federation should endeavour to make the branch called by her name an outstanding success.

Morris Mattavous,
International Chaplain.
Ethiopian World Federation.

Published by the Proprietor, Sylvia Pankhurst, at 3 Charteris Road, Woodford Green, Essex. Phone BUCkhurst 2463. Printed by Percy Brothers, Ltd., The Hotpur Press, Whitworth Street West, Manchester 1. and London.

KENYA: LAND OF ROYAL COMMISSIONS

(Extracts from "Africa: Britain's Third Empire," by George Padmore.)

(continued from last issue)

African Education

As a corollary of their socio-economic policy, the settlers have used their influence on the Government to restrict African education and cultural development. "The education of the children of the richest people of the country is subsidised out of the taxes paid by the poorest, whose children get no education at all," asserts Dr. Norman Leys, a foremost authority on Kenya. European education is free and compulsory and is maintained at a cost of £26 7s. 6d. for each white child as against 16s. for a black child.

In the whole of Kenya there are 49 primary schools catering for about 5,500 children. Fourteen independent schools organised and maintained by Africans received no grants because they refused to accept European control.

In the Rift Valley Province, where most of the Africans are squatters on European farms, there are no secondary schools and only about half a dozen elementary schools, all of which are run by missionaries. Most Africans are too poor to pay fees for their children. Thousands of of African children who should be in school are working on the tea and coffee plantations. In the whole of Kenya there are only six secondary schools catering for Africans and only two provide courses up to the Cambridge School Certificate standard. The number of students reaching this standard is less than 25 per year. If the Africans are to catch up with the other communities—European and African — they need a very large number of teachers, doctors, nurses, scientifically trained agriculturists, veterinary surgeons, engineers, chemists, technicians, skilled mechanics, architects and social workers. But where are these to come from, when the Government, as we see, hardly provides facilities for elementary instruction? Despite the recent grant of £3,500,000 by the Colonial Office out of the Development and Welfare Fund, the Kenya Government intends to continue the present discriminatory racial policy. The colony's Development Committee, heavily packed with settlers' representatives, intends to perpetuate racial inequality in education. Under the colony's Ten Year Plan for educational development, 29,000 Europeans are to get £670,000. This is some 583 East African shillings per head of the European population or 58.3 shillings per head for each year. Indians, who number about 90,900 get £636,500, that is 174 East African shillings per head for ten years, or 17.4 shillings for each year. About 23,900 Arabs get £85,000, or 68 shillings per head for the ten years or 6 shillings and 40 cents per person each year.

Five million Africans are given £806,000, which represents an annual expenditure of about 2 shillings for each African child of school age. As compared with this Government contribution to the much needed expansion of African education in Kenya, the parents of African school children are expected to pay 15s. per annum in fees.

Despite the shameful way the Africans are being treated, every British Government during the past quarter of a century has subscribed to the doctrine that:

> Primarily Kenya is an African territory, and Her Majesty's Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if, and when, the interests of the immigrant races conflict, the former should prevail.

These are fine words, and in practice sadly contravened. Why this discrepancy between official policy and actual practice? Professor Julian Huxley puts the blame on the settlers.

> It is, I think, quite fair to say that over nine-tenths of the non-official European population of Kenya consider that as many as possible of its black population should be directly or indirectly compelled to work for the white and that when not so engaged they should be encouraged to live their immemorial life in reserves set aside for the purpose, and that they should be discouraged from growing crops in competition with their white neighbours and from all political aspirations and all but utilitarian and technical education.

As long as the settlers continue to enjoy the status of a privileged "herenvolk," Africans will be denied equality of opportunity in all spheres of life in Kenya.

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Italo-Ethiopian Reparations Discussions

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BRITISH TROOPS SENT TO KENYA

(continued from page 1)

ing in Kenya and now has burst into flame is due to the iniquitous policy of transferring to European settlers the land the African people have occupied from immemorial times. Not alone have vast areas of the best land been alienated to European settlers, mainly British, but still vaster areas, including all the healthy and well-watered highlands, which resemble those of Ethiopia, have been reserved for eventual white settlement only.

Protests in Britain Against Iniquitous Policy

The robbery of African lands which commenced on a large scale during the governorship of Sir Charles Elliot (1901-4) has latterly been authorised by the Kenya Crown Lands Ordinance, No. 27 of 1938, and the Native Lands Trust Ordinance of 1938. These two Ordinances are well known to Her Majesty's Government. The memory of Ministers has been refreshed by petitions of protest, which have been signed and presented by members of the British public during this year.

Africans Denied a Voice in Kenya Legislation

The Africans of Kenya had no voice in the Ordinances which have accelerated the land robbery, long a burning scandal. They have no direct representation in the Kenya Legislative Council. In that Council of fifty-three members, six members only, who are nominated by the Government Civil Servants, are nominally supposed to "represent" the interests of the five million Africans of Kenya, amongst whom are Gallas, such as one knows in Ethiopia and meets among the Ethiopian students in London. 90,000 Indians resident in Kenya are permitted by the British minority to elect six representatives, 24,000 Arabs are allowed to elect one representative and one Arab is nominated by the Government. The 30,000 Europeans elect fourteen representatives, and 25 government appointees also protect their interests—a total of 39.

Another Royal Commission for "Land of Royal Commission"

It is well that a Royal Commission is now to be appointed to inquire into the "deeper causes" of the present conflict; it is a recognition, however imperfect, that something is seriously wrong with the conditions under which the African people of Kenya are compelled to subsist.

Let there be no illusions, however, that anything good will come of this Royal Commission unless its character be very different indeed from that of its many predecessors; Kenya long since became known among African sociologists as "the land of Royal Commissions." It is more than 30 years since Royal Commissions began travelling to Kenya to consider the sad results of the monstrous land robberies, and the wretched underpayment of the defrauded Africans, who in consequence were driven to labour for white settlers on the lands of their own forefathers. By 1949, despite the series of Royal Commissions, the United Nations Economic and Social Council reported that the average personal *per capita* income of Europeans in Kenya was £206, but that of the Africans only £6—and for the Africans that was a somewhat rosy estimate.

"Solemn Pledge" of MacDonald Labour Government Broken by Successors

As a result of the grievous report of the Hilton Young Commission, the MacDonald Labour Government in 1930 issued a Memorandum stating that "to remove finally from the native mind any feeling of insecurity in regard to his tribal lands" no more land would be alienated:

"The lands within the boundaries, as finally gazetted for Native Reserves, are reserved for the use and benefit of the natives for ever. Any derogation from this solemn pledge would, in the view of His Majesty's Government, be not only a flagrant breach of trust, but also, in view of the inevitable effect upon the natives, a serious calamity from which the whole colony would not fail to suffer."

Though greatly belated, these words were prophetic. The emergence of Mau Mau has proved their truth.

Africans Evicted from Lands Reserved to them "for ever!"

Within a year of the MacDonald Government's solemn pledge gold was discovered on the Kavirando African Reserve. Instead of permitting its humble folk to benefit by the discovery, they were evicted, and the Kenya Legislative Council enacted a new law granting concessions to British and other whites to exploit the gold found on this land, which had been gazetted for Africans "for ever." The evicted Africans complained in vain to the Colonial Office that they had not even been granted other land in exchange for that which had proved so rich. They protested: **"Not much trust can be placed in the solemn pledges of the British Government."**

Misery of Mass Evictions; Land-hunger; Kenyatta's wise advice ignored

Another Royal Commission to investigate the causes of unrest was sent out in 1932, under Sir Morris Carter, but in 1937 the Kikuyus of the Trigoni district were evicted from their farms. In 1938 the same fate befell the people of the Wakamba Reserve, east of Nairobi.

In 1939 the Wataita were evicted from the Taita Hills.

In 1948 30,000 men, women and children were evicted from the Ol-Engruone Settlement, to which they had been sent when they were previously ejected from their lands in the Kiambu district to make way for European settlers. The misery of these mass evictions can be imagined. The Kenya African Union made vain appeals to the British Government and to the United Nations. Mr. Jomo Kenyatta urged the Kenya Government "to release the unoccupied land in the Highlands, and throw it open for development by Africans, with the necessary assistance from the Colonial Development fund."

Such wise advice has been ignored The Colonial Development fund has been restricted for the improvement of European occupied lands. The iniquitous land policy has been obstinately continued.

To those who are aware of these facts, the massing of troops in Kenya and the secretly prepared sudden arrests, occasion shame and disgust.

In such a state of affairs Sismondi the Swiss economist and historian wrote in 1836: "Every man of the privileged class can count over against him five individuals not belonging to the privileged class, and there is between them such an opposition that the rich say to the poor, 'Our life is your death,' and the poor reply to them, 'your death would be our life.'"

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By 1935, His Imperial Majesty was beginning to see the fruit of his hard and enlightened work: Ethiopian students were beginning to come back from the Colleges and Universities of other lands with academic honours and great enthusiasm to help their beloved Sovereign in his task of modernization. Ethiopia had become a keen and loyal member of the League of Nations, and her foreign relations were based on the principle of collective security as outlined in the Covenant of the League of Nations. His Imperial Majesty and his peaceful and peace-loving people had so much trust in the League and His Imperial Majesty was so very anxious to rest the defence of his country on the League of Nations that from the beginning he would countenance no action which might jeopardise a peaceful settlement of difference between Italy and Ethiopia; nor would he refuse any opportunity which might lead to better relations. But the Fascist enemy had no sense of reason and no respect for truth. They were determined to have an Empire in Africa and had decided that Ethiopia was the right place for the establishment of their

ERITREA ON THE EVE

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patriot, faithful in the years of difficulty, he was deeply impressed by the vital importance to the

"For many years the Sovereigns of Ethiopia were unable to cross the Mareb; I thank God for having

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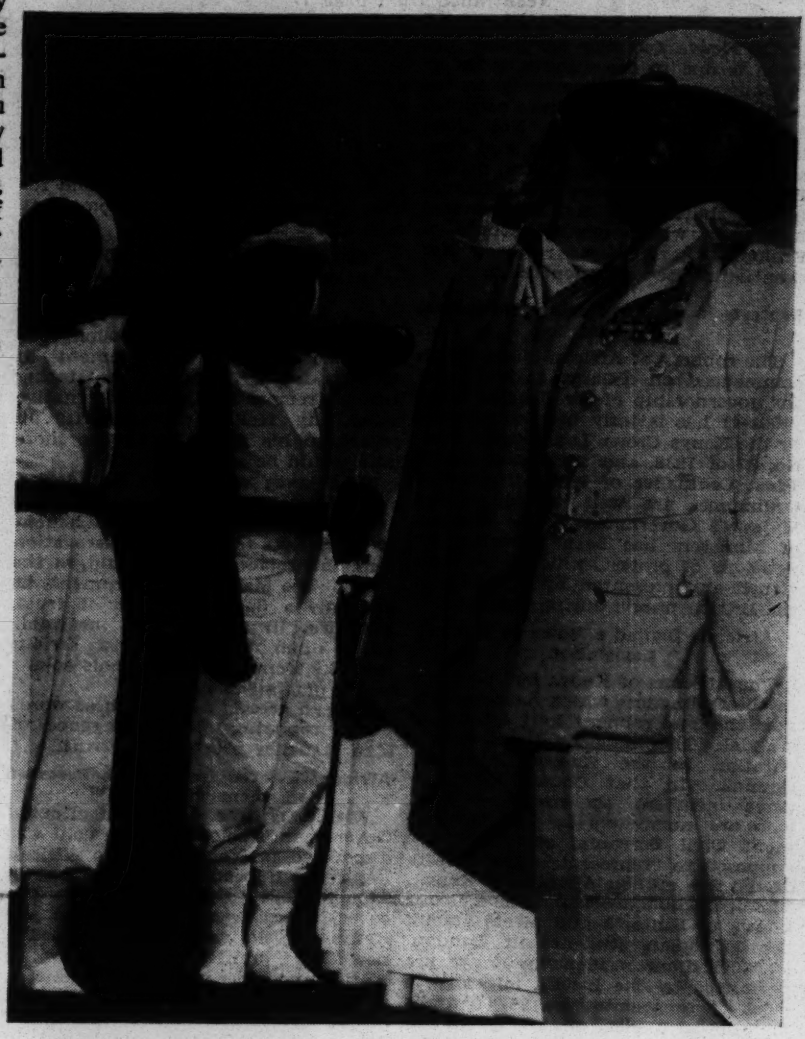


THE EMPEROR HAILE SELLASSIE inspects the newly-founded Ethiopian Navy at the new Ethiopian port of Massawa.

BRITISH TROOPS SENT TO KENYA

by The Editor

Grave Results of Unjust Policies

Serious concern is rightly felt in Britain on account of the despatch of British troops to Kenya and also by reason of the declaration of a state of emergency there and the statement of Mr. Lyttelton, the Colonial Secretary, that 130 Africans were to be arrested on suspicion.

A warning of the growing misery and consequent unrest in Kenya, owing to the alienation of African lands by the local British officials and the local legislature, in which the African people have no direct representation, was already given by "New Times and Ethiopia News" some months ago, in articles which appeared in our issues of April 5 and 12.

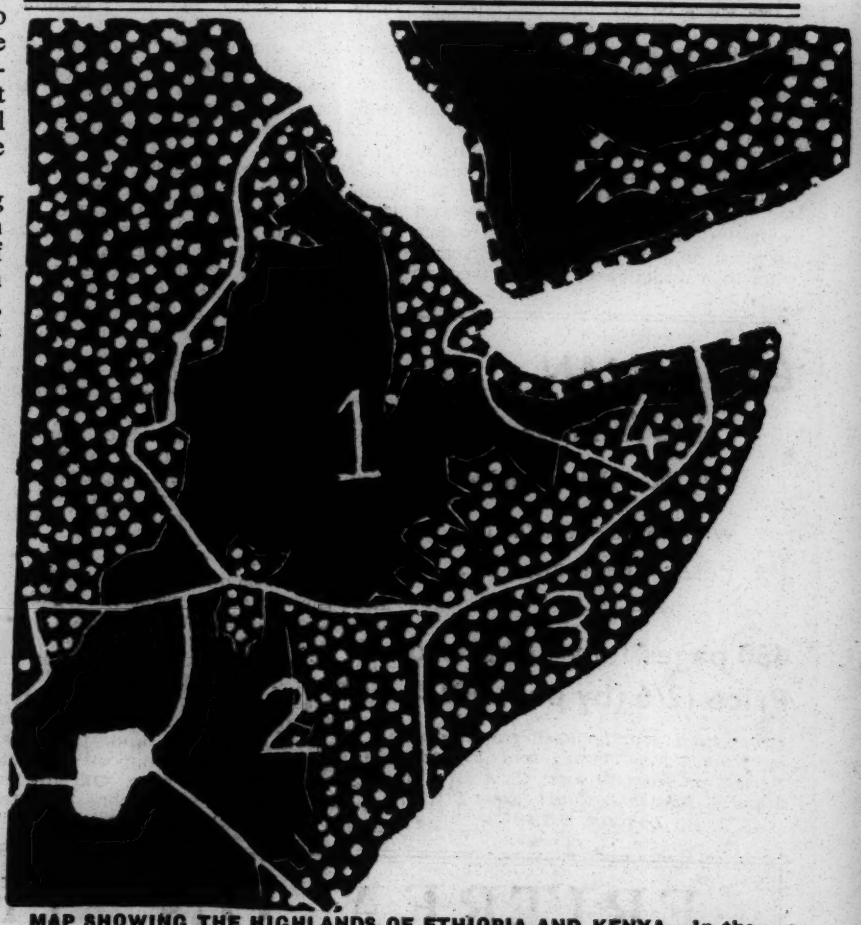
Among the 98 persons first placed under arrest during the present "state of emergency" is Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, a leader of the Kenya African Union.

Mr. Kenyatta is well-known to us; he is one of the African British subjects who manifested their sympathy for Ethiopia during the Italian aggression; he spoke with point and eloquence at some of the meetings and conferences we organised on Ethiopia's behalf.

Unrest due to Robbing Lands of Africans to Reserve for white Settlers

It is extremely regrettable that the statesmen of all parties in the British Parliament have thus far shown themselves oblivious of the fact that the unrest which has long been smoulder-

(continued on page 2)



MAP SHOWING THE HIGHLANDS OF ETHIOPIA AND KENYA. In the tropical Middle East the highlands are usually cool and fertile and the lowlands are often malaria-infested deserts. In Kenya the highlands are mainly reserved for white settlers (see article on this page). This map shows land above 3,000 feet in black and the lowlands in black with white spots. Ethiopia is indicated by the number 1, Kenya by the number 2, the Italian Trust territory of Somaliland by the number 3, and the British Somali Protectorate by the number 4.

The Voice of Blood

Mr. Stephen Wright

We are pleased to announce that the play by Bitwoded Makonnen Endalkatchau, entitled "The Voice of Blood," which was recently published in "New Times and Ethiopia News," was translated from the Amharic by Mr. Stephen Wright, now resident in Addis Ababa.

BOOK BRIEFS

THE STORY OF DR. DU BOIS

"In Battle for Peace,"
by W.E.B. Du Bois
Masses and Mainstream,
New York, 1952

DR. DU BOIS' book, published by the progressive American magazine, *Masses and Mainstream,* is a personal narrative of the life of a distinguished scholar, Negro leader and peace fighter. Full of wit, humour and drama, it makes exciting reading and is furnished with a running commentary by the author's wife, Shirley Graham, a talented Negro writer.

The subtitle of the book is "The Story of My 83rd Birthday"; and this indeed is the keynote of the book, for the birthday coincided with the decision of the American government to put this staunch champion of peace and democracy out of the way by clapping him in jail for five years. A trial was staged against him and four of his colleagues of the Peace Information Centre, of which he was chairman, on charges of failing to register the organization "as an agent of a foreign principal."

"The Government," Dr. Du Bois says, "tried to put us in jail and thus stop any citizen or organization from daring to advocate Peace in the United States."

America's rulers were savagely hostile to the peace movement from the very first, rightly regarding it as a threat to their rapacious policy. The whole monopoly propaganda machine was mobilized against the movement, in an effort, by lies and slander, to discredit it in the eyes of the public. When they found that slander was not yielding the desired results and had failed to check the spread of the movement, the imperialists tried to employ the tactic of silence against it.

But all over the world the ranks of peace and democracy were swelling, and in the United States, too, the peace movement was growing in spite of the war hysteria and police terrorism. In a short period the Peace Information Centre secured over two and a half million American signatures for the Stockholm Appeal. This infuriated the State Department and the Department of Justice.

Dr. Du Bois' book gives us a glimpse of the vile methods the American authorities used to gag him and other peace supporters. After Du Bois and his colleagues of the Peace Information Centre were indicted, the authorities tried to intimidate them and then to "buy" them by promising to drop the case if Du Bois agreed not to contest the charge, to put in a plea of *nolo contendere.*

"I immediately wrote to my attorney and said flatly that before I would enter such a plea I would rot in jail."

The trial was then staged, but it collapsed in the end thanks to the efforts of the progressive forces of the United States and the world. The court was obliged to admit that the charges had not been proved. The reactionary attack was repelled.

Dr. Du Bois deals extensively with the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union. "I regard that land as the most hopeful nation on earth," he writes.

He contrasts the Soviet Union's peace policy with the aggressive policy of his Wall-Street-governed country, a policy motivated by a lust for profit and aggrandizement.

"Big Business in the United States is forcing this nation into war, transforming our administration into a military dictatorship, and paralyzing all democratic control...."

Dr. Du Bois' book is a passionate appeal for an active fight for peace. He stresses that the democratic liberties in the United States cannot be ensured if peace is not upheld, if the imperialists are not prevented from unleashing the war they are plotting. For that reason, he says, "I take my stand beside the millions in every nation and continent and cry Peace—No more War!"

I. L.

ELECTION 1952

Mr. Adlai STEVENSON
Governor of Illinois,
Campaign Headquarters
630 South Fifth Street
SPRINGFIELD, Illinois.

October 20th, 1952

Dear Mr. STEVENSON,

If General Eisenhower wins the electoral battle, it will mean a great misfortune for us all.

If General Eisenhower had, just like us all, more or less a dosis of badness, his election would not bring necessarily a disaster to the world.

But the terrible thing is that Eisenhower has not a good moral backbone; that his ambition has eclipsed his love for humanity. Totally concerned with his personal success, he has got into confusion, disorder and blindness. He does no more perceive, by the control of his conscience, truth and justice.

Plato has said that a man without intelligence is worse a danger than a bad man. And there is another sentence of Plato : "..for his absolute ignorance of what is just or unjust, of what is bad or good, is a real disgrace which he could not escape even if he were covered by the universal applause of the multitude."

General Eisenhower would not obtain one vote out of ten in Europe, we are awfully afraid of his election. Far from having confidence in generals in regard political matters, we are not even confident in them for the conduct of wars. We know that more military disasters would have been more terrible if there had not been the control by a Clemenceau, a Churchill or a Stalin. We remember that General De Gaulle during the war, was not able to achieve the slightest political and military success in the French empire. We have also seen the whole development of Pétain's stupidity and all the harm he brought to France by his stubborn political ignorance.

And we know that the man of genius, Franklin Roosevelt, by the sure political and military line he traced against Hitler from the very beginning of the activities of that bandit, has achieved the victory of a supremely endangered democracy.

In an international situation, full of gravest dangers for humanity, in a succession of unforgivable and shameful political errors, at the decisive moment when so many wrong achievements in politics have to be restored, when everything for peace has to be put right again, General Eisenhower may not become a successor to Franklin Roosevelt who, unfortunately, by his exceptional high moral stature, has been seen in United States from too near.

American people, dear democratic brothers, do all you can to maintain and to strengthen the friendship and respect for United States which, owing to the Korean war and the brutal conduct of it, is wavering in the world. You desire most ardently to rejoice in the friendship and the respect of all other peoples.

The election of General Eisenhower, be sure of it, would be very harmful to the love and admiration we feel for you, for you will be responsible for it.

Please, dear democratic American brothers, for heaven's sake, vote Stevenson!

Sincerely yours,
Edgar GEVAERT,
Editor.

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facts and figures

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THE ECONOMICS OF PREJUDICE

Prejudice can be boiled down to profit and loss—$4½ billions of profits to the boss, $4½ billions of loss to the workers—both black and white.

Employers inject the poison of prejudice into the people like a dope peddler injects cocaine into his victim. The victim pays for it, the dope peddler profits by it and, as time goes by, the victim finds himself weaker and less able to fight back.

SOME THINK that prejudice is a feeling, an emotion.

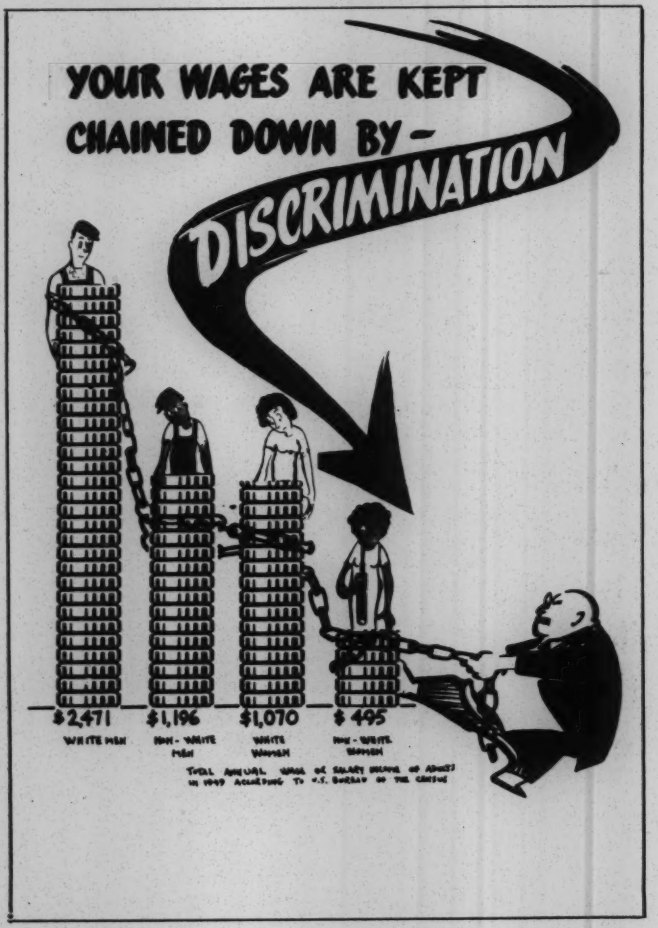
Some even think it's natural—that people are born that way. But people aren't born that way. They get that way because somebody teaches them prejudice.

What reason can anyone have to teach prejudice and bigotry? It's true that some who do it have no reason. They just don't know any better. It's also true that others who do it have a reason. They know exactly what they're doing. They make money by doing it.

Spreading prejudice has an economics—just like advertising. It's a way to make a super-profit. All aspirin is identical—but Bayer is able to get more for the same aspirin by training many people to "accept no substitute." Those who spread prejudice have also trained too many of us. Those of us who buy it—pay for it and pay dearly.

Nobody Is Born That Way

If prejudice were "natural," we'd all have the same prejudices. But you "learn" certain prejudices in certain areas because someone is actively promoting the prejudice in those particular areas. Anti-Indian prejudice is strongest in areas of high Indian concentration. Anti-Mexican prejudice is strongest in the Southwestern states. In his book, **Brothers Under the Skin,** Carey McWilliams notes



that anti-Negro prejudice is strongest in those areas where the most money can be made from Negro labor. (Page 254)

Anti-Slav prejudice is strongest in the middle eastern states, etc., etc.

A particular prejudice is strongest where the most money is made out of it.

The opposite is also true. Where no money is made out of it—there is no prejudice. This explains why a gifted Negro artist like Josephine Baker prefers to live in Paris, Rome and London. There is little if any anti-Negro prejudice in many European countries. No profit—no prejudice.

Discrimination Is "Good Business"

Economics—not race or national origin—is the primary basis of the prejudice. In Texas and New Mexico, for instance Negroes, Mexicans and Indians are exploited in pretty much the same way by white employers. Race and national origin are merely a convenience to the employer in identifying the victims—but they are not the cause.

Discrimination in employment is "good business." That's the way an employer makes more money.

Discrimination against Negro women is particularly "good business." That way the employer gets cheap labor in his factory while his wife gets cheap domestic labor.

Segregation in housing is "good business." That's the way for a landlord to get rich.

Negroes are forced to pay higher interest rates on mortgages and loans. That's the way for a bank to make more money.

The whole business community has an economic stake in prejudice. That's why prejudice continues—despite all the fine talk that it's indecent, immoral, unfair, irreligious, etc.

There's nothing complicated about the economics of prejudice. A few examples will illustrate the sordid story.

Discrimination For a Profit

Sawmill workers in the South, mostly Negroes, get 97 cents an hour.[1] There is little union organization. Whites and Negroes are kept apart.

Sawmill workers on the West Coast, mostly white, get $1.93 an hour. They're highly organized.

The difference is about a dollar an hour.

Because of this—the wood from the South undersells the wood from the West in many areas where freight rates are about equal.

The Western sawmill operator made a normal profit.

The Southern sawmill operator made a normal profit—plus a super-profit of a dollar an hour.

Southern sawmill workers suffer.

Western sawmill workers also suffer. Southern sawmill operators can always undercut the price by reducing that super-profit a little bit.

Any lumber worker in the Northwest can tell you it's been real tough trying to get raises. One

strike in Northern California lasted three years; its loss hurt all labor. They have learned the hard way how low wages in the South can depress their own wages.

Some white workers are under the illusion that they benefit from this. A Southern white sawmill worker will say to himself: "If I were a Negro, I would have to do that dirty, hard work for 90 cents an hour. But I'm white and 'superior' [sic] and therefore I have this easier job and get one dollar an hour."

One dollar an hour seems superior when compared to 90 cents. But one dollar an hour is not superior when compared to $1.93, which is what sawmill workers get in the West. That 90 cents works like gravity. It pulls all wages down--all over the country.

Sawmills are not the only example.

The average production worker in manufacturing industry in Michigan gets $1.71 an hour; in Georgia—$1.08.[2]

It is not just in the South that lower wages are paid to Negroes. Employers pay them less all over the country. In the South, they pay non-whites 56% less—in the rest of the country 42% less.[4] Most of the time this discrimination is hidden.

"Classification:" Cloak for Discrimination

Time was when an employer would put a Negro and white laborer side by side doing the same thing and pay the Negro less. Or they would pay a woman less. The employers soon discovered that this kind of discrimination was too raw. The workers saw through it. So the boss set up separate classifications. Laborers were divided into Class A laborers at a higher rate and Class B laborers at a lower rate. Class B was supposed to be less skilled—and by some strange coincidence was always filled by Negroes, or Mexicans. No matter how many years they spent as Class B laborers, they never seemed to be able to become Class A laborers.

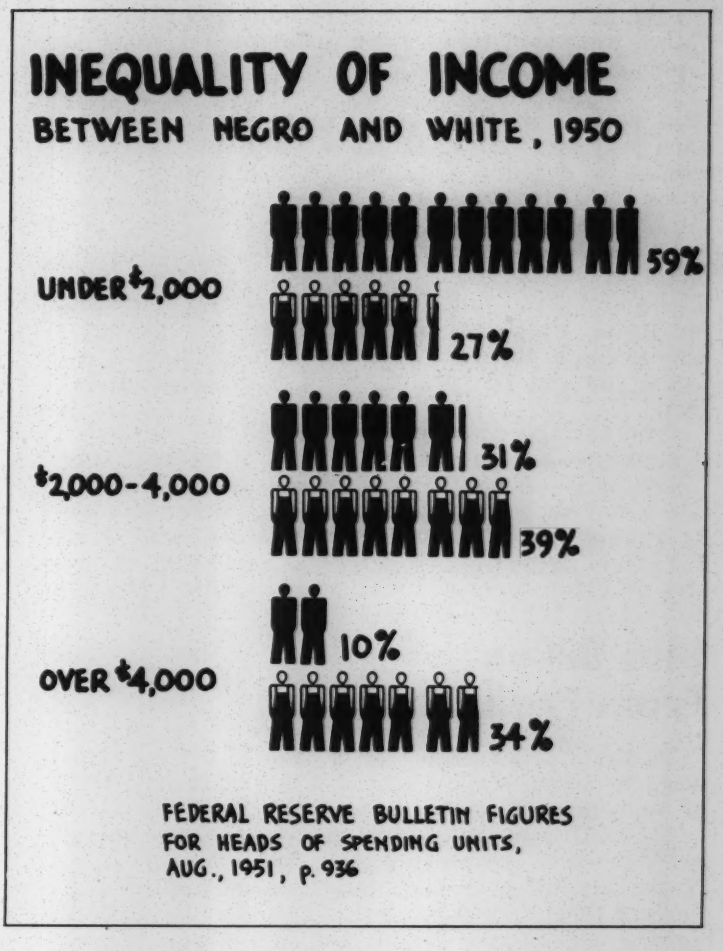
The greatest victim of this discrimination is the Negro. Yet the Negro who today is kept in unskilled jobs was once a highly skilled worker.

> "Slave carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, dyers, tanners, bricklayers and shoemakers were common on the plantations of the tobacco belt as early as the last half of the seventeenth century. Most of the buildings of the South, up to the time of the Civil War, were the work of Negro carpenters . . . " (Bucklin Moon, **The High Cost of Prejudice**, 1947, p. 51.)

The same thing happened to women. They find themselves restricted to "women's classifications" which somehow always get lower rates.

A recent survey of the U. S. Department of Labor found that:

> "All of the companies visited were paying the same rates to men and women doing the same work, but all had in addition some jobs that were considered 'men's jobs' or 'women's jobs.' The 'women's jobs' were not only lower



DISCRIMINATION — FOR PROFIT[3]

COREMAKERS in Detroit's ferrous foundries make $2.07 an hour; in Birmingham $1.32 an hour.

WOOLEN WEAVERS in Lawrence, Mass., textile mills average $1.56 an hour; in Virginia and North Carolina $1.12 an hour.

HAND SHOVELLERS in fertilizer plants on the Pacific Coast get $1.41 an hour; in Southeast states 72 cents an hour.

DRESS WORKERS in New York City average $1.87 an hour; in Atlanta, Georgia 95 cents an hour.

Workers in the FLOUR and CEREAL mills of Minnesota average $1.37 an hour; in North Carolina mills 75 cents an hour.

WOOD FURNITURE workers in Los Angeles average $1.42 an hour; in Grand Rapids $1.30; in Martinsville, Va., 95 cents.

SUGAR REFINERY workers in the South average 97 cents an hour; in other states, $1.34.

In industry after industry, there is a profit tag on prejudice. The other side is a price tag for all workers.

paid, as a rule, but there were indications that they were sometimes much underrated in comparison to 'men's jobs'."[5]

The chart shows that white women earn less than half as much as white men. Negro women earn only one-fifth as much as white men. Negro women as a group are doubly victimized—as Negroes and also as women. Their's is a terrible plight indeed.

In many industries and in many areas, the whole classification system is a flimsy cloak for the rankest kind of discrimination against Negroes, women, Mexicans, Filipinos and other minority groups. Unless all groups actually work in all classifications, you can be sure there is discrimination **in fact.**

Whether the discrimination is hidden or open, it depresses the general wage level of all workers.

The cost of not having an adequate F.E.P.C. law is not borne only by Negroes and other minority groups. The cost is borne by all workers. It's a hidden deduction from every paycheck. It is also a hidden super-profit in every dividend check.

$4½ Billion From Prejudice

In the United States as a whole, the median wage of white wage earners was $2,350 in 1949; of non-whites, $1,064.[6]

The difference of $1,286 per year is the extra profits which employers get from the average Negro worker over and above the normal profits derived from a white worker. For some 3½ million gainful, productive Negro workers, these superprofits come to $4½ billion dollars.[7]

Even though $4½ billion dollars is a considerable amount of money, it is not the only stake business has in prejudice. They also have a vast financial stake in the South **as a colony.**

When somebody says "colony," most workers think of a faraway land like the Belgian Congo where natives are exploited for the profit of investors who live elsewhere. Being far away, however, isn't what makes it a colony. It's the economic relationship of the native and the absentee owners that's important.

A Colony: Inside the U. S. A.

From an economic point of view, the South is a huge colonial area **inside** the United States. Carey McWilliams notes that the whites in the United States use the same methods here that colonial powers use against natives in their colonies.

> "The American race problem is simply a special version of the world colonial problem, which, in the last analysis, is a problem involving the exploitation of labor." (Carey McWilliams, **Brothers Under the Skin,** pp. 338-39)

Geographically, this colonial area is mostly in the South where the Negro people are subjected to colonial forms of exploitation. But the colonial wage and living standards are not confined to the South. Wherever Negroes go—they are subjected to semi-colonial forms of exploitation and discrimination.

Colonialism is maintained in the South primarily because Northern financial and industrial interests find it profitable. Typically, Southern plants are run by managers for Northern owners. In the powerful Atlanta Federal Reserve Bank which serves most of the South, eight of eleven board members are managers and half of every dollar heads North.

Managers like this " . . . command the colonial outposts for Northern overlords who have never been averse to the maintenance of the entire South as a slum area, a gigantic sweatshop dedicated to Northern profit." (A. G. Mezerik, **Revolt of the South and West,** 1946, pp. 56 and 58.)

In 1935 it was estimated that 30 per cent of the cotton lands of various states were owned by

insurance companies (Metropolitan being the largest) and banks. (Chas. S. Johnson, Edwin R. Embree and W. W. Alexander, **The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy**, p. 33.)

A French manufacturer who wants to cut costs may have to set up a runaway shop in Africa. A U. S. corporation can "decentralize" and move into the South. There are no problems of foreign exchange. There are no oceans or foreign boundaries to cross. It's much more convenient.

So there's been a mass migration of runaway shops into the South. Since 1919 the rate of growth of manufacturing industry in the South has been almost one-third greater than in the rest of the country.[8]

In many cases, the corporation doesn't have to move into the South at all. It can often hire Negroes for less in New York, Detroit, Chicago and every other major U. S. city.

This very convenience and lack of barriers makes the South a far greater threat to our union standards than—let us say—colonial exploitation in Africa is to French or British workers.

A Southern Colony Means Northern Profits

This colony in the South was created on this basis of discrimination by Northern financial interests. The Southern planter, like the Southern plant manager, was merely their agent. They did this not only to exploit the South as a colonial area, but also to depress wages and suppress unions all over the United States.

How it works was shown recently when the Textile Workers Union in New England accepted up to a 50 per cent increase in workloads and no wage increase.

An official of the American Woolen Company gave the reason when he said in the **Journal of Commerce** (1/17/52):

> "We moved some of our machines south in order to get lower costs. Labor, taxes, workmen's compensation, unemployment taxes—every element of cost but raw wool will be lower [in Raleigh, North Carolina] than in Massachusetts."

Colonialism in the South was to prove itself the greatest single anti-labor weapon in the employer's hands.

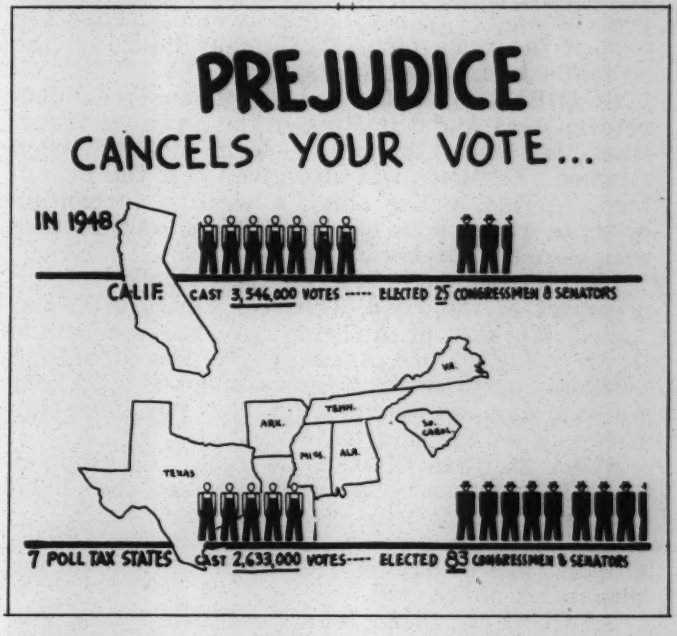
But it was more than merely an economic weapon in the hands of the employers. The coalition of reactionary Northern politicians working hand in hand with the Dixiecrats turned out to be the strongest political weapon against all progress. The charts in this issue illustrate how.

Prejudice is clearly the basis of reactionary political power in the United States today. Prejudice is also the basis of the political weakness of the people. As long as they dope us and divide us with this poison of prejudice, we cannot protect ourselves and advance our interests.

The cost of the poll tax is not borne only by some four million disfranchised Negroes. Nor is it borne only by some six million whites who are also disfranchised by the poll tax. All Americans bear the cost—the incalculable cost of political reaction in this country.

It's bad enough that all the poll tax states combined cast almost a million fewer votes than California for instance—yet they have over three times as many representatives in Congress. California doesn't have a single chairmanship of any of the Committees of Congress, which write the laws. The seven poll-tax states have eight chairmanships in these all-powerful committees.

When the fight for the right of Negro workers to vote in the South is won, there will be an immediate change in the political balance of power. When the poll tax goes and the stranglehold of poll-tax Congressmen on our government is broken, progress for all Americans will once more become possible.



The CIO Fails In "Operation Dixie"

For all of these reasons, the CIO's drive to organize the South was greeted by all thinking workers as a great and necessary step forward for all workers. This drive failed. It is important to understand why. One of the basic reasons can be found in an editorial by Ralph Matthews, columnist of the **Washington Afro-American**, February 18, 1950, who assailed:

> **". . . the new CIO policy which calls for conformity with America's traditional policy of segregation and Jim Crowism.**
>
> **"CIO union halls in South Carolina have Jim Crow toilet facilities . . . George Baldanzi, Chief of 'Operation Dixie,' refuses to permit colored workers to use the same halls with whites."**

"Operation Dixie" failed to organize the South for the same reason that craft unionism failed to organize mass production industry. Industrial unionism succeeded because it took in everybody on a basis of equality—a policy which received such enthusiastic response from all workers that its

strength cracked the open shop fortresses of industry.

The only force capable of cracking the open shop South is the united efforts of all workers in the South, Negro and white together. Without the wholehearted, enthusiastic support of Negroes in the South, it can never be done. It may seem tough to organize the South on this basis—but there's no other way.

Lynching: For A Profit

The lynchings, the terrorism and the brutality against Negroes also have an economic basis. These are not individual isolated actions performed in the heat of anger by isolated individuals. They are part of the same picture. In many lynchings the economic basis shows up clearly:

OCTOBER 29, 1945: The body of Sam McFadden, veteran, was found floating in the Suwanee River, near Live Oak, Florida . . . McFadden had been lynched. Evidence was also given that the Brandford, Florida, police chief, **a wealthy turpentine operator reputed to use peon labor, and another man were the lynchers.**[9]

DECEMBER 26, 1945: Walter Campbell, union organizer of the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers of America . . . was stabbed to death at Little Rock, Arkansas. **He was organizing workers,** particularly Negroes, against a 12-hour working day and 50 cents per hour pay. The confessed slayer was set free.

JULY 25, 1946: Monroe, Georgia . . . a group of 20 to 30 white men beat the two women, then lined the four against trees and shot them dead . . . Roger Malcolm, (one of the four victims) **a share cropper, had quarreled with his landlord about the disposition of the crop.**

AUGUST 3, 1946: John J. Gilbert, chalk mill worker, was found shot to death by the roadside, near his home at Gordon, Georgia. Investigation showed that **he had been active in the work of union organization** and was killed on his way to work by whites who hated unions.

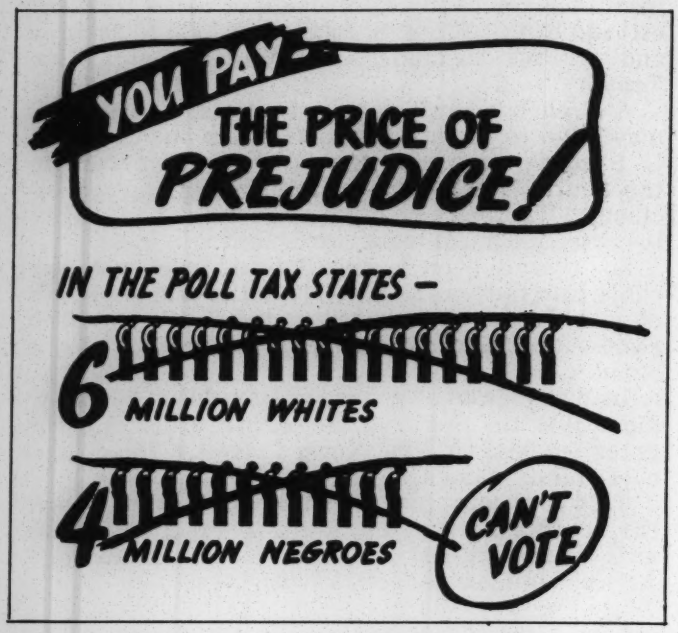
JUNE 30, 1947: Louisiana. Wesley Thomas, Negro wood chopper was shot in the back and killed . . . **Thomas had engaged in an argument that morning with a white farmer for whom he had worked and from whom he was asking back pay . . .**

SEPTEMBER, 1945: Because Bill Brown, farmer in Joiner, Arkansas, gave advice to tenants concerning crop settlements and tenancy arrangements, **the white plantation owner who was also deputy sheriff, attacked and tortured Brown . . .** and . . . left him for dead.

JULY 20, 1946: Macio Snipes was one of the few Negroes who voted in the 1946 Georgia election. On July 20, 1946 he was dragged from his home and killed by four white men . . . The killers were freed.

There are hundreds of other cases where the economic basis is not as clearly apparent. But, whether it's apparent or not, it underlies the pattern of lynch terror in the South.

This extra-legal terror is not confned to the South. In the form of police brutality against Negroes and Mexicans, it is common throughout the country.



Prisons: At A Profit

The **legal** penal system in the South is also very profitable.

The chain gang system is the way by which many Southern states maintain their roads without burdening the property taxpayers.

The work farms and work prisons operate in the same way—except that certain political insiders get rich too.

> "Many sheriffs are not paid a straight salary in certain areas (in the South) but are advanced so much for feeding each prisoner in the county or city jail. By cutting down on both the quality and quantity of rations and keeping the jails full of Negroes, many a sheriff has retired a rich man." (Bucklin Moon, **The High Cost of Prejudice,** 1947, p. 51)

At the outset we said that almost the entire business community has a dollars and cents stake in prejudice. We cannot here examine all the ways in which this shows itself. We will, however, give an example of how landlords profit from segregation.

Segregation: For A Profit

To illustrate this we take you to our Nation's capital, Washington, D. C. where the President of the Federation of Citizen's Associations declared:

"Race segregation here is a 'natural state' and certain groups which agitate **against** it are 'unscrupulous' and un-American'." (**Washington Post,** October 15, 1947)

But the leaders who call segregation 'natural'

are the ones who enforce it. The Washington Real Estate Board enforces it. Active on this Real Estate Board are 25 banks, insurance and title companies and building and loan associations.

To these leaders in the economic life of Washington, D. C., segregation is good business. By making an area "exclusively white" they drive up the prices of real estate to the whites. Negroes who used to live in many areas of the city have been forced, slowly but surely, into Negro ghettos and slums.

> "Because the areas in which Negroes can live are artificially limited, they must pay more for the same housing than white people. Uncontradicted evidence in a recent Supreme Court case showed that the property in the 100 Block of Bryant Street, N. W., an area of mixed occupancy, is priced 30 per cent higher to Negroes."

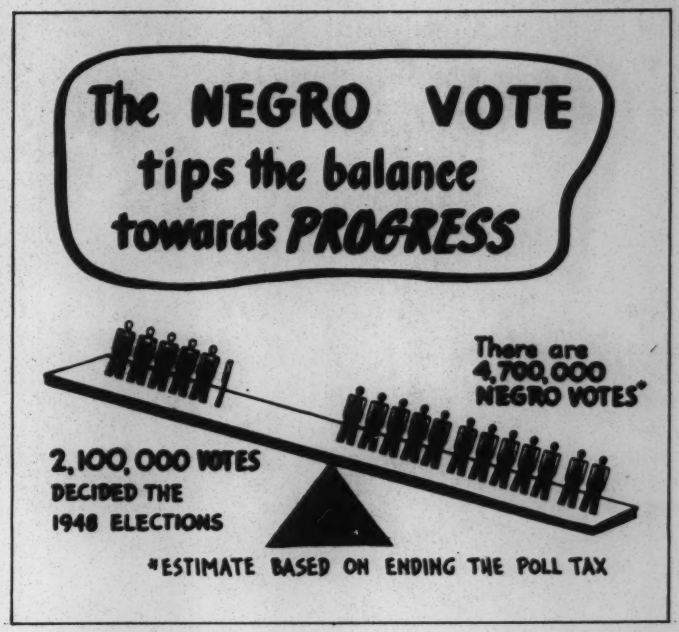
This statement comes from the Report of the National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital, **Segregation in Washington,** (November, 1948, p. 33). This study adds succinctly:

> "As a result, the same real estate interests that make money by excluding colored people from new sub-divisions are able to collect inflated rentals from the slums into which they are driven. A profit is made on the Negro going and coming."

And a profit is also made on the whites. The real estate interests use prejudice to victimize both groups. To them segregation is good business. It is not white workers who set this pattern—it is the bankers, the mortgage holders, the landlords who plan it, who invest in it, and enforce it.

What is true in Washington is true in almost every major city of the United States. Any big landlord will tell you that his most profitable holdings are in Negro slum properties. A single block in Harlem houses 3,871 Negroes. On a comparable concentration twice the population of the United States could be housed in New York City! [10]

Here is the economic root of the Cicero "riot,"



and hundreds of similar riots that have occurred since the end of World War I. They are the ugly, terroristic extra-legal methods of enforcing segregation and the super-rents derived from it.

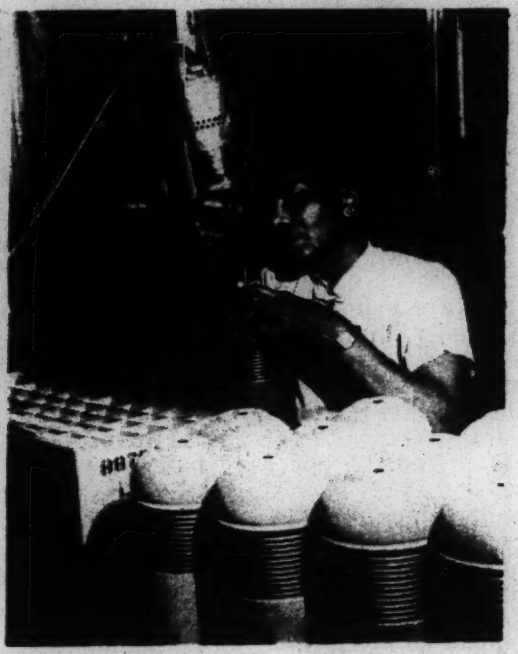
> " . . . Cicero is no isolated incident, chargeable to local conditions or to some single criminal segment of the population; it is only the most prominent symptom of a major disease in the American scene. The jury (at Cicero) that indicted the landlady, her lawyer, her agent, and the NAACP lawyer (rather than the guilty hoodlums) was not corrupt. **They had the sanction of their elders, of the community, of the police, and of parts of the press.**" (Emphasis supplied. Charles Abrams, "The Time Bomb That Exploded in Cicero," **Commentary,** November, 1951, p. 413)

NOT THIS

Picture Credits: Esther Handler, Bernard, Dorothea Lange—FSA

BUT THIS

NOT THIS



BUT THIS

Factories exist in communities and prejudice flows freely through the plant gates. Even if a union succeeded in ending discrimination inside a particular plant, their work would be undermined unless segregation in the community were also ended.

★ ★ ★

This is the economics of prejudice. It is an economics that benefits business interests. It is an economics of wage cutting, of divide and rule, of hatred.

Unions cannot adopt the employers' economics of prejudice without paying for it in weakened unions and lower wages.

As long as a union tolerates the employer's discriminatory job classifications, and discriminatory practices in hiring and firing, all the formal resolutions adopted at conventions are meaningless.

Unions have always fought against the employer's economics of low wages by fighting for higher wages.

We must also fight against the employer's poison of prejudice among us. We have become so addicted and so debilitated by this poison that we can no longer be successful in any fight unless we also fight against the employer's economics of prejudice.

Ours is and must be an economics of brotherhood between all men—an economics of job equality which leads to stronger unions and higher wages for all.

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FOOTNOTES

1 Bureau of Labor Statistics, **Monthly Labor Review**, April, 1951.

2 Figures from **Monthly Labor Review**, Bureau of Labor Statistics, September, 1950, 11/50 Table c-5.

3 Figures for varying months in 1950 and 1951 from U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, **Monthly Labor Review**, 12/51—p. 703; 10/50—p. 465; 1/51—p. 36; 3/51—p. 291; 2/51—p. 163; 4/51—p. 395; 7/51—p. 47.

4 1950 Census figures. Average medium earnings of non-farm white families and single individuals in the South was $2,638, of non-whites, $1,156; in the rest of the country: white, $3,050; non-white, $1,760.

5 U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, **Case Studies in Equal Pay for Women**, Sept., 1951, p. 1.

6 U. S. Bureau of the Census, **Income of Families and Persons in the U. S.**, 1949, Table 24, p. 36.

7 Method based on V. Perlo, **American Imperialism**, 1951, pp. 88-89.

8 Value added by manufacture in the South increased from $3.4 billion to $12.8 billion from 1919 to 1947, according to the Census of Manufactures. In the remainder of the U. S., the increase was from $21.4 billion to $61.6 billion.

9 This and the following examples are from the Civil Rights Congress petition to the United Nations entitled "**We Charge Genocide, the Crime of Government Against the Negro People**," 1951.

10 L. B. Wheildon, 'Negro Segregation,' **Editorial Research Reports**, November 7, 1947, p. 825.

Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Eighty-Second Congress

Second Session on the Institute of Pacific Relations - Part 13

Tuesday, May 13, 1952

p. 4595

Mr. Morris. Will you give your name and address to the reporter, please?

Mr. Yergan. Max Yergan, Pines Bridge Road, Ossining, N.Y.

Mr. Morris. How recently have you been abroad?

Mr. Yergan. Last year. About 8 or 9 months ago I went off to East Africa and to India.

Mr. Morris. Under what auspices?

Mr. Yergan. I went to India under the auspices of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom. I went to East Africa under the invitation of some Government officials and African educational leaders. I went to Europe after my return to America from Asia. I went back to Europe during the sessions of the UN for purposes of conferring with Africans and with Government representatives there who carry an administrative responsibility in Africa.

25-61-52

pp. 4596-7

Senator Ferguson. When did you come back from Africa, Doctor?

Mr. Yergan. In 1937.

Senator Ferguson. 1937?

Mr. Yergan. 1937.

Senator Ferguson. At that time did you become acquainted with any Communists?

Mr. Yergan. Yes.

Senator Ferguson. Will you tell us what the Communists did when you came back, you having been a worker among the colored people and for their betterment and welfare? Just what did the Communists do?

Mr. Yergan. I came back from Africa in 1937. I left the work of the YMCA because I felt that a new committee at that time was needed which could deal much more directly with the issues then developing in Africa. They were political and economic. I thought that the American public needed to be informed in a way which I could not do too well under the YMCA. Now, the Communists made a strong plea for me when I came back. I knew James W. Ford. I had known him as a student. I think he must have been one of the Communist leaders who was told to make a strong plea for me. I was invited to speak at meetings which ostensibly had the interests of Africa as their purpose.

Senator Ferguson. Did you later find that this interest was not genuine; that they had Communists rather than the people of Africa in mind?

Mr. Yergan. Without hesitancy, my experience in these organizations led me as early as 1947 to the conviction that the Communists as such are not interested really in improving the conditions of Negroes or any other minority. They are certainly, I discovered, not interested in improving the conditions of hitherto underprivileged colonial peoples. They are interested in exploiting their conditions. They are interested in exploiting their grievances. They are interested in stirring up strife and in really preventing the solution of the problems along democratic lines.

Senator Ferguson. In other words, you find that they wear the cloak of humanity but, in fact, they are not for it at all; they have their own selfish and political interests in mind.

Mr. Yergan. That is my conviction, sir. Anyone who looks to Communists for moral leadership or for wise political quidance looks in vain.

pp. 4597-8

Senator Ferguson. But they did have these Communists meet you and in effect take you under their wing?

Mr. Yergan. They made it possible for me to meet them. I think an accurate description is that I was cultivated. I was sought after. I say that with a degree of modesty. I made some record as one really interested in working out some sort of solution of what we spoke of then as the racial problem here in this country. I was certainly tremendously interested in the colonial question, as I had studied it and observed it in Africa at that time. I had been given certain awards which Negroes who accomplish things receive, and so they made a plea for me. They made a beeline for me and sought to capitalize my interest in these questions.

Senator Ferguson. And in effect did they really take you over?

Mr. Yergan. Not in the sense that I was made a member of the Communist Party, but I suppose I was the victim of their flattery to some extent. I was identified with many of their organizations.

Senator Ferguson. Did they get to use your name in their organizations?

Mr. Yergan. Oh, yes; my name was placed on a number of their organizations.

Mr. Morris. May I just break in there? You were actively associated with Communists during that period, were you not, Doctor?

Mr. Yergan. Yes.

Mr. Morris. It was not as if you did not know the nature of the organization in which you were operating. I mean, you knew the general nature of it?

Mr. Yergan. Oh, yes; I think so.

Mr. Morris. In fact, you were acquainted enough with the Communist organization that you had access to their headquarters?

Mr. Yergan. Yes.

Mr. Morris. And you have been on more than one occasion at Communist Party headquarters?

Mr. Yergan. Yes.

Mr. Morris. You have been in the office of the Daily Worker?

Mr. Yergan. Yes.

Mr. Morris. And you met all the Communist officials that Senator Ferguson has mentioned here today?

Mr. Yergan. That is correct.

Mr. Morris. In fact, did they not in some cases take you more into their confidence than they did some actual party members?

Mr. Yergan. I think that is true.

Mr. Morris. Dr. Yergan, how long did this period exist? You say it roughly commenced in 1936. By 1940 you had become president of the National Negro Congress, and how long did this confidential relationship exist?

Mr. Yergan. It continued up to 1947.

25-61.57

pp. 4602-3

Senator Ferguson. Do you think or do you know that the Communists have used the Negro people in this country to sponsor Communist activities and Communist propaganda?

Mr. Yergan. I both think it and know it.

Senator Ferguson. Tell us how you know it.

Mr. Yergan. I know it because of a request made upon me to suggest Negroes who might be brought into various organizations. I think I am an example also of the use that is made.

pp. 4606-9

Mr. Morris. It mentions here that you were the Director of the Council on African Affairs.

Mr. Yergan. Yes.

Mr. Morris. I assume that is one of the organizations that you are going to tell us about today. Will you tell us the general nature of that organization that you are here listed as director of? You were the leading director, were you not?

Mr. Yergan. Yes. There is one organization that constitutes a slight exception. I founded it and when I founded it I was under no influence of the Communists.

Mr. Morris. That was what year?

Mr. Yergan. That was in 1937. The only individual that I now recall who was definitely associated with a Communist outfit who was on the committee is Paul Robeson, as I recall. However, Communists were brought into the organization. They were proposed by Robeson. I think I must have proposed some. Certainly I didn't object to those who were brought in, so that I take some responsibility for their presence. This organization had one or two main purposes: One, to inform American opinion about the changes that were taking place in a more or less unknown great colonial area of the world. During the war we sought to involve Africans as fighters on the allied side through correspondence with governments in Europe and the South African governments. We didn't succeed too much in that. We were interested also in developing a helpful interest, not only from a humanitarian point of view, but in terms of developing the democratic idea and winning Africans who would be coming into positions of leadership to the side of the democratic cause. Now, the Communists saw that here was an organization that appealed to Negroes and to non-Negroes in this country, because Africa was then becoming of great interest. By 1945, by the end of the war, the Communists' strength in the organization was considerable. They didn't have a majority of the people, but it was considerable. Robeson was chairman and I was executive head. By the end of the war, actually in 1946, in the organizations to which I belonged, the National Negro Congress, the Civil Rights Congress, I began to see clearly the issues on which and the procedure on which I could not agree with the Communists.

In the Council of African Affairs, particularly, there was a real effort on the part of the chairman and other leaders, the educational director, to use every occasion to criticize American and allied policy with regard to Africa and to promote Russian policy with regard to Africa and the colonies in general. That became so clear and so pointed that it was the basis for the opposition or the conflict that developed in the council between the Communist-led forces and the forces which I led, which were the non-Communist forces in the council.

Mr. Morris. The net result of the whole thing was that you were put out of your own organization?

Mr. Yergan. I was put out of the organization even though I had a majority of votes on my side.

Mr. Morris. How was that effected?

Mr. Yergan. Because the chairman refused to act in accordance with ordinary parliamentary rules.

Senator Ferguson. In other words, they would not count them?

Mr. Yergan. They would not count them. I had the actual votes and the proxies, but they wouldn't count them and so the usual methods were resorted to until it became perfectly clear to me that I'd use the rest of my life in court or otherwise fighting them, so we lost to the Communists. We lost property. We lost one of the best libraries on Africa in this country, and other things.

Mr. Sourwine. Are you saying, Dr. Yergan, in effect, that as long as you cooperated with the Communist purposes in the organization it rocked along, but when you refused to do that they forced you out? Is that the fact?

Mr. Yergan. That is one interpretation, but that is not exactly what I was saying. That is one interpretation, to be sure. I raised the issues. I said this organization was founded and exists to aid Africa, not to promote Russian foreign policy and not to attack everything in America.

Mr. Sourwine. How long after you raised these issues were you forced out?

Mr. Yergan. These issues were raised early in 1947. I was forced out early in 1948.

Mr. Sourwine. And how long prior to the time you raised these issues had the organization existed without friction?

Mr. Yergan. It had existed from its beginning without too much friction.

Mr. Sourwine. About 10 years; is that not so?

Mr. Yergan. From 1937 to 1946, nearly 10 years.

Mr. Morris. Dr. Yergan, are you acquainted with the China Aid Council?

Mr. Yergan. There's so many of these committees on China.

Mr. Morris. I have here a letterhead of that organization which has been introduced into the record, our exhibit No. 348. I show this to you.

Mr. Yergan. Yes.

Mr. Morris. You were a member of that?

Mr. Yergan. I was a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy and the China Aid Council, as I recall, was a sub-division of that over-all organization.

Senator Ferguson. Doctor, how did they ever get you into so many of these Chinese things when you had a task of your own?

Mr. Yergan. Well, I can think of two reasons: One, because at that time China was considered as a colonial problem, and, secondly, because the Communists thought to capitalize on the fact of color. They sought to lump nonwhites together and indicate that there was a common bond, or should be a common bond amongst peoples who had color in common. The assumption there was perhaps that whites do not have any color.

Senator Ferguson. They made that cause, though, appeal to you as wanting to help your people?

Mr. Yergan. That's right.

Senator Ferguson. That if you helped the Chinese cause you would be helping your own; is that correct?

Mr. Yergan. That's an inference; yes, sir.

Senator Ferguson. So they got your name.

Mr. Yergan. And the other reason is my name stood for something.

Senator Ferguson. Yes, and they were using it wherever they could; is that true?

Mr. Yergan. That is true.

Mr. Sourwine. You are being completely frank here, Dr. Yergan, I know, and I think your answer to Senator Ferguson's question indicates that. As a matter of fact you are not contending that throughout this you were —

Mr. Yergan. An innocent victim.

Mr. Sourwine. That is not your contention at all?

Mr. Yergan. No, not at all.

Mr. Sourwine. As a matter of fact, your motives throughout were not entirely for the sole purpose of elevating the condition of the Negro race, were they?

Mr. Yergan. My motives primarily had a racial basis, and a racial basis in the sense of American Negroes and in the sense of Africa. My primary concern and my primary interests were in the racial question here and in the colonial question in general, but primarily in Africa, and I think it's because they knew of my interest in the colonial question that I was brought into these organizations that dealt with China.

Mr. Sourwine. Perhaps I phrased my question badly. The fact I am attempting to reach is whether throughout this period of 10 or a dozen years of association, whatever it was, where your name was used by Communist causes for the furtherance of Communist objectives you were during all of that time misled as to the objectives of the organization, or whether you were at the time and for a period an active cooperator and collaborator.

Mr. Yergan. That is correct. I was not misled in that I didn't know what I was doing.

Senator Ferguson. You were not entirely innocent?
Mr. Yergan. That is correct.
Senator Ferguson. You thought at times it would help your cause?
Mr. Yergan. Frankly, I was conscientious about it. I was naive, as I look back on it now. I wasn't a Marxist. I've known more about Marxism since I've been fighting the Communists than I knew during the time I was considered a cooperator.

pp. 4612-3
Senator Ferguson. The name "Lattimore" came up here. Did you ever know Owen Lattimore?
Mr. Yergan. Yes, sir. I met Owen Lattimore on one occasion.
Senator Ferguson. What was that occasion?
Mr. Yergan. At a social gathering, a cocktail party in San Francisco, in the early 1940's. I think it was 1942 or 1943. It was at the home of Mrs. Chamberlain, whose daughter was at that time the wife of Frederick V. Field.
Senator Ferguson. Was Field at the meeting?
Mr. Yergan. He was not at the meeting.
Senator Ferguson. Do you know whether any known Communists were at that cocktail party?
Mr. Morris. Was Paul Robeson there?
Mr. Yergan. Paul Robeson was there; a man by the name of Philip Lilienthal.
Senator Ferguson. Did you know him to be a Communist?
Mr. Yergan. I did not, sir.
Senator Ferguson. I asked you of any known Communists.
Mr. Yergan. I am sorry. I was answering the second question. I don't know of any known Communists who were there.
Senator Ferguson. Were there any people there who had worked with you as Communists?
Mr. Yergan. Well, Robeson was there.
Senator Ferguson. Field was not there, was he?
Mr. Yergan. He was not there.
Mr. Morris. Did you know at that time that Robeson was Communist?
Mr. Yergan. No; but I knew that there never was any expression of opposition from him to the Communist point of view.
Senator Ferguson. Then, you knew him to be under the discipline of the Communists?
Mr. Yergan. I don't know, sir, the use in which I have the word "discipline."
Senator Ferguson. Were you under —
Mr. Yergan. I was never under the discipline in the sense that I was bound by them.
Senator Ferguson. Did you actually comply with their directives?
Mr. Yergan. Not always, and it is in that sense that I was not under their discipline.
Senator Ferguson. You did have some freedom, then, of action, outside of the Communists; is that right?
Mr. Yergan. I would like to say, sir, that I had complete freedom of action, so that it is for that reason that I take the responsibility for the mistakes that I made, because I did make a mistake in identifying myself with them, and I now have to take the responsibility for it.

p. 4625
Senator Ferguson. I believe you have a short statement of two pages that you wanted to read or put in the record, Doctor?
Mr. Yergan. Mr. Chairman, I will be quite satisfied to put it in the record.
Senator Ferguson. I think you ought to give it to the press. It is a resume of what you think about communism?
Mr. Yergan. That's right, and I would like, Mr. Chairman, the record to show that I came voluntarily here today.
Senator Ferguson. Yes.
Mr. Yergan. I came here voluntarily today because I am appreciative of the service that this committee is rendering our country.

This statement, which I will hand over to the press, is a reflection of my views, with regard to the relation of communism and Communist agents, to the issues confronting Negroes and colonial peoples today.

Senator Ferguson. Doctor, I will receive it in evidence as part of our record, and it will be passed to the press officially.

p. 4626
Senator Ferguson. We want to thank you for appearing here voluntarily, and explaining your part, and what the Communists had to do in relation to activities here in the United States, how they subverted certain good causes for their own use and benefit, and under the guise of being humanitarians, they were attempting to take over in their own behalf, for Communists and for Russia.

You feel that they have done that?
Mr. Yergan. I do. I agree fully with what you have said, sir.
Senator Ferguson. Thank you, Doctor.

PROGRAM

PROGRAM

Reception

Nov. 16, 1952

Great Northern Hotel

Time	
5	Cedric Belfrage, Chairman
7	Angus Cameron
5	Ring Lardner, Jr.
5	Lloyd Brown
2	Prof. Edwin Berry Burgum
5	Carl Marzani, honored guest
15	COLLECTION
5	V. J. Jerome, honored guest
10	W.E.B. DuBois, honored guest

60 Minutes

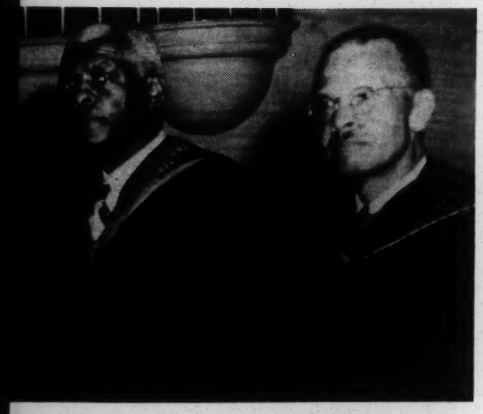
* * * * * * * * *

SALE OF AUTOGRAPHED BOOKS at entrance.

[Atlanta U.]

THE BULLETIN CAMERA

TIME Magazine Correspondent, John Scott, discusses conditions in Europe at University Seminar with Atlanta's N. P. Tillman (left) and Atlanta's L. D. Reddick (right).



enter (held January 27), the platform party in-
ce M. Read (Spelman College); Harry V. Rich-
llege); Benjamin E. Mays (Morehouse College);

he 1952 Negro History Week celebration by
ts who relived their college days at a special
aymond H. Carter, Morehouse; W. Boyd Law-
W. E. Bowen, Gammon Theological Seminary;
llege; and George A. Towns of Atlanta Univer-

When the famed Hungry Club honored Atlanta's Mozell C. Hill for his years of service as moderator, the organization selected Mrs. Lucille M. Scott to make the presentation to the guest of honor. It turned out to be a portable radio, much to his surprise and pleasure.

alumni of A. U. attend-
annual meeting of the
tion of Colleges and Sec-
Schools for Negroes in
er were C. L. Gideons,
R. V. Moore, Daytona
Fla.; G. Porter, Tallahas-
.; J. A. Colston, Knox-
nn.; E. C. Land, Daytona
Fla.; S. D. Williams, Eliz-
ity, N. C.; W. E. Blanch-
Valley, Ga.; J. B. Cade,
Rouge, La.; H. Stinson,
e, Ga.; E. Lash, Sanders-
a.; S. E. Hubbard, For-
a.; G. W. Parker, Na-
ille, La.; F. A. Dodson,
, Ga.; C. A. Blake, Char-

C.; C. V. Troup, Ft. Valley, Ga.; C. DuVaul, Columbus, Ga.; J. A. Boyer, Raleigh, N. C.; O. C. Hall, Salisbury, N. C.; J. C. Reese, Waycross,
. Wilkerson, Brunswick, Ga.; N. F. Williams, Swainsboro, Ga.; and C. N. Cornell of Atlanta.

Atlanta University Bulletin, July, 1952

INTELLECTUALS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

(Left to right): Dr. Hylan G. Lewis; Dr. John Edlefsen, Guest Professor from the State College of Washington; Dr. Mozell C. Hill (Chairman); and Dr. Albert N. Whiting.

Atlanta's Sociologists— Traditional and Progressive

Atlanta's sociologists are both traditional and progressive. They are traditional in that the majority of those who have been graduated with master's degrees have gone into the field of teaching. Yet, some might well be termed progressive for they have broken away from tradition and have ventured forth into public relations, guidance and personnel, social work, government service, library service, law, dentistry and music.

According to information received in a recent BULLETIN survey, sociology majors from Atlanta University are filling teaching positions in 20 states and abroad, and the majority of those in educational work are on college and university faculties.

Since 1929, the year of the reorganization of Atlanta University into a graduate school, there have been 97* to earn the master's degree in sociology. This BULLETIN report on more than 73 per cent of that number is presumed to be a fair indication of what has been accomplished by the group as a whole.

In addition to filling high ranking positions, these sociology graduates have been busy seeking higher degrees, writing serious and scholarly articles for various types of journals and pursuing individual and group researches.

Four of those who have been graduated have earned doctorates. Ellen Irene Diggs, '33, received the doctora en la facultad de filosofia y letras de la Universidad de la Habana in 1945, and thus became the first American Negro woman to receive this distinction. Hugh H. Smythe, '37, earned the Ph.D. degree in 1945 at Northwestern University, and Leonard H. Robinson, also in the Class of '37, earned the doctorate at Ohio State University in 1950. Charles R. Lawrence, '38, was the recipient of the Ph.D. degree in 1952 from Columbia University.

Others have studied at the University of Wisconsin, Wayne University, the University of Chicago, New York University, the University of South-

*This figure does not include the three graduates who finished in June, 1952.

ern California, the University of Oregon, Western Reserve University, Fisk, Harvard, the University of Pittsburgh, the University of Iowa, the University of Syracuse, the McKinley School of Law and abroad at the University of Frankfort. Some idea of the type of graduate work that Atlanta's sociologists are doing is seen in a statement made by Gordon Allport of Harvard University. When Vernon F. White, '48, was studying in the department of social relations at Harvard, Professor Allport was so impressed by Mr. White's ability that he made known the fact that Harvard would welcome on its faculty with the initial rank of instructor, a suitably prepared alumnus of Atlanta University holding a Ph.D. degree in urban sociology.*

Eighteen of those who responded to the questionnaire revealed that they are members of the American Sociology Society; a similar number indicated that they are members of Alpha Kappa Delta, honorary sociological society; 2 listed membership in the American Academy of Political and Social Science; 2 in Alpha Pi Zeta Social Science Society; 1 membership in the Southern Sociological Society and 3 membership in the National Council on Family Relations. Two are members of the American Anthropological Association; 2 have membership in the Eastern Sociological Society; 1 in the Association of Social Science; 1 in the Social Science Association of Virginia; 3 in the National Council for the Social Studies, and 1 in the Association of Social Science Teachers in Negro Schools.

In engaging in research and the publication of serious studies, the record is indeed significant. James H. Barnhill, '44, has studied public health procedures and practices in health departments of North Carolina; William H. Bowens, '50, is doing special research in a Georgia Cooperative Community Center; Augustus Campbell, '51, has collected the case histories of students in the department of sociology; Dr. Diggs has done special research on the Negro in the Caribbean as well as on the Negro in Colonial Spanish Americas. Rogers P. Fair, '50, is nearing the completion of a book on an entirely new approach to the problem of race relations in America; and Arthur L. Johnson, '49, has given time to a study of a Negro community in Statesboro, Georgia. Harvey E. Johnson, '39, has been engaged in a study of living conditions in Talladega County (Alabama); Dr. Lawrence worked with the Fisk Institute of Social Science on a survey in race relations; and Lillian Stokes Mitchell, '46, assisted on a research project on restrictive convenants in Chicago. In Washington, D. C., Anderson Phillips, '48, has worked on a project in housing redevelopment. Bernard F. Robinson, '40, has done research in race relations, vocational guidance and group psychotherapy; and Dr. Leonard Robinson has conducted studies in intra-minority relations. William H. Shell, '35, has assisted in studies in Atlanta housing, Atlanta's Negro population and civic education among the Negroes of Georgia.

Only a portion of the extensive research carried on by Dr. Smythe can be mentioned. For the Committee on Medical Economics of Washington, D. C., he conducted a study of the health care of Negroes; for W. B. Graham and Associates of New York

(*Continued on page 26*)

A notable occasion for the department of sociology occurred on February 23, 1938, at the 70th anniversary celebration of W. E. B. DuBois. On that date, the eminent sociologist and educator was principal speaker at an all-university convocation and guest of honor at a formal banquet held at the University Residence Halls. Some of the world-famous personalities who were present on that occasion are seen in the accompanying photograph: (Seated — left to right) Mrs. Rufus E. Clement, Dr. DuBois, Mrs. DuBois and Joel E. Spingarn. (Standing — left to right) Charles S. Johnson, Mrs. Yolande DuBois Williams, James Weldon Johnson, Ira DeA. Reid, Rufus E. Clement and William Stanley Braithwaite.

*Statement was made to the Reverend Isaiah J. Domas, a former chairman of the Department of Social Research, Atlanta University School of Social Work.

City, he made a study of sociological techniques to advertising and for the Department of Special Research of the N. A. A. C. P., he worked on their program of southern regional education. For the Negro Land Grant Colleges, Dr. Smythe undertook a study of cooperative social studies of Negro communities in southern states; and for the American Council on Education, he assisted in the study which was published under the title, "Growing Up in the Black Belt." In the past year since he has been living in the Orient, Dr. Smythe has prepared studies on Japan's major minority group, human traffic in Japan, the sociology of occupation, the Japanese family system, Japanese mountain village life, social ostracism in Japan and racialism and race consciousness among the Japanese.

James A. Tillman, Jr., '48, has done some research on the social system of a small southern town under the sponsorship of the Carnegie Foundation; Bonita H. Valien, '36, has participated in studies on personality and culture; James T. Wardlaw, '34, has directed studies for the Minncapolis Urban League relating to the housing of Negroes; and Charles V. Willie, '49, has in process an ecological study of the growth and development of social areas in Syracuse, New York. Arnold Wright, '34, has engaged in surveys that concern consumers cooperatives in Great Britain and also administrative practices in juvenile courts.

During the period that he was executive secretary of the Urban League in Tampa, Florida, James Stiles Hadley, '45, was one of the authors of *Jim Crow*, which was published in 1951 by the Ann Arbor (Michigan) Publishers. The book was considered significant due to the fact that the authors, one white* and the other a Negro, in the deep South

*Co-author is Jesse Walter Dees, University of Tampa.

(*Continued on page* 27)

Visitors to the department of sociology invariably are attracted to the stained glass window, which is a memorial to John Howard Hincks (first professor of sociology at Atlanta University) who was appointed to the faculty by President Horace W. Bumstead in 1889. For many years this window was a focal point of interest in Stone Hall on the original campus of Atlanta University.

The appointment of the Reverend Mr. Hincks came about as the result of President Bumstead's desire for an accurate and unprejudiced study of those elements in social life which affect human welfare, and in particular as far as Atlanta University was concerned, the welfare of the Negro people. To President Bumstead must also go credit for establishing the annual conference for the study of problems connected with the Negro, especially in the life of the cities.

But the Reverend Mr. Hincks (serving also in the capacity of dean) was under too heavy a strain of administrative duties to enter effectively into social studies. Three years after his death, which occurred in 1894, an appointment went to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois as professor of sociology and as director of the conference and its associated studies. Out of this arrangement came a series of printed reports (still in demand) which commanded wide attention for their significance and the light which they shed upon various phases of the life of the Negro. Dr. DuBois remained in this post until 1913 when he resigned to become editor of the CRISIS *and director of publications for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.*

When he returned to Atlanta University in 1933, at the request of the late Dr. John Hope, to assume new duties as chairman of the graduate department of sociology, one of the first things he did was to arrange to have the stained glass window removed to its present site.

In this photograph, Dr. Hylan G. Lewis, a member of the department, (left) brings Dr. John Edlefsen (right), guest professor of sociology at Atlanta University, up to date on the department's historical background.

were able to blend in harmony (with but a few exceptions) on such a social problem as segregation and discrimination.

Both Dr. Diggs and Dr. Smythe have been prolific writers. The former has had articles published in the *Negro Digest*, *Phylon*, the Associated Negro Press, the *Magazine of Art*, the *Crisis*, the *Education Sun* (New York University publication), the *American Anthropologist* and the *Journal of Negro History*. Writings by Dr. Smythe have appeared in *School and Society*, the *American Sociological Review*, the *Jewish Forum*, the *Journal of Educational Research*, the *American Mercury*, the *New York Times*, the *Nation*, the *New Republic*, the *Crisis*, and the *Annals*, to mention just a few. Wilmoth Carter, '42, has had several articles published in *Phylon;* Carrie Gartrell Chivers, '46, has prepared numerous articles on marriage and the family; the Reverend Mr. Fair has written for the *Central Christian Advocate;* Dr. Lawrence's writings have appeared in *Prophetic Religion* and the *Negro Yearbook* and Bernard F. Robinson, on different occasions, has had articles to appear in *Phylon*. William H. Shell's articles have appeared in the *Bible Society Record*, the *Bulletin* of the NYA of Georgia and the *Journal* of the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers. James A. Tillman's writings have appeared in the *Journal of Social Science*, the *Bulletin* of the American Association of Universities, the *Mid-West Journal* and the *Quarterly Review of Higher Education*. Mrs. Valien worked on the revision of E. Franklin Frazier's *Negro Family in the United States*.

Specifically, the aim of the department of sociology is (1) to provide a background for understanding the nature and development of social institutions and their effect on personality; (2) to prepare for research in the field; (3) to provide training for academic positions; and (4) to provide training for research positions.

DR. SMYTHE

Since the very beginning of the graduate program in 1930-1931, the department has moved with purpose and direction, guided first by Walter R. Chivers, chairman of the department of sociology at Morehouse College, who has served through the years as an exchange professor at Atlanta University; then by the studious and scholarly W. E. B. DuBois, who served as chairman from 1933-1944. In 1934, the brilliant sociologist, Ira. DeA. Reid, resigned from a post as director of research for the New York Urban League to accept a position as professor of sociology at Atlanta University. Ten years later, upon the retirement of Dr. DuBois, Dr. Reid took over the chairmanship of the department. He was succeeded in 1948 by another able scholar in the field, Mozell C. Hill, who possessed an outstanding career in teaching and research.

Dr. Hill came to Atlanta University equipped with earned degrees from the University of Kansas and the University of Chicago. He had been a social investigator on the Governor's Committee on Unemployment Relief in Indianapolis, Indiana; a labor relations adviser for the U. S. Resettlement Administration; a professor of sociology at Langston University as well as director of research at this institution, and editor of the *Southwestern Journal*. Since joining the Atlanta faculty, he has served as research specialist with the U. S. Department of Public Health, editor of *Phylon*, the Atlanta University Review of race and culture, and as chairman of the division of social sciences. He holds membership in Alpha Kappa Delta, the American Sociological Society, the Society for Sociological Research, the Board of the Community Planning Council, and on the executive committee of the Southern Sociological Society. For several years, he has served as moderator of the famed Hungry Club, a project of the Butler Street Y. M. C. A. Dr. Hill will be on sabbatical leave of absence during the academic year, 1952-1953, during which time he will engage in special research at Cambridge, Oxford, the London School of Economics, Edinburgh and the University of Scotland.

A colleague in the department is Hylan Garnet Lewis of Washington, D. C., who earned the A.B. degree at Virginia Union University, and the M.A. and the Ph.D. degrees at the University of Chicago. Before accepting the Atlanta appointment in 1949, he had taught on the faculties of Howard University, Talladega College and Hampton Institute. For a number of years he was in service with the federal government as junior social economist and as a research analyst, and for one year he was engaged in research at the Institute for Social Science at the University of North Carolina.

Another colleague, Albert N. Whiting, was educated at Amherst College, Columbia University, the University of Pittsburgh, Fisk University and The American University. His experience in the field of education was obtained at Bennett College and at Howard University. Author of numerous studies, Professor Whiting was a propaganda analyst with the U. S. Department of Justice in 1943. He

(*Continued on page* 28)

was director of rural studies at Bennett College during 1946-1947.

A report on some of the graduates follows:

Alice Durham Archer, Associate in News Bureau, Central State College Public Relations Department, Wilberforce, Ohio

Leroy W. Banks, Employee, Federal Government Agency in Communications, Washington, D. C.

James H. Barnhill (D.D.) Public Health Dentist, Raleigh, North Carolina

Lincoln A. Blakeney, Student, College of Law, University of Tennessee

Fannie Irene Blanton, Field Director, Oklahoma City and County Girl Scouts

William H. M. Bowens, Assistant in Public Relations and Instructor in Business Administration, Savannah State College

Eddye Q. Brown, Instructor, Family Living Courses, Grant Schools, Ferndale, Michigan

Martha I. Brown, Instructor, Practice School, Albany State College

Augustus P. Campbell, Chairman, Department of Sociology, Livingstone College

Wilmoth A. Carter, Associate Professor of Sociology, Shaw University

Carrie Gartrell Chivers, Instructor, Department of Sociology, Morehouse College

Frederick J. Cook, Instructor in Social Studies, Burke Industrial High School, Charleston, South Carolina

Ellen Irene Diggs (Ph.D.) Professor of Sociology, Morgan State College

William P. Diggs, Professor of Social Science, Friendship Junior College, Rock Hill, South Carolina

Ida Hauser Duncan, Instructor in Social Science, High School, Reidsville, North Carolina

Nellie I. Douglas, Instructor, Douglas High School, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Mary Johnson Durgans, Housewife, Dayton, Ohio

Alva B. Elkins, Instructor in Social Studies, Herring High School, Decatur, Georgia

Rogers P. Fair, Minister, Trinity Methodist Church, Daytona Beach, Florida; Chairman, Department of Social Science, Bethune-Cookman College

Lula J. Gambrell, Instructor, Benedict College

Louise Torrence Gloster, Instructor of Social Science, Hampton Institute

James Stiles Hadley, Social Case Worker, Bureau of Public Assistance, Los Angeles, California

Lottie Bailey Harris, Instructor, E. A. Ware School, Atlanta, Georgia

Charles J. Hatfield, Postal Clerk, New Orleans, Louisiana

Elise Oliver Hope, Housewife, Nashville, Tennessee

William H. Howell, Graduate Student, Ohio State University

Samuel E. Hubbard, Principal, Hubbard Training School, Forsyth, Georgia

Arthur L. Johnson, Executive Secretary, Detroit Branch, N. A. A. C. P.

Harvey E. Johnson, Minister and School Principal, Atlanta, Georgia

Kathryn L. Johnson, Instructor, Jackson College

Ruby Funchess Johnston, Associate Professor of Sociology, Florida A. & M. College

Ruth Bronson Johnston, Housewife, Macon, Georgia

Franklin S. Jones, Jr., Principal, Northside Junior High School, Newnan, Georgia

Winston Q. Jones, Bandmaster, Mercer County Schools, West Virginia

Robert Scott Kennon, Personnel Officer, Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, Georgia Division, Marietta, Georgia

Charles R. Lawrence (Ph.D.) Instructor in Sociology-Anthropology, Brooklyn College

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William A. Long, Chairman, Department of Sociology, West Virginia State College

John W. Martin, Chairman, Department of Social Science and Professor of Sociology, Miles College

Agnes May, Supervisor, Public Schools, Macon, Georgia

McClure P. McCombs, Instructor in Sociology, Bennett College

Ruth D. A. McDowell, Instructor, Public School System, Clarksdale, Mississippi

Lillian Stokes Mitchell, Housewife, Bremerton, Washington

James D. Mizelle, Cottage Master, Boys' Training School, Cheltenham, Maryland

Callie Mae Montgomery, Instructor, Laboratory School, Atlanta University

Grace R. Nash, Senior Visitor-Interviewer, Department of Public Assistance, Philadelphia, and Assistant to the Residence Secretary, Y. W. C. A.

Eugene T. Page, Resources Consultant, Department of Public Welfare, Detroit, Michigan

Nancy O. Parker, Instructor, Dunbar High School, Little Rock, Arkansas

Anderson O. Phillips, Graduate Student, The American University

Earl H. Pierro, Assistant Professor of Social Science, Fort Valley State College

Moddie D. Roberts, Principal of High School, Athens, Georgia

Bernard F. Robinson, Director of Social Service, Skillman State Village, Skillman, New Jersey

Leonard H. Robinson (Ph.D.), Chairman, Department of Social Science, A. & T. College, Greensboro, North Carolina

Hattie R. Roston, Jeanes Supervisor, Spartanburg County, South Carolina

Marie F. Saxon, Instructor, David T. Howard High School, Atlanta, Georgia

(*Continued on page* 40)

Officers of the National Alumni Association of the Atlanta University School of Social Work are seen in Chicago following announcement of the establishment of the Forrester B. Washington Student Loan Fund. (Left to right) Mrs. Audrey D. Farris, national treasurer; Dr. Washington, director, School of Social Work; Nelson C. Jackson, outgoing national president; and Samuel J. Rice, president of the Chicago Chapter.

Cemetery Corporation; vice president of the Atlanta Savings and Loan Association; president of the Southeastern Fidelity Fire Insurance Company; chairman of the board of directors of the Citizens Trust Company of Atlanta; a member of the board of trustees of the Y. M. C. A.; chairman of the board of trustees of the

years of service to the School given by Dr. Washington.

Elected to the presidency of the Association was Robert Neal, '38, of Chicago, Illinois. Vice presidents who will serve in regional capacities are Mrs. Maggie Carter, '30, of Atlanta; Mrs. Gertrude Thompson, '32, of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Gertrude Nabrit Thomas, '36, of Inwood, Long Island; Mrs. Flozella R. Clark, '42, of Baltimore, Maryland; Mrs. Beatrice Dunn Wilson, '47, of New Orleans, Louisiana; Mrs. Renetta Etter, '47, of Houston, Texas; Mrs. Dorothy Boone, '36, of Los Angeles, California; Miss Grace White, '46, of Kansas City, Missouri; and Mrs. Isobel Chisholm Clark, '36, of Raleigh, North Carolina. Miss Mollie Faison, '42, of the Girl Scout Regional Organization in Detroit, Michigan, was elected secretary; and Mrs. Audrey Farris, '42, of Chicago, was elected treasurer.

Atlanta Branch

At the April 1952 meeting, this group presented $150 to Dr. Forrester B. Washington as a contribution toward the Student Loan Fund of the School.

George K. Howe, instructor in mathematics and manual arts at Atlanta University, 1902-1929, came into the limelight in November, 1951, when he returned to work after being retired three times. He was first retired by Atlanta University in 1929. However, he remained retired for only one year before accepting a job as treasurer and business manager of a college in Mississippi. He retired again in 1935. When the call went out in 1942 for workers at the Marietta bomber plant, Howe, a young 65 years of age, left his home workshop (where he repairs watches) to learn the template and lofting trade at Bell Aircraft. He spent six weeks in school at Buffalo, New York, and then worked at the plant until it was closed in 1945. He returned to his workshop and watch repairing until the spring of '51 when again he came out of retirement to help build B-47's with Lockheed Aircraft in Marietta, Georgia.

ATLANTA'S SOCIOLOGISTS

(*Continued from page* 28)

William H. Shell, Administrative Officer, Office of the Administrator, Farmers Home Administration, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

Louia D. Shivery, Dean of Women, Florida Industrial and Memorial College

Dorothy Slade, Instructor in Social Science, Dudley High School, Greensboro, North Carolina

Hugh H. Smythe (Ph.D.), Professor of Social Science, Yagamuchi National University, Yagamuchi, Japan

Olga Williams Taylor, Instructor, E. P. Johnson School, Atlanta, Georgia

Eva Louise Thomas, Instructor, E. R. Carter School, Atlanta, Georgia

Daniel C. Thompson, Associate Professor of Sociology, Dillard University

Josephine Thompson, Instructor, School of Library Service, Atlanta University

James A. Tillman, Jr., Dean of Men, Fort Valley State College

Bonita H. Valien, Associate Professor of Social Science, Fisk University

James T. Wardlaw, Minneapolis, Minnesota—Plans to enter University of Minnesota in Fall Quarter (1952) to study social legislation

Martiel M. Watson, Instructor, Booker T. Washington School, Pensacola, Florida

Vernon F. White, Convalescing from illness (was on faculty of St. Augustine College)

Charles V. Willie, Teaching Assistant, Syracuse University; Research Sociologist, New York State Mental Health Commission

Arthur Winfield (Deceased)

Arnold W. Wright, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Kentucky State College

THE NEW
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Break the stranglehold

THE friendship between countries upon which world peace depends is not just a question of idealism any more than it is simply a question of exchanging films and visits. It is a sober, matter of fact, bread and butter question and one of the reasons which has made possible the outrageous rudeness of official spokesmen of one country to another in recent years is that there have not been sufficient trade relations between East and West to compel good manners and sober reflection before anything was said or done that could possibly lead to a breach.

It must not be forgotten that East-West trade today is vital for two reasons: it can be of great assistance to the economies of both West and East and, if it is large enough, it can give each a sufficiently large vested interest in the other to become a major factor in promoting peace.

Britain, certainly, has long passed the stage when it can afford to ignore the enormous help which it can gain from bringing to an end the wholly novel and unnatural trade breach between East and West and it is this simple and undeniable fact which has led the Trades Union Congress, perhaps the most powerful single body in the United Kingdom, to appeal to the Government to build new trade relations with the East.

Backed by T.U.C.

We print its highly significant resolution on the next page: it should be read and studied. It means that the demand for East-West trade, which this journal has consistently supported, is no longer the demand of minorities, it is now the official policy of the entire Trade Union movement.

In recent weeks propaganda has been made against the idea of extending such trade on the grounds that the Economic Commission for Europe of the United Nations has cancelled a projected conference on the subject because it has received no reply to its suggestion from the Soviet Government. Aha!, say the opponents of East-West trade, you see the Russians themselves don't really want it. This is disingenuous, to say the least. The Economic Commission had invited the Secretary-General to satisfy himself of the value of a meeting of experts. It appears not to have penetrated the minds of some that others too, including the Soviet Government, might also have wished to satisfy themselves of the value of such a meeting. The evidence they would have had to consider in making such an assessment would certainly have included the Parliamentary declaration by the President of the Board of Trade in which he poured contempt upon the Moscow Economic Conference which had put generalities aside and made specific trade proposals. Is it any wonder that there was no reply to a proposal for further talk ?

We have long passed the stage when propaganda of the kind referred to can have much weight. Not only the British Trade Union Congress but powerful voices in the United States are now demanding that the whole matter be reconsidered.

In the U.S. too

Only two weeks ago the United States Council of the International Chamber of Commerce, one of the most powerful business groups in the country, called for a re-examination and revision of the basic assumptions underlying the United States Government's policy of restricting East-West trade and it demanded a study of the significance of *imports* from "behind the Iron Curtain on the economies of free countries."

In the United States, of course, nobody attempts to make the kind of pathetic denials sometimes made here that this is a matter of United States dictation in Europe. Read for example, an editorial reprinted in the *New York Herald-Tribune* of August 30 from the *San Francisco Chronicle* which began:

"In its leadership of the free world alliance this country now faces the vexing question of how much to interfere in the trading relationships of its allies.

"We are plainly interfering. We began in 1948 using our power of withholding Marshall Plan aid as pressure to bring Marshall Plan countries into line with American views on what shouldn't be exported to Iron Curtain countries.

"These sanctions were sharpened after the Korean war by the Kem amendment of June, 1951, providing for the flat cut-off of economic or financial assistance to any foreign country exporting to Russia or her satellites any article that, in the interests of national security, the United States did not allow to be exported from this country to Russia or her satellites.

"We're still following the Kem amendment's principles,

although these have been made more flexible under what is known as the Battle Act . . ."

A part of America is beginning to talk like this because the whole of Europe is in revolt at an economic dictation which is strangling its life-lines. Of this revolt the T.U.C. resolution is but the latest sign.

Disarmament

REFERENCE was made in the columns of our last issue to the recent speech of General Eisenhower which has been condemned as "irresponsible." But was it simply that? Or was it the deliberate placing of cards on the table, telling both friend and foe where Atlantic Pact re-armament is heading?

Tribune put the matter clearly in its last issue.

"General Eisenhower's words are plain for all to read. They go much farther than anything which has previously been said by any well-known figure in the West, including General MacArthur . . . Are we really to dismiss this declaration made in such deliberate terms merely as a piece of irresponsible vote-catching? That would be to pass a judgment on General Eisenhower's character in the severest possible terms. It would be to condemn him as a man who is playing with issues of peace and war for his own personal advantage . . . Are not the Russians entitled then to assume that he represents a large body of opinion in the United States and, more particularly, among the United States military authorities?"

The Disarmament Commission of the United Nations has dropped out of the headlines, indeed, it has ceased to be news at all. Anybody assiduous enough, however, to trace its lack of progress in the occasional paragraphs in obscure corners of our newspapers will find that any suspicions aroused in the minds of the Russians, the Czechoslovaks, the Poles or others by General Eisenhower's speech are amply confirmed by the proceedings of that body as of the Security Council itself.

Why will the Disarmament Commission not even discuss bacteriological weapons? Why will it not accept the abolition of atomic weapons? Why will it face no plan which involves an effective measure of disarmament *now*? Why does the U.S.A. support the admission to the U.N. of Japan but oppose the admission of Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary?

These are questions which should worry not only the Russians but all who are concerned with peace and their own security.

New Poland

A PACKED meeting at the Conway Hall on September 5 witnessed to the growing interest in and sympathy with Poland which is found in this country, as representatives of sixty-two people who visited Poland this summer on four delegations—May Day, Co-operative, Trade Union and Cultural—spoke of their experiences.

The balanced speeches which told of how far Poland had to go and how far it had already gone gave added significance to the reports of great achievements. "For the first time in my life," said a Welsh miner, "I rode from the shaft to the working face and in a pit that was illuminated."

Universal sympathy was demonstrated when a foundry worker observed: "They are building up a culture that does not need American comics."

The more that is known of the new Poland the more will sympathy for it grow in this country.

"REMOVE THE BARRIERS"

"This congress views with alarm the increasing difficulty of maintaining Britain's exports in the face of growing competition in world markets, causing increasing instability and strain, and threatening extended slump conditions and unemployment which have already affected certain of our main consumer goods industries. The policies pursued by the Labour Government were designed to secure a balanced economy and full employment. Congress calls upon the Government to continue these policies and to take all other steps necessary to alleviate the country's difficulties

"As an effective step in this direction, congress urges the closest possible examination of the economic relationships with the Commonwealth and in other fields, with a view to developing trading relations with all nations who are prepared to conclude commercial agreements. Congress is convinced that this will also assist in overcoming the raw material shortages from which our industries are suffering and help the millions of people throughout the world who are living in abject poverty.

"Congress believes that, in particular, extensive trading relations with China, the U.S.S.R., and other eastern countries would make a substantial contribution towards improving the present international situation which is causing grave concern to the people of all countries. Congress therefore calls upon Governments, regardless of their political systems, to act together without further delay to discuss the possibility of extending trade and removing artificial barriers."

T.U.C., 1952

Aggression?

THE latest Note of the Hungarian Government to Yugoslavia (of August 16) discloses an astonishing event.

On August 5, at 2.05 a.m., without discussion or warning, the Yugoslav authorities blew up the public bridge connecting the Yugoslav and Hungarian banks of the Mura river at a point some three hundred and seventy yards east of the island of Letenge.

The bridge was, in part, Hungarian property, and waters dammed by the exploded bridge now threaten to flood Hungarian territory.

An equally provocative attitude continues to be shown by Yugoslavia to Albania.

An Albanian Note to the United Nations of August 27 discloses that on August 16 a Yugoslav patrol not only entered Albanian territory but fired on Albanian troops. On August 21 at another place Yugoslav troops opened fire on Albanian civilians.

Why is it that in such cases there is no suggestion of U.N. investigations?

New Trial

AN important trial has just taken place in Rumania of officials accused of sabotaging the construction of the Danube-Black Sea Canal.

It is frequently suggested that the New Democracies are harsh towards the former owning class, yet time and again, when events of this kind happen, it becomes clear that the reverse is the truth and that they suffer for putting into responsible positions people whose former background tends to prejudice them against the new society.

So, of three of the people concerned in this trial, one is the son of a former landowner, one a factory owner whose factory was nationalised and one a former officer in the Rumanian Army which, under the direction of Hitler, fought the Russians.

Trade

JULY 21 saw the signing of the first trade agreement between Bulgaria and China.

The Chinese People's Republic with its vast size, its enormous population and its tremendous development projects, signals the new Asia which is steadily moving over the horizon.

It is one of the more fantastic marks of our epoch that Bulgaria can see the vital importance of trade with the new China but the inherited business acumen of countries such as ours can not.

ON September 9 Bulgaria celebrated the eighth anniversary of her liberation. Tremendous tasks faced her new people's government when fascism was defeated—tasks not only of reconstruction but the greater ones of transformation from a near feudal and colonial economy to one able to stand free and equal among the advanced nations of an industrial world.

The article on this page, and those on pages following, tell something of the tasks and the achievements of the new Bulgaria.

The giant above the Valley of Roses

Gigantic hydro-electric dams, built in Bulgaria to assist the development of agriculture and industry, have a special place in economic construction. A number, such as the "Stalin," "Studena," "Topolnitsa" and "Rossitsa" dams and others are in process of construction. One of the largest bears the name of Georgi Dimitrov and it will help to transform one of Bulgaria's most fertile regions.

Here is a sketch on the "Georgi Dimitrov" dam by the young Bulgarian writer, Georgi Vanev.

HOW stormy was the history of the Bulgarian people in these lovely spots, where the roses bloom, where the heroes of the Bulgarian Liberation, Levsky, Botev, Benkovsky grew up, before the Liberation. . . . It seems as if even today the wind were whispering Chintulov's songs of revolt.

A whole memorable epoch of the Bulgarian people's history has built up its grandeur with the aid of the sons and daughters of Panagyurishte, Koprivshtisa, Karlovo, Sopot, Altun-Kalofer, Sliven. . . . These names bear in themselves the epic of heroic days, long past.

On mount St. Nikola, which dominates the Shipka Pass, the impressive monument to the Russian brothers who liberated us, and to the feats of the Bulgarian volunteers against the Turkish hordes, raises its grim stone walls.

In these places, which once echoed to the songs of the renascence, the Bulgarian people are today building the wonderful constructions of socialism. The grandchildren of the rebel Balkan Range are building up a new and happy life in the plain of the Tundja river. An imposing dam is being built on the age-old river, with the help of the Soviet brothers today, and it will tame those reckless waters in a huge lake. This lake will irrigate the plains of Kazanlik and Stara-Zagora, providing light in plenty for the whole region. All the tributaries of the Tundja will be set to work. A complete system of hydro-technical constructions, bearing the name of the immortal Dimitrov, will turn this region into a flowering garden of Bulgaria.

Rest in peace, heroes who have fallen for the freedom of Bulgaria! A new life is blossoming in these plains. And no cursed enemy can touch your behests which have become a sacred cause for us.

★

THIS was once the Rose Valley of Bulgaria. But the bourgeois régimes did not bother about the roses; this valuable branch of agriculture was decaying. Today the valley is again turning into Bulgaria's rose garden.

The Tundja often overflowed its banks, turgid and angry, leaving a trail of mud behind it which brought disaster to the hard-working peasants. Much labour and many pains did it carry to the distant sea. That is why the dream of controlling her waters, of subjecting them to man's will has long existed. But it was only the people's power which could undertake such a tremendous work of construction.

Bulgaria's peaceful path of development makes it possible to invest all existing means in tremendous socialist construction, one of the imposing objectives of which is the "Georgi Dimitrov" power station and irrigation system.

★

WORK is in full swing at the dam. The wall is gradually raising its mass of stone against which the waves of the huge lake will beat next year. The small trains bringing stones from the quarry at the mouth of the Gyurla whistle as they come; the sound of exploding dynamite at the distant objectives echo over the plain on which the corn has bowed its head, waiting for the harvest. A big plant is constantly at work mixing the cement, which the transporters quickly take to the construction site.

Work goes on evenly, precisely and at a rapid rate. Work never ceases on any of the front of the dam wall's crown. The wall is 750 yards long. The heroism of these builders amazes one. They are building a whole mountain, which has firmly put its 110 yards foot down on the bed of the river, to stop its advance, to subject it to man. Might not the river try to undermine the giant's heavy foot? No, that can't be done, the wall's tooth of concrete has gone 40 feet deep into the rocks, while the shafts of clay, or cement, which fill up the cracks between the separate rocks, go even deeper, as far as 130 feet.

When the lake, which is 5½ miles long, is filled with mountain water, and bears down with all the weight of its hundred million cubic metres of water on the wall, which rises to a height of 130 feet, the power station which is at the very wall, will be put into operation. This power station has a capacity of 14,000 kilowatt-hours.

A man is standing by the wall. He is of medium height with a wind-tanned, sunburnt face. He is carefully looking to see how far the work of the scaffold builders brigade has got. He takes out a pencil from the pocket of his blue worker's coat and carefully makes a note. His brigade is the first in the whole dam, it was the first to start work on the new economic methods of the Soviet comrades Levchenko and Mukhanov. That is why everybody knows Encho Markov. Up to the present the brigade has saved more than 500,000 leva for the national economy.

Suddenly the cry goes up: "They are going to fire a charge at Gyurla!" There is a quarry at the mouth of the River Gyurla, about half a mile to the south of the wall, from which stones are brought. Here Vakadinov's brigade, which makes the tunnels for the explosive, is the first.

This young builder from the village of Vlakhi, Sandansky County, has a most skilful hand. Born in 1923, he was left an orphan at the age of three. From an early age he worked for a piece of bread in many houses until the advent of September 9, 1944 (Liberation day), when he became a builder. In 1947 he went to work at the dam and has not left his beloved work since then.

He is much spoken of, but it is hard to distinguish him from the other workers. Quiet and modest, he seems to be shy of his notoriety. It is only on holidays that the order of "Georgi Dimitrov," a high distinction, shines on the lapel of his coat.

A little later an underground rumbling was heard over the silent plain, it seemed to strike the Balkan range and was repeated by the echo. The dynamite brought down huge blocks of granite from the hill. It seemed as if there were a living Titan under it who was trying to awaken from a deep age-long sleep, and was shaking his covers, which had turned to stone, off his shoulders. Geysers of flames and stones shot up from the cracks in the granite. The lads of Vakadinov's brigade set to with their levers, while he, perched on the highest crag like a mountain eagle, broke up the hard granite.

At the mouth of the Gyurla a new dam it to be built in the future which will gather the waters of this small, but very mischievous river. It will hold over 150 million cubic metres of water and will feed the waters of the first dam. The waters of the big dam will rise to a height of 50 feet on the Gyurla dam, so that both dams will be connected and will together form a complex bearing the name of "Georgi Dimitrov," the leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people.

★

WHEN you go up the Northern hill, where the granite shoulder of the wall rests, the beautiful Kazanlik valley lies spread out before you, deeply scarred by

rushing torrents and thickly studded with nut trees, which cast dark shadows. This plain will be surrounded by two main canals, which will gather the waters of the Stara-Planina (or Balkan Range) and of the Sredna Gora, and they will irrigate it plentifully.

From the Eastern part of the wall of the "Georgi Dimitrov" dam the main water canal, 10 miles long, branches off, sinking into a seven-mile long tunnel (the largest in Bulgaria and the Balkans) at the Yagoda railway station. The tunnel ends near Stara-Zagora at the spot called "The Three Fountains," where a waterfall 450 feet high is formed, with a flow of 22 cubic metres of water per second. What tremendous power these rushing waters will give! The power will turn into electricity which will give life to new factories and plants. From here the tamed waters will flow down to the fertile plain of Stara-Zagora, which thirsts for them, and will turn into large grained wheat, fruits, riches. . . .

From the power station the waters will be let into two canals, running South and East; to the South past the villages of Bogomilovo, Hristianovo, Kaloyanovets and Arnautino, and to the East past Stara-Zagora, Zora, Kalitinovo and Dulboki. These two main canals will be 310 miles long, while the secondary ones will be over 1,864 miles long. This thick network of canals will give the fertile plain of the valley life—giving dampness in only one year's time—in the autumn of 1953.

AUTUMN, 1953. The huge lake of the "Georgi Dimitrov" dam shines in the sunlight and the heights of the old Haiduk Balkan Range, the protector of the rebels and partisans, lie mirrored in it.

The Balkan Range is prouder now, because the most intrepid children of the people, whose loving father the mountain has always been, are decking the land with new lakes and giving it light. And the mountain pays them generously back, sending its life-giving waters to the thirsty plains.

Bulgaria, the country of roses and of grapes, the free, democratic and peace-loving homeland of immortal Georgi Dimitrov, is flourishing.

Two Anniversaries

By Edgar P. Young

THIS year's celebration of the Anniversary — the 8th Anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation from the yoke of both Germany and her own corrupt rulers, has coincided with the celebration of the 75th Anniversary of the epic battle of the Shipka Pass, at which some 7,000 Bulgarian "volunteers" flung back the attacks, during a whole week, of over 40,000 Turks, and thereby saved the situation for the far greater Russian armies which were fighting for, and in the next year achieved (for the first time), the liberation of Bulgaria. The coincidence is of importance because it reminds us of the similarities and also of certain significant differences between the liberation of 1878 and that of 1944.

The similarity, *i.e.*, that in each case it was brought about by Russian armies, with Bulgarian co-operation, would be too obvious to require mention were it not for the fact that the memory of the first liberation, and of the colossal sacrifices made for its achievement by the Russian people, has been a constantly live factor in Bulgaro-Russian relations ever since 1878, and is such to this very day. Even Hitler, and his Bulgarian stooges, had to recognise this, and to adjust their policy accordingly during the 2nd World War.

The differences are, in the first place, that the liberation of 1878 left Bulgaria divided into two parts, one of which still remained under alien (Turkish) rule, with her people still far removed from possession and control of their national wealth and of power, their national heritage. That of 1944, on the contrary, removed from power, not only the foreign masters (in this case the Germans); not only the foreign (German) monarchy; but also "the traitor class," which was content to betray the Bulgarian people, by acting as stooges for the foregoing, in exchange for a position of relative privilege for themselves. In the second place, whereas Tsarist Russia, herself an imperialist Power, lacked (both then and later, in 1886, when Bulgaria was united as an "independent" Monarchy) the moral force and the physical power to prevent western imperialist powers from imposing on Bulgaria a quasi-colonial status, on the other hand the anti-imperialist, socialist, Soviet Union has successfully opposed attempts made by western powers—in the name of "Democracy"!—to re-

Commander Young, who wrote this article, is Chairman of the Committee for Friendship with Bulgaria.

impose that status upon her. Stalin meant literally what he said when the Soviet armies, driving the Hitlerite hordes in defeat before them, crossed the frontiers of their own country, on their liberating mission: "*There must be no interference in the internal affairs of other countries.*"

It is, of course, frequently pretended that the effect of this Soviet "patronage" has been merely that Bulgaria has become a "colony" in an alleged "Soviet Empire." No open-minded visitor to post-war Bulgaria could, however, believe this fantasy, in face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary. It was not a colonial status, for example, that was demonstrated when on July 21 of this year the Bulgarian People's Republic concluded a Trade Agreement with the People's Republic of China whereby Bulgaria will supply China with industrial equipment, such as machine tools, which China requires to meet the needs of her rapidly growing industry, and chemical fertilisers, for the improvement of her agriculture. It was no "Soviet colony" which wrote in its leading daily newspaper, *Rabotnichesko Delo,* on August 23: "With the fraternal and unselfish aid of our powerful liberator, the Soviet Union, we have been able to develop new branches of industry of which our country never dreamed even before September 9, 1944. The Bulgarian people now possesses its own engineering, electrical and chemical industries, and is creating its own iron and steel industry, as a foundation for a strong and prosperous Bulgaria." On the contrary, it was a small country, conscious of its deep debt of gratitude to a powerful and generous friend, but beginning to stand on its feet for the first time in its history and able, and eager, for the first time to trade with other countries, great or small, on equal terms.

No people can be liberated, however, unless it will liberate itself. The liberation of September 9, 1944, would have been unreal —and would perhaps have proved impermanent—if the Bulgarian people had not participated in it itself, under the leadership of the "Fatherland Front," of which the outstanding leader was the great Georgii Dimitrov. The economic and social achievements on which the Bulgarian People's Republic is justly priding itself on the 8th Anniversary of that liberation, though made possible by generous supply of capital, equipment and technical advice from the Soviet Union, would again not have been possible without tremendous self-sacrifice and unremitting effort on the part of the Bulgarian people during the past eight years. More still, it would have been impossible unless the foreign policy of Bulgaria had not been one of peaceful co-operation with all countries and of calm refusal to be panicked into wasteful diversion of wealth and energy in war-preparation by loud-voiced threats from agressive Powers, or to be provoked into warlike adventures by their miserable agents on her borders.

KIRKCALDY and DISTRICT CO-OPERATIVE MEN'S GUILD
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Agriculture in Bulgaria

By Gladys Driver

BULGARIAN peasants today are transforming the rural face of their country. By joining together in co-operative enterprises they not only increase production but they change their whole way of living. New methods and standards of work are introduced to keep pace with the mechanisation of agriculture, and a new life has come into the home.

Thousands of new houses have been built, as well as schools, libraries and also farm buildings, where new standards of cleanliness are laid down for pigs and cows. Village bakeries, butter and cheese factories replace the old home economy, and electricity, water systems and sewage systems have come to many villages as well.

Travelling by aeroplane from Sofia to the Black Sea to spend a holiday in the teachers' excellent Rest Home in Stalin, I was able to see the great advance that had taken place in co-operative farming. On my outward journey, when the route lay south of the Balkan Mountains, I looked down over a varied landscape, most of it presenting a pretty picture of many-coloured patchwork, showing that small, individual farmsteads still exist. But also, especially around Plovdiv, the centre of the tobacco industry, there were great stretches of fenceless country, with only the green of the rice or tobacco fields and the yellow of the harvest fields.

Everywhere new houses

My return journey, on the route north of the Balkans, lay over the great grain-producing and stock-breeding areas, and here I saw little patchwork landscape. Instead, practically the whole land was open arable with the yellow of the grain harvest and the green of the maize shining silvery in the sunlight, the gold of the sunflowers and the varied shades of the fodder crops. And everywhere in the villages new houses.

The figures given for agricultural co-operatives are evidence of this great change. Before 1944 there were only 28 agricultural co-operatives which had managed to survive fascist hindrance and persecution. The chairman of the Slatina co-operative stock-raising farm told us that he and his brother had started this farm in 1941, but the fascist police and soldiers constantly interfered, arrested members and imprisoned them, and in addition no member of the farm was allowed to enter the cinema and their children were not admitted to the village school.

But the pioneers persisted and today their farm is a model. In 1951 there were 2,700 co-operative farms comprising 53 per cent. of the peasant households of the country. More than half the arable land is included in these farms and in 1951 more than two-thirds of the grain delivered to the State came from the socialist sector of agriculture; that is, from co-operative farms and State farms.

What is the aim of these agricultural co-operatives and how do they function? The answer to this question is found in the Statute of the Co-operative Farms passed in 1950 by Parliament. The farm is formed by the peasants *voluntarily* uniting into a co-operative and they pledge themselves "to make their farm a model large-scale farm and all co-operative members well-to-do people."

I have seen this happening. The working peasants who previously lived in hovels are now living in bright, new homes, furnished with good walnut furniture, with wireless relayed from the village radio-centre. In the winter their children are warmly clad and well shod and in the summer the girls wear pretty patterned cotton frocks and smart bows on their hair as the town children do.

Facilities for culture and sport exist which before were the privilege of the wealthy, and co-operative farms have their football and volley-ball teams which put up a very good game, as was shown when the farm lads of Slatina beat the high-school pupils of the Lovech Foreign Language School, which had a fine record for sport.

Educational facilities have come to the village. Take the example of one girl in my class in the school in Lovech. She came from a village where the co-operators had already extended the existing school to twice its size. She had come to this boarding school to learn English and she had decided that later she would choose chemical research for her career.

Her sister, two years younger, whose ambition was to be a pilot, was attending a technical school in the nearest town and when she had finished that course she would go to the school for training pilots.

Her brother had a beautiful voice and his aim was to have a musical career. After this summer holiday he will be a pupil in the National School of Music in Sofia.

When the co-operative is formed each member pools his land, his implements, animals, seeds and farm buildings, but is allowed to keep for his own use a small plot, half an acre in the intensive farming area and nearly 1½ acres in the grain area, as well as a cow or buffalo with its calves, three goats with kids, one or two pigs with sucklings, three to five sheep with kids, a donkey, any number of poultry, rabbits and up to 10 beehives.

Land returned

A member may leave the co-operative after giving due notice and his original land is returned to him if it is not in the centre of the farm area. If it is, then he is given the equivalent on the outskirts.

Each member of the farm receives rent for his land and wages for his work. These are paid in both money and in kind. Up to 30 per cent. of the farm's income can be paid in rent and 70 per cent. in wages.

From the Statute we learn "Art. 30: The Co-operative Farm is managed by the General Meeting and in between meetings by the Board of Managers of the Co-operative Farm elected by the General Meeting of the Co-operative Members."

The General Meeting elects the President, the Board of Managers and the Control Council. The Board of Managers consists of five to seven members elected for a term of two years, and they are responsible for preparing the plan and the budget of the farm.

Since the passing of the Statute there has been a great increase in the number of co-operatives and in the quality of their work. In this change women have played their part. The law states: "The leadership and co-operative farm members are bound to draw women into co-operative production and into the social and cultural life of the co-operative, by raising the capable and experienced women to leading work. . . ."

This has been done. Now hundreds of women are members of the Boards of Managers and there are 16 who are Presidents of farms.

Vulko Chervenkov, at the National Conference of leading co-operative farmers in November, 1951, said: "Was it thinkable for peasant women before September 9 to achieve what we have heard here from our comrade women co-operators? Could the peasant woman before September 9 have stood up in front of the people and proudly demonstrated her capacities as a worker and master of her toil and country? . . .

"A new woman"

"No, comrades, our comrade woman co-operator is a new woman. Only the liberation of the country from capitalist dictatorship, only the co-operative system, only free labour can create such a woman, such a hero of labour in the countryside. . . . To our new women, heroines of labour in agriculture and stock-breeding, we must give scope, comrades, broad, unbounded entry to all leading and responsible branches of rural economy, in the administration of the villages, counties, districts and the State."

State farms and machine and tractor stations play a very important rôle in rural economy. Many State farms were set up on the large estates of the rich landowners whose land was confiscated. These State farms were examples to the peasants of large-scale farming, showing him what could be done with up-to-date machinery and scientific methods.

The machine and tractor stations hold the stocks of machinery, at first in very short supply, then supplemented by the arrival of tractors, combines and all necessary implements from the Soviet Union, and increasing very rapidly from home-produced machines from the new Bulgarian machine-building industry.

For instance, this year another 1,000 tractors and 1,000 combines will be received from the Soviet Union in addition to the hundreds of machines that will be manufactured in Bulgaria, one and a half times as many as in 1951.

The main agricultural work on the co-operative farms is performed by the machines and technicians of the machine and tractor stations for a small payment which is arranged on yearly contracts. But some of the most prosperous farms are now buying their own machinery.

Just now in Bulgaria farms are making their deliveries from their harvest to the State. Every farm, whether co-operative or individual, knows exactly how much of their grain, grapes, tomatoes, etc., must be sold

to the State at a set price. All agricultural land was surveyed in 1949-50, and the quality of the land as well as the size was taken into account for assessing the quota. Then each farm was given its quota and the owner had the right of appeal.

The State deliveries must be made out of the first harvesting and after that the farmers dispose of their produce as they wish. Thus the harder they work and the more they produce the richer they become. The more they use scientific methods and join co-operative farms the greater their chances of receiving good seeds, fertilisers and machinery, and of thus increasing their production.

In a socialist economy plans for industry and agriculture are balanced. This can be proved by what is happening in Bulgaria today. This year's harvest will exceed all previous ones because agriculture is supplied from industrial enterprises with the things that make progress possible. Thousands of tons of fertiliser have already been delivered to the countryside from the giant chemical works at Dimitrovgrad, which went into production in November of last year. Much of this fertiliser was spread by aeroplanes.

Agricultural machinery of all kinds is leaving the factories for the fields. Concrete pylons and miles of cable are taking up positions in every direction and this year another 180 villages will have electricity. New railway lines are linking village with town to the mutual advantage of both.

The results of this planned economy are seen this year in the ending of rationing and in price reductions, especially of food—bread reduced 35 per cent., oil 38 per cent., lard 27 per cent., meat 10 per cent., rice 50 per cent., soap 45 per cent. When there is plenty the price falls. No trading monopoly keeps up the price and lets food rot in the fields. When the first tomatoes came into the greengrocer shops they were the equivalent of 4s. a pound, but at the end of the season, when some growers had produced as much as 55 tons per acre because of improved methods and seed, the price had fallen to 1½d. per pound.

The Bulgarian peasant is a new man. He works in a new way during the spring, summer and autumn and in the winter he studies so that he may make progress in his work. He feels confident in the present and in the future.

A trade unionist looks at Poland

By James Roxburgh

UNTIL I was elected as a delegate to visit Poland at the invitation of Polish Central Committee of Trade Unions I admit I knew very little of that country. When discussing or thinking of socialist countries on the other side of the mythical "iron curtain" one's thoughts immediately fly to the Soviet Union.

I have always been a supporter of the new People's Democracies and I was prepared to be tolerant and even make excuses for what I expected to see in Poland. After all, had not the whole of the economy of the country been shattered, 6,000,000 of the population lost their lives, and Warsaw, with a population pre-war of 1,350,000, been reduced to a heap of rubble? After only six years, starting practically from scratch, what progress could have been made?

My first days were spent in Warsaw. The immediate reaction is one of amazement at the speed that this city is being rebuilt. Where six years ago was nothing but rubble now stand imposing buildings, in tree-lined thoroughfares. Monuments and memorials that had been wilfully destroyed or broken up for scrap during the Nazi occupation have been replaced. Historical buildings, including many churches, have been reconstructed. The historic Old Town of Warsaw is being rebuilt to the same style it was before its destruction. The bridges over the Vistula have all been rebuilt.

New and beautiful

One has to remember that besides all this visual rebuilding that the services such as electricity and water supplies, gas, telephones and transport are all working again. So in Warsaw one sees not only rebuilding but reconstruction and modernisation of a new and beautiful capital.

When touring the Katowice Foundry Works in Upper Silesia one notices that the products are of a peaceful nature. It seems that the main manufacture is of railway lines. This foundry or rolling mill was partially destroyed by the Nazi occupation forces just prior to evacuation. It has been rebuilt and modernised mainly with Soviet help and equipment. This is very obvious by the characters on the equipment and instruments, which are in Russian.

I noticed that wherever I went in Poland the guides were always proud to point out any assistance that had been given by the U.S.S.R. The present output of this foundry I was informed was 170,000 tons per annum.

The workers worked an eight-hour day and six hours on Saturday, forty-six hours a week. Under the forthcoming New Constitution it is proposed they shall work a six-hour day with no reduction in pay. This will also apply to miners. It was interesting to see the women working here, mainly driving the huge cranes.

I spoke to quite a number of workers and all seemed to be very enthusiastic about their job. There are baths for the workers which it is compulsory for them to use before leaving the works.

Care for young

It is noticeable to anyone travelling around Poland that much care is given to education, cultural activities, entertainment and the health of the children and young people, from the large departmental store in Warsaw that caters for children only, to the sanatorium in the pine forests of the Tatra Mountains.

But to me the most impressive of all was the Palace of Youth in Katowice. This imposing building contains everything imaginable that is necessary for the correct development of youth between the ages of six and eighteen. To give an impression of its size, I can best say it took nearly four hours to be shown round this building.

It contains trade schools with motor-cars and cycles and tractors to be worked on, model rooms with its aeroplanes and galleons, laboratories of different kinds, reading rooms for different ages. There are studios for sculpture, painting, clay modelling and photography, music rooms, dancing academies, a wonderful swimming bath, several gymnasia and even an indoor stadium. The people of Katowice are justifiably proud of their Palace of Youth.

The beautiful and historical town of Cracow, the old capital of Poland, was fortunately spared during the war. It is a city of old treasures of Polish culture. Wherever these treasures may be seen you will always see parties of school children being shown round by guides.

One of the greatest enterprises of Poland's Six-Year Plan is the building of the new socialist town of Nowa Huta, about three miles from Cracow.

Although started only in 1950 it seems incredible that such progress could have been made in such a short time. In Nowa Huta ("the city of steel") is being built the largest steel works in the whole of Poland. Already the new town houses 20,000 people. The population is to be 100,000 and it is planned that 60,000 shall be housed at the end of the Six-Year Plan in December, 1955.

Despite the speed at which the flats are being erected, these are no "jerry-built" buildings.

Two, three and four-room flats with bathroom and kitchen, central heating, fitted for wireless, garbage chutes and a veranda to each flat. Three and four storeys high, the blocks of flats surround a well laid out area of lawns with trees and a sandpit and play area for the children—a pleasure to behold and I'm sure a pleasure to live in. It is indeed an inspiring sight when viewed from a hill about a mile from this new town.

Walked freely

I travelled many miles during my fortnight's tour of Poland. I was shown much of the industrial, cultural and social life of the country. I also walked freely alone round some of the towns. I visited a salt mine, engineering works, sanatoria, rest centres, churches and palaces, political meetings, trade union schools, concerts. In fact there was little one could think of that was missed to give a true picture of the life of Poland.

Many times I was asked what most impressed me. In going over my tour in retrospect I can now say with honesty what impressed me most was the Polish people's—and I believe Government's—desire for a lasting peace.

From the first day at the Warsaw Sports Stadium to the May Day parades and throughout the whole tour the word peace predominated. Without inverted commas too.

Eastern Europe reports

New workers' town rises in Rumania

IN Rumania's great industrial centre, Resita, a new self-contained workers' suburb is coming into being. This Workers' Town, as it is called, is a recent creation, but almost every week sees the completion of new buildings. This year, six big blocks of flats will be finished. Also in construction is a large residential hotel to accommodate 800 single workers, which will be ready for occupation this autumn.

Several more blocks of flats are being constructed for the workers of one of the big plants. These buildings are in addition to the numerous two-family houses, each with a pleasant garden. A big modern department store is nearing completion, on whose several storeys will be displayed all kinds of goods including clothing, textiles, furniture and sports goods. The store has a vast central hall in which marble columns support the various galleries.

More Albanian teachers

OVER 6,300 teachers are working in the schools of Albania in the present school year—more than ever before and six times as many as in pre-war days. By the end of the Five Year Plan, the number of teachers will have risen to 7,550. Facilities for training elementary school teachers are five times greater than under King Zog's regime, and there are now two institutes for training teachers for higher schools. By the end of the Five Year Plan, the number of future teachers attending training establishments will be 98 per cent. more than in the 1951-1952 school year.

Rural co-op congress

THE first congress of Polish rural retail co-operatives was held in Warsaw from August 24 to 26. There were 750 delegates elected by three million peasants, members of the various village co-operative societies. The congress discussed problems in connection with the supply to the rural population of goods produced by urban industries, as well as another important function of the societies: the purchase from the peasants, individual and collective, of their surplus produce for large-scale sale to the urban distributors. This two-fold function is expressed in the full name of these organisations: Rural Supply and Purchase Co-operatives.

Rapid growth

THE Polish rural co-ops. have grown in extent and importance. In 1947, they were responsible for the distribution of only 37 per cent. of goods produced by socialised industry. Now the 262 co-operative wholesale depots and 30,000 village co-op. shops supply almost 100 per cent. of the industrial goods earmarked for rural consumption, thus eliminating speculators, exploiters and superfluous middlemen. In 1951, the rural co-operative purchasing organisation contracted to buy 4.5 times more agricultural produce than in 1949, and in 1952 it will be six times more.

Priests decorated

THIRTY-NINE Polish Roman Catholic priests were recently decorated by President Bierut for their social work and their activity in the cause of world peace. The Commander Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta was awarded to Father Kazimierz Lagosz, Capitular Vicar of the Archbishopric of Wroclaw. Father Lagosz took an active part in filling the posts of parish priests in the Regained Territories and in bringing priests into the work for peace and for Poland's economic plan. Father Antoni Lemparty, an active social worker, was awarded the Officer's Cross of the same Order. He is President of the Catholic Caritas Association and Vice-Chairman of the Central Priests' Commission of the Polish Peace Defenders' Committee. Other priests decorated with this Order were Canon B. Kulawik of Sranaki and Father J. Mencel, parish priest of Choboda. The others were awarded gold, silver or bronze Crosses of Merit.

Bethlehem chapel

PEOPLE receiving letters from Czechoslovakia may have noted recently a new postage stamp on which is depicted an ancient ecclesiastical building. This is the Bethlehem Chapel in Prague, reconstruction of which is almost completed. The chapel was built in 1393, and had close connections with the movement associated with the great Czech reformer, John Huss, who frequently preached there. It was the first chapel in which the poor of Prague were able to hear preachers speaking in their own language. In 1786 the chapel was partially destroyed and sheds and stables used its remaining walls. After considerable research, plans for restoration were completed and the work is far advanced. This month the public will be able to see it in all its original beauty.

Cultural advance

THE report of Hungary's plan-fulfilment of the second quarter of this year shows not only considerable progress in industry (as shown on this page in N.C.E.O. No. 17, August 16), but also in cultural and welfare spheres. For instance, in book publishing, as compared with April, May and June, 1951, 31 per cent. more titles were published with editions averaging 14 per cent. more copies. During the quarter 65 new people's libraries were opened. Cinema tickets sold during the past quarter were 35 per cent. and theatre tickets 30 per cent. over the 1951 second quarter's figure. Hospital beds increased by 1,700. The establishment of additional surgeries was an important factor in increasing the number of polyclinic reception hours by 30 per cent. Crèches are now able to accommodate another 1,000 babies.

Travelling theatre

SINCE its foundation in 1948, the Bulgarian Countryside Travelling Theatre has visited 1,000 villages and given 1,500 performances. This company is on tour for 20 days out of every month. Artistes, props, instruments and costumes travel in the long streamlined coach-caravan made in the Czechoslovak Skoda works and presented to the Bulgarian company when their dance group won second place in a Prague competition of companies from several countries. The artistes are not daunted by the poor roads which sometimes lead to remote mountain villages, nor by the lack of stages or dressing-rooms. Local villagers welcome them enthusiastically and help them to mount proscenium and sets.

Harvest gains

BY August 31, nine of the 19 regions of the Czechoslovak Republic had already surpassed their grain delivery quotas, bringing the total percentage of fulfilled planned deliveries to 91.8 per cent. These successes contrast sharply with the times and quantities of harvest deliveries in the pre-Munich republic. The state and co-operative farms contributed much towards this end, as also did many small and middle farmers. By August 25, contracted hay harvest deliveries were fulfilled 100.1 per cent—28 days earlier than last year.

In Rumania too

LEADING the way, Rumanian collective (or co-operative) farms had, by August 10, and with the aid of the Machine and Tractor Stations, reaped 97.2 per cent. of their grain areas. By the same date, 64.2 per cent. of threshing had already been completed and stubble ploughing of 53 per cent. of the area under crops. Production by Rumania's 1,400 collective farms showed substantial superiority in yields per acre to that of the individual peasants. For instance, the Ineu collective farm, in Arad Region, yielded 1,780 more kilograms of barley per hectare than on the fields of individual peasants, and in Ploesti Region, the Gheraseni collective farmers obtained 1,500 more kilograms of peas per hectare.

Five-hour Hamlet

THE 1951-1952 theatre season in Budapest ended in July, having scored record attendances. Audiences increased from one million to one-and-a-half million. Visiting provincial companies were exceptionally well patronised. Among outstanding successes of the season were a five-hour version of Hamlet, a new production of Othello, several Shaw plays, including "Mrs. Warren's Profession," Molière's "Bourgeois Gentilhomme" and "Tartuffe," plays by Gogol and Chekhov. Among new plays were the American "Thirty Pieces of Silver," by Howard Fast, Hungarian plays, including "The Example of Ozora," by Gyula Illyes, "Baptisms of Fire," by Erno Urban and "Day of Wrath," by Kalman Sandor, and a number of new Soviet plays.

Woman minister

FRAU Else Zaisser, formerly state secretary of the Ministry of Education in the German Democratic Republic, has been appointed Minister of Education—the first woman to hold ministerial rank in the G.D.R. President of the People's Chamber Dieckmann, in receiving notice of the appointment from Premier Grotewohl, stated that it was very gratifying for the first time to welcome a woman to the position of minister, and that this was yet another testimony to the fact that, in the German Democratic Republic, men and women had completely equal rights in all political, social and economic fields. Frau Zaisser replaces Herr Paul Wandel who now has charge of the Board of Control of Education, Training and Science.

Polish journey

By Charles Christmas, J.P.

The Education Secretary of the Birmingham Co-operative Society describes his visit to Poland with a Co-operative delegation.

ON Saturday morning, June 14, with five Co-operative colleagues, I left London Airport and arrived at Warsaw, the capital of Poland, at 5 p.m., having called at Brussels and Berlin. Our stay in Poland lasted two weeks, and with Co-operators from Sweden, Finland and Italy, we constituted the first post-war co-operative delegation to Poland. In this great country the delegation covered thousands of miles as guests of the Polish Co-operative Union.

The following is a brief description of what we saw and experienced in the country which between 1939 and 1945 lost through Nazi aggression six million of her citizens of whom nearly five and a half million perished in death camps and prisons.

We were given a friendly welcome at Warsaw airport by executives of the Polish Co-operative Movement. As we travelled towards the city we passed peasants working in the fields; their coloured dresses looking gay in the sunshine. Native horse-drawn conveyances went by with their loads of bricks and other building materials. As we approached the centre of the city we saw pleasant suburban houses with children and parents playing in the gardens or out walking. Just like a typical Saturday evening in England.

Our two days at Warsaw revealed the terrible onslaught to which the city had been subjected, but happily we could see everywhere that gigantic efforts are being made to rebuild from the ruins. Many of the buildings are of modern architectural design, but an interesting feature is that buildings of historical value, such as churches, are being rebuilt according to their original design. I was intrigued, particularly after what I had heard before visiting the country, to find that there is absolute freedom of religious worship.

A block of flats built solely by women for their own occupation is an achievement to be greatly admired.

The programme in Warsaw also included a concert by the Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra, and the concerted and solo items were a joy to listen to. In the cool of the evening we sauntered along to the River Vistula and watched the steamers swishing through the water, the decks packed with people laughing, singing and dancing. It reminded me of the ferry boats going up and down the River Mersey on Sunday evenings before the war.

During our stay in Warsaw we visited a State chocolate factory, which is equipped with a very fine creche and kindergarten. Everything is being done for the workers' welfare and their social and cultural requirements.

The shops are owned either by the State, the Co-operatives or privately owned. The State shops are well constructed and furnished but my impression was that the co-operative stores are equal in most respects. There are some very fine co-operative emporiums with modern and good quality interior fittings. The assistants are smart in appearance and well trained.

The visit to the newspaper premises of the "House of the Polish Word" was an enlightening experience. The working conditions are very good, with spacious rooms and plenty of natural light and ventilation. This factory publishes four daily newspapers, twelve weeklies, seven monthlies, and books and reading matter of many kinds. The workers enter into their tasks with a most refreshing vigour and enthusiasm. As I recalled on my return to this country, I never saw anyone in Poland leaning on a shovel, and this applies, in its broadest sense, to all sections of Polish workers.

Our talks with the leaders of the Co-operative Movement were most interesting and informative. We met executives from various types of national co-operative undertakings: Consumers, Producers, Agricultural, Housing, Craft, Dairy and Egg, and Publishing and Bookselling. The principles of the Rochdale Pioneers are recognised, democratic control and the return of the surplus according to the contribution of each individual. The Polish Co-operative Movement is looked upon as an important factor in the economic life of the country. After taking into account the fact that the Movement suffered very badly during the war, its post-war achievements are all the more commendable. By the end of 1951 there were six million members and fifty thousand shops. The retail trade turnover in 1951 compared with 1949 had increased by 76 per cent. It is interesting to note that women actively participate in the co-operatives. In 1951 there were nearly two million women co-operators. The Polish Co-operative Movement enjoys the goodwill of the State, which is anxious to assist in its development and progress. The attitude of the State towards the co-operators is best illustrated by an extract from the draft constitution of the Polish People's Republic which states in Article Eleven: "The Polish People's Republic promotes the development of different forms of the Co-operative Movement in town and country, and gives it every help in the fulfilment of its tasks, while it extends special care and protection to co-operative property, as constituting social property."

On our visit to other cities such as Poznan, Wroclaw, Katowice, Cracow and Nowa-Huta we had the opportunity of gaining first-hand information of various forms of co-operative undertakings. Outside Poznan we saw an agricultural co-operative. At Wroclaw the co-operatives specialise in underclothing, books, shoes and tailoring. In this town there is also a co-operative housing estate. This particular co-operative society has ten thousand members, and the occupants of the estate have many fine facilities provided for them. They have a community centre, library, creches, day nurseries, youth clubs and adults groups, catering for art, drama, music, dancing, talks and discussions. They have their own hairdressing establishments, doctors and dentists. They have Estate Committees similar to our Tenants' Associations, but with more authority. The tenants pay a small rent and the allocation of accommodation is undertaken by a special committee. I was very interested to learn that they have a committee to settle quarrels between the women tenants. I did not find out whether there is a similar committee for the menfolk.

The visit to the Youth Palace at Katowice was a thrilling experience. The Palace caters exclusively for children and youth. It is a magnificent building with every conceivable social, cultural and recreational facility. There are separate libraries for each different age group, with a wide range of reading matter. Going through the building with its beautiful marble furnishings you can look into one of the rooms and see a group of boys making model aeroplanes; in another a television or wireless set. Seamanship, geography, astronomy, ballet dancing, art and drama are all catered for.

Nowa Huta, the city of youth, situated a few miles from Cracow in the south of Poland, is a wonderful example of Polish achievement. It is a steel town with a population of thirty thousand, mostly young people. It is estimated that by 1955 the population will be one hundred thousand. The city will have one of the finest and largest steel works in Europe.

Not far from Cracow, the city with sixty churches, lies the death camp of Auschwitz (Oswiecim). This camp was opened by the Nazis in 1940 and by the year 1945 four million men, women and children belonging to eighteen different nations had perished. It would take about five hours to walk round the camp. It has 540 barracks with its crematoria and gas chambers. The burning capacity was 13,000 per day, but on many occasions this number was exceeded. In addition to this the chief causes of death were hunger, thirst, and complete lack of medical attention. Typhus epidemics eliminated 500 to 600 prisoners a day. The place was infested with vermin and disease. The Nazis undertook experiments on the inmates. They practised artificial insemination on young healthy women. They performed operations without anæsthetics. Of the 5,000 who were liberated by the Russians only 500 have survived. The camp is now a museum. The swamps inside the camp were dried up with human bones, the remains of the victims. Particles of bones peep through the ground, like daisies in a meadow.

Our remaining two days were spent at Zakopane, high up the Tatra mountains, where the sun, even in winter, tans the skin a healthy brown. We stayed at an excellent hostel which is used as a holiday centre for trade unionists.

In my tour of Poland I was given every opportunity to see the people at work and at play. I saw their wonderful spirit and determination to overcome their difficulties. I am convinced that the Polish people desire peace and that they wish to work in harmony with all peace-loving countries.

Talking about film problems

By Ralph Bond

THE value of the Karlovy Vary Film Festival extends beyond the actual presentation of the films. This annual gathering in Czechoslovakia provides the opportunity for film workers to exchange ideas and to learn the problems and experiences of their colleagues in other countries.

Through personal discussions and press conferences it was possible this year to obtain a wealth of information and the following notes may be of some interest to readers of the *New Central European Observer*. I have limited the selection to four countries, each with its own specific and differing conditions.

★

BULGARIA is a good example of a country which had virtually no native film production up to the time of the Liberation. Since then immense progress has been made. One of the first tasks was to train a core of artists and technicians. They were recruited from among Bulgarian writers, stage producers and actors as well as painters, designers and photographers.

Within three or four years a new generation of film workers has been trained, many of whom studied in the Prague and Moscow film academies. Cyril Ilinchev, for example, the director of this year's Bulgarian Festival entry *Danka*, was a graduate of the Czechoslovak Academy.

Bulgarian writers are taking an increasing interest in working for the screen. Script writing is not an easy literary field and many screen plays have to be rewritten eight or ten times before they are acceptable. Over fifty Bulgarian authors are now working on screen subjects.

In the course of this and the next year ten new films will be put into production. Among them will be a film about the greatest of Bulgarian poets, Christo Botev; a film about the transformation of the countryside; another about the construction of Dimitrovgrad; a film exposing the activities of Tito agents in the Balkans; a comedy about village problems; a screen biography of the 18th century revolutionary Vasil Levsky, and finally a film dedicated to the national rising of 1944 and Bulgaria's liberation.

Intense discussion and controversy accompanies all the creative work connected with Bulgarian film production. Mistakes were made by trying to lay down rules for literary work and forcing authors to gloss over conflicts or to idealise the facts of life. Another criticism was that films were not being made for children, and as a result screen plays are now being prepared to appeal especially to the youth.

★

CHINA, unlike Bulgaria, has a tradition of film making extending over many years, and during the long struggle against the Japanese and the Kuomintang, many of China's best film workers joined the Liberation forces and identified themselves with the struggles of the people.

Despite a lack of material resources, these film workers celebrated the final defeat of Chiang Kai Shek with a whole series of magnificent and inspiring films. Some readers will undoubtedly have seen *Daughters of China, The Girl with the White Hair* and others of this period.

This year the Chinese film industry will produce 13 feature films, 10 feature length documentary films and many shorts, documentaries, popular science films, and newsreels.

These films will be made in the three main centres of Chinese film production—Peking, Changchung and Shanghai.

The content and ideology of Chinese films fulfil an important educational role. The stories are based on the life of the people and the heroes are shockworkers, exemplary workers in industry and agriculture, production innovators and heroes of the army.

Great importance is attached to the training of the young generation of film workers. In 1950 a film college was founded. The college now has seventy students, and another twenty students are studying script writing. Many of these students come from the working class. The college course lasts two years after which graduates are detailed to various sectors to test the results of their studies in practice.

Progressive films have become a valuable weapon in the hands of the people. Under the Chiang Kai Shek régime films were almost never seen in the countryside. Now there are 1,700 mobile cinemas, although this is only a beginning. In addition to Chinese films, many films from the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies are shown and are extremely popular. Most of the films imported from the Soviet Union are dubbed into Chinese. In fact, over one hundred Soviet films have already been issued in Chinese dubbed versions. As a result of their success, films from the People's Democracies are now also being dubbed.

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IT is not without interest to contrast the economic and artistic progress of the cinema in the socialist countries with the corresponding situation in some of the capitalist countries.

Italy and France are good examples, for these are countries where, despite the domination of Hollywood films, and the crisis of native production, the progressive artists of the film are fighting back and remaining true to their principles.

Italy probably suffers more than any other country from the dumping of Hollywood films, but nevertheless its own films have won universal admiration for their tradition of realism created after the war. This realist tradition was no accident; it arose from necessity, and the chief factor in the emergence of realistic films was the poverty and unemployment among the Italian people, and the consequent social upheavals.

Although only 10 per cent. of the films now made in Italy follow this progressive, realistic path they are very successful among Italian film goers, and have achieved immense prestige at international film festivals.

Recently, the first co-operatively produced and financed Italian film was completed. *Achtung, Banditi!* was financed in small subscriptions by the workers as a tribute to the important rôle of the Italian partisans in the liberation of the country from the fascists. It was produced on a very small budget, with all the key technicians and artists working on deferred payments, and it has been an enormous success with the public, not only in the North, which was the stronghold of the Partisan Movement, but even in the Southern provinces.

Because of the success of the realist films, every obstacle is put in their way by the Italian authorities. There is both an official censorship, and a "preventive" censorship. This means that whenever an Italian producer proposes to make a realist film the authorities will try to persuade him that it has no hopes of success. The makers of these films are denounced as traitors to their country, and lumped together as Communists whether they are Communists or not.

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IN **France** also the best film artists are remaining faithful to their ideals, and a real united mass movement has developed to defend the French cinema against Hollywood. Recently the most illustrious names of the French cinema protested against a Government move to strengthen still more the American film monopoly.

Rene Clair, Marcel Carne, Louis Daquin, Jean Delannoy, Jean Gremillon, Claude Autant-Lara, Gerard Philippe, Gaby Morlay, Francois Rosay, Simon Signoret and scores of others equally distinguished joined hands with a movement so powerful that the Government was forced to retreat, and introduce measures that will give French films more playing time in the cinemas than they have had before. The movement that produced this victory culminated in a 100 per cent. stoppage of work for a quarter of an hour in every studio.

In the words of Georges Sadoul, the eminent French historian of the cinema . . . "If as is true the French cinema has not yet ceased to exist, if it continues to fight for peace and the independence of France it is because it refuses to become isolated from the people. Millions of spectators energetically refuse American films glorifying war and death. It is to be expected that American films, just as German films during the occupation, will soon be showing to empty halls."

In all countries, whatever the circumstances, creative workers and artists of the cinema are striving to express their faith in progressive mankind. Some of them have already raised the suggestion—as yet tentative—that some kind of international film meeting should be arranged in Europe next year at which problems common to them all can be discussed in a friendly and informal atmosphere. It is to be hoped that this plan will mature and that some of Britain's distinguished film artists will participate.

Black songstress of Albania

By a Tirana correspondent

IN a French paper I happened to read, in a news item from Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.A., that Mr. Herman Talmage, Governor of the State of Georgia, had become incensed because certain television programmes from stations in slightly less primitive areas in the United States had shown numbers in which White and Negro actors actually appeared together. And Governor Talmage called upon the stalwart white citizens of Georgia to switch off such television performances.

I blinked a bit when I read this, but then remembered all I had heard of the colour bar in the United States, and particularly in the South. I took the item with me when I went to talk with Hayrije Arapi, a Negress born here in our own country, and one of the most gifted singers attached to the Philharmonic Institute in Tirana, our capital.

When Hayrije Aripa read the news item she frowned and looked sad and angered. "It is sheer barbarism," she commented. And we recalled the fact that the Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania lays it down that "every citizen has equal rights, without distinction of nationality, race and religion." And that the law provides penalties for the infraction of this provision.

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When the Albanian feudal lords who entered the service of the Ottoman Empire—for centuries we were under Turkish rule, although we waged a continual resistance struggle against it—returned home, they often brought with them black slaves whom they had acquired in various Turkish possessions, or whom they had bought in the slave market of Instanbul. This was the origin of Hayrije Aripa's family. Her forbears came to Albania as servants or slaves of the Toptani family of Tirana. This was one of the feudal ruling families which was most greedy for gold and which used the most ruthless and bloody methods to acquire it. One of the descendants of this family was the treacherous former king Ahmed Zogu of Albania.

Hayrije can remember the tales her parents and grandparents told her of the days when they toiled in servitude to the beys. This continued long after the casting off of the Turkish yoke in 1912.

"It was terrible," Hayrije said. "I don't think that even in the southern United States Negroes are made to live and work under more humiliating circumstances than were my parents here in Albania. There were seven in our family and we all lived in one room. We never had shoes to wear and my parents could neither read nor write. We all slept on the floor.

"We suffered frightfully in winter from the cold, and we never had enough to eat. If one of us was sick, there was hardly any possibility of skilled treatment. So one of my sisters and one brother died very young. Then my father died. It was useless for me to hope ever to get a proper education."

But Hayrije was luckier than her elders. Her recollection of those bad, sad times are deeply etched but scanty, for she was very young still. Much of it she knew only through the tales told by her mother.

Hayrije was just ten years old when, in November, 1944, in Tirana, she knew for a few days the horror of war. Then, the tempest over, the sun shone and the air was bright and free. The beys had gone and with them the Germans, and also the police who had done their bidding.

A new life dawned for the people of Albania, whether Moslem, Orthodox or Catholic, White or Black. For Hayrije the new life meant that the little Negro girl could go to school. Her brother entered a factory to become an engineer. He became friendly with a white girl who worked there, and they married.

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Hayrije hurried through primary school, for she had entered at ten and had back time to make up! Then on to secondary school. Her teachers realised that she was an intelligent and studious pupil—but it was her voice which gained her most notice The little Black girl who had been liberated—together with thousands of her White brethren—was happy, and so she sang. She loved to sing—at school during playtime, on the street and at home. Her teachers helped her.

Hayrije was particularly interested in Albanian traditional and folk songs. She listened in to all the folk-songs broadcasts on Tirana radio, and soon had quite a repertoire. Her friends pressed her to apply to the broadcasting station for an audition. She was rather timid at first, but eventually did get her hearing. As a result, she was given a tentative engagement for two or three months, at the end of which she was regularly employed, and from then on she has sung for Radio Tirana.

After she had been singing on the wireless for a year, she was taken on by the Philharmonic Institute. This institution—founded only about two years ago—has discovered and helped and brought together under its auspices the most outstanding instrumental and vocal talent in our country.

Hayrije sings still for the radio. And each week you can hear her in one of the Philharmonic's concerts. And she is studying hard to improve her knowledge of the theory and practice of her art.

The little Negress, born of slaves and knowing in childhood no ease and dignity of living, now lives under decent and comfortable circumstances, enjoying the reward of her art which she practices in freedom, as an equal citizen of a People's Republic where colour distinctions are unknown.

Document of the Day

Hungary's Premier points the way

After being elected President of the Council of Ministers (Prime Minister) by the Hungarian National Assembly on August 14th, Mr. Rakosi made this speech:

"I HAVE to thank you warmly for the confidence and honour which election as President of the Council of Ministers means to me. I shall, by good work and a successful solution of the tasks ahead of us, endeavour with all my strength to be worthy of this position.

"These tasks are set by the objectives of our People's Democracy and determine the forthcoming work of the President of the Council of Ministers in home affairs.

"The policy is valid, as before, which our great Party, the Hungarian Working People's Party, has worked out and has consistently and tenaciously carried out with great success—namely the unity of the entire working people under the leadership of the working class.

"In the economic field we have to implement our Five Year Plan completely, the guarantee of socialist construction and of the economic and cultural development of our working people. Results achieved so far show that this mighty plan of ours is realistic and that every prerequisite exists for its fulfilment and over-fulfilment, if we work tirelessly and dauntlessly.

"In the future, as before, the entire existence of our People's Democracy and the main source of our success, is the grateful, sincere relationship which links our people to our liberator, the Soviet Union, which is victoriously building Communism, and to its beloved leader, Comrade Stalin.

"The deepening and further strengthening of this relationship remains the unchanged foundation of our foreign policy. Similarly, we will strengthen the friendly links which tie us to the People's Democracies, especially to the neighbouring Rumanian People's Republic and the Czechoslovak Republic.

"Last but not least, we shall be faithful and determined soldiers of the 800 million-strong Peace Camp, which defends creative peace, the guarantee of our future development and prosperity, against the imperialist warmongers. The Hungarian working people will be everywhere where the great cause of peace has to be served by word or deed.

"These tasks, which in every respect coincide with the vital interests of the Hungarian working people, determine my work. I can promise that I shall fight with all my strength to realise the aims which we had set ourselves in the interest of the further development of our fatherland which has suffered so much, and in the interests of strengthening our national independence and freedom.

"The results achieved so far by our People's Democracy guarantee that with self-sacrificing work, devotion and socialist consciousness we shall also realise these aims."

A day in Dimitrovgrad

By Beatrice King

"A MIRACLE city" is the spontaneous tribute of the visitor to Bulgaria on introduction to Dimitrovgrad. Two years ago two tiny primitive villages straggled over the plain where the new city rises. Today so much is completed that Dimitrovgrad is already making an important contribution to the fulfilment of production plans.

More sober, second consideration brings a more just appreciation of the springing up of this great city. The "miracle" is one of human thought and human labour, for here one sees the result of planning in combination with a deep confident enthusiasm for the work and its purpose, with a great devotion to the common purpose, with the conviction that what is being built is for the benefit of the builders and for their co-workers in the whole country.

It is all this that has stimulated young peasants to a successful mastery of skills that have hitherto required many years' apprenticeship. It is all this that has liberated the creative inventiveness found everywhere among workers when they are given opportunities and encouragement.

I came to Dimitrovgrad from Plovdiv and the train was an excellent introduction. The whole train crew — driver, firemen and guards—were young people, all attending the Evening Gymnasium (grammar school) that I had visited in Plovdiv. They were in the sixth form, whose praise and prowess in work I had heard sung throughout the school.

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WE were taken on arrival at Dimitrovgrad into the "Mayor's Parlour," a smallish room very modestly furnished for work, in a building that like all others was in the process of completion, as a temporary habitation for the city council.

Vassil Janeff Shalapotoff is at the nerve centre of the city's life, the chairman of a vast enterprise rather than a mayor as we understand the term in England.

A somewhat shy, modest man, with a warm smile that lights up a shrewd and intelligent face, who still wonders why he was elected for the job.

He had sat in gaol under the reactionary pre-war Bulgarian régime, and had been in a concentration camp during the war. He began life as a farm labourer under intolerable conditions. Later he became a tobacco worker. I learnt from others that it was his record of work in the trade unions in addition to his political activity and understanding that made him the choice for the very difficult task of building a new city with almost wholly inexperienced forces.

"Yes, there are difficulties enough at every turn," he said. "We have to learn as we go along. But collective discussion, and collective as well as individual responsibility, always lead to a solution. Work discipline is one of our serious problems. Most of our workers are young peasants and it takes a little time to adapt themselves to modern industrial conditions."

His wife works in the local printing works and he has two children.

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THE first plan for the city, which envisaged it as a town of separate, self-contained sections and which had begun to be realised, has been scrapped. A city must have a unity and a centre that unites all the parts and the different threads that make the pattern of a city's life.

In 1951 a new plan was produced by a new architect and adopted, and it is now being put into operation.

There is to be a city centre worthy of the new Bulgaria, with the central point a beautiful building for the House of the City Soviet, or as we call it the Town Hall. It will be surrounded by gardens and from it will lead avenues to the different main districts. The different sections of the city will be linked by radial and circular tree-lined avenues.

Residential districts are away from factories and so placed that the smoke does not reach them. Around the city will be a green belt of market gardens, orchards and dairies, whence the co-operative farms will supply the city with most of its food. The city already has what is claimed to be one of the most modern and up-to-date bakeries in that part of the world.

Each of the four residential districts will be provided with complete local social and cultural services. Within each district there will be the necessary health and medical services including a maternity home, clubs for leisure activities, a cinema, theatre, sports grounds and parks. Housing districts will be grouped round schools with kindergartens and crèche as part of a housing estate, so that children shall not have to cross main roads.

In the central part of the city, but away from factories, there are to be two large modern hospitals with faculties for research. Scheduled to be built by 1954 was a large central theatre and an opera house. A commission was to visit Sofia to collect a company. There is also to be one vast sports stadium and two smaller ones.

A railway linking the industrial sector with the western outskirts is to go through the city, while buses and trolley buses will provide transport.

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NATURALLY the visitor makes his way first to the very imposing new chemical combine, the pride of the country, started in 1949 and scheduled to be finished in 1954.

On the way I heard of a kindergarten, so we dropped in. The premises were temporary, adapted if I remember rightly from some works canteen. For the 48 children there was a staff of ten, four trained teachers, assistants, a nurse, a cook and laundry-women. A doctor visited on two or three days a week and was on call for emergencies.

The 48 children had the use of three very large rooms and large grounds outside where they dug, built, looked after gardens, exercised themselves on some rather meagre equipment, danced and sang.

The bedroom for the midday sleep was very spacious with windows that opened down one side.

On to the combine, where my guide who had been there three months earlier stood in amazement at the attractive gardens at the entrance, at the well-designed architectural structure that formed the façade to the works behind. Three months ago it was still mud and rubble with no dignified introduction to the works.

Inside roads were mostly still unmade and construction was beginning on vast extensions. Every section of the chemical works, which is now supplying the country with most of its fertiliser requirements and producing other chemicals besides, was finished ahead of time. The whole chemical works was finished in November, 1951, three years ahead of time.

This astounding feat was made possible by the help given by the Soviet Union, machinery, technologists, scientists, and highly skilled engineers. When I visited the works in May, there was not one Russian left, either as worker, instructor or executive director. They had passed on their knowledge, skill and experience to the Bulgarians and returned home without leaving any claims or conditions behind. "Of course, you people in capitalist countries find it difficult to understand this kind of brotherly help, which gives but strikes no bargains," I was told more than once.

Even a lay person like myself cannot help but be impressed by the machinery, and all must be impressed by the consideration for the worker; the guarded machines, the lay-out that avoids unnecessary effort, the hygienic conditions. All workers in the chemical works receive about two pints of milk daily.

The new restaurant for the workers, spacious, attractive, with white cloths and flowers on the table, served by a very modern kitchen, was functioning fully. A snack canteen where workers could bring their own food and have drinks only, was less sumptuous but a useful service.

An old gymnasium was in use while a new one was being built for the workers. Through works committees, and trade union committees, an intensive education was being carried on in the preparation of workers for responsible positions.

Work was beginning on new vast extensions of what was to be a veritable industrial giant. Between 1949 and 1952 five large factories had been built on this former desolate plain.

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WANDERING round away from the factories you see buildings rising everywhere, great blocks of flats to house the workers. A few are already fronted by gardens. I went into some of the flats. They lack any of the finish that we deem essential, as well as the gadgets of the good modern council flat in England. But the rooms are considerably larger than those deemed sufficient in England, and the rent is low—about 10 per cent. of income.

For a young married couple two large rooms, one of which served as the kitchen, were deemed sufficient at present. "No, we don't put off marriage for lack of housing," said one housewife. "If necessary

we live with one or other family, and we know that very soon we'll have a flat of our own." The young woman, three months married, was already expecting a baby. "Why wait?" she asked.

Walking along I saw pupils leaving a grammar school, already an old building. A few yards away a new grammar school was going up. Two other schools were under construction. The spots were pointed out where next year a technical school, a chemistry high school, and another general full secondary school would be built. The temporary reading rooms were to give place to permanent ones. These services were for a population which at present numbered 25,000. It was impressed on me that every plan would be fulfilled. It was unthinkable not to fulfil a plan.

To speed up the supply of specialist personnel there were evening secondary grammar and secondary modern schools to prepare suitable workers for entrance to higher education institutions.

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THE significance of Dimitrovgrad goes far beyond the adequate supply of fertilisers and chemicals.

Bulgaria was a small peasant country almost entirely dependent for its manufactured goods on other countries, chiefly Germany. It had no experience of large-scale industry, no body of skilled industrial workers, no experienced industrial specialists or executives. In a few short years, with generous help, the country has learnt how to set about developing modern industry.

It has swept away the tradition that had assigned it the permanent rôle of a good base for industrial capitalism in the west, with a low standard of living.

Dimitrovgrad is only the beginning, and it has inspired the people to new efforts of labour and of mastery of skills and technology. Dimitrovgrad is not the only signpost. A large shop window in Sofia was full of home-produced scientific apparatus. Other shops in Sofia and Plovdiv showed electric cookers, machine tools and parts, looking a bit rough, but made by Bulgarians in Bulgarian factories, as it was pointed out to me with pride.

All Bulgaria needs is peace for the development of industries that shall ensure her people essential manufactured goods. Trade with Britain could ease her task as it could ease the food situation in Britain.

Advance in Rumania

By Stanley Evans

Bucharest, August 22

THE first problem of the visitor to Rumania is to penetrate the impossible and suffocating heat of Bucharest. Once this hurdle has been surmounted, however, the visitor who has been here before is in for many surprises.

What has happened to Bucharest since 1950? It is altogether cleaner and jollier. Open-air cafés (many with dancing thrown in) have multiplied, there are new and more spacious parks, the people are altogether better dressed. A great amount of new housing is, perhaps, to be taken for granted. But who could take for granted the mounting and artistic storeys of the enormous Scanteia House, already one of the largest printing houses in Eastern Europe, printing not merely the paper whose name it bears but arithmetic primers, algebra primers, geographies, histories, language text books and heaven knows what else? or the Trade Union Children's Hospital, the two new Museums, or the Stalin Park, with its amusement centre, its open air theatre, its swimming and boating lake, its restaurants?

This question of clothing is important. Of course there are still barefooted peasants in the country, even in Bucharest itself, but far more surprising than that is the unbelievable number of people in the villages who are wearing shoes. Not only in Bucharest, but in provincial towns like Stalin (formerly Brasov) the standard of clothing of the people is as high as in London. Higher than in others of the New Democracies. This, of course, is unique in Rumanian history, and as it applies to consumer goods of every kind, which are not only in the shops in considerable quantities but are there at prices which people can pay, it is not surprising that the position of the critics of the Government, who are certainly here, is more difficult than ever before. So overwhelming is this change that the present writer certainly would never have believed it had he not seen it with his own eyes.

Four hundred lei a month is, today, a poor wage, that is to say it is among the lower grades of wage. Six hundred is nearer the average and qualifications and skill produce 800, 1,000, 1,200 or more. Rents are extremely cheap. One man who earns 700 lei a month pays 35 for rent. An average worker's rent is 25 to 30. Another worker volunteers that he gets 15 canteen meals for 19 lei. Small toys are as cheap as half a lei. Dolls cost from 4 upwards. Women's jumpers are 23 or 32; handbags 115-200; scarves 17-35; socks 4, shirts 61, nightdresses 56, mackintoshes 522; toothpaste 5, Nivea cream 4, shaving brushes 15; scent 15-27, darning wools 0.45, razor blades 1.25. A good straw hat, much needed here in the summer, of the type sold in London for 30s., costs 9 lei.

This does not mean that there are no difficulties, economically or politically. Bread, meat, fats and sugar are still rationed although all are available off the ration at higher prices and in general the background to this enormous stride forward is universal hard work. That, of course, is not new in Rumania, at any rate for the workers and peasants. What is new is that the workers all get paid holidays, and in this holiday month of August not only are the sea and mountain resorts full of people; not only is there a staggering profusion of Trade Union holiday centres to be seen at work, but at the week-ends the mountain and other resorts are packed with weekenders enjoying themselves in a minimum of clothing with a gaiety which would, of itself, annihilate many of our English self-styled political commentators.

The major political problem is in the countryside where the rich peasants, or kulaks, fight a grim battle against the levelling process which is steadily undermining their oppressive predominance. This is not a matter of political shibboleths: as collective farms are formed and produce more per acre than any peasants, rich or poor, have ever produced, and as peasants turn increasingly towards them, the rich peasants, in mute anger, are sabotaging production *on their own land*. This suicidal process typifies the helplessness of any opposition to the continual improvement of a people's conditions.

For these Rumanian people are not fools. It was one of them, George Simomca of Arad, a metallurgical worker and Stakhanovite, aged 30, a trades unionist but not a member of the Workers Party, who, after listening to *The Times* report of July 23, to the effect that middle-class children between the ages of ten and seventeen were being taken from their homes at night as hostages for the good behaviour of their parents, first relaxed into a broad grin and then said: "That can be answered very shortly. It is not true. If you want me to say anything else I can only say that you ought to know by now that this is not the way we treat children in Rumania. Of course we have our struggles against dissatisfied people, the bourgeois and the kulaks. In my own town of Arad I know many of them very well and most of them live quietly and nobody interferes with them. As for their children, we do not let them into the army because we do not trust their background. But that is all." Then he added: "Your *Times*, I think, must be confused."

But nobody in Rumania can be confused about their own life which is being universally discussed now on the basis of their new draft Constitution, which appears, in whole or in part, on every hoarding and on every noticeboard. It is being discussed, article by article, or chapter by chapter, by village meetings, factory meetings, street meetings, flat meetings, by meetings of every kind.

In general it is approved but for all that amendments are pouring in It ought to say more, argue some, about the rights of women. More definition is required, say others, of the Hungarian Autonomous Region. There should be slight changes, argue others, in the national emblem.

And so it goes on, for this is a country of discussion, a country that has learned that work and discussion, marching hand in hand, can transform a community It is the transformation which has taken place here, as well as the liberation of the country by the Russians, which the whole country is to celebrate tomorrow.

A film goes to the miners

By John Alexander

FILMS from Eastern Europe are becoming more widely known and more popular in this country. Showings of their 16mm., versions are increasing in local halls and community centres; even the big commercial circuits, already receptive to Continental films in a way they never have been before, are paying attention to them.

For some weeks earlier this year *The Fall of Berlin* was rivalled only by *Quo Vadis* for breaking records in the West End of London. Now this important Soviet film is going round the country on the local circuits—a tribute to the prestige which Soviet studios are winning back for themselves throughout the world in a new way, as a factor in the international fight for peace.

Appreciation of the new style in film making, originating in the U.S.S.R. and now being widely put into practice in China and the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe, is being expressed (sometimes somewhat unwillingly) in the British press.

"More than diversion"

Thus a Polish emigre writer recently contributed a long article to the Catholic journal, *The Tablet,* in which he described the progress and growing popularity of these films in some detail. He gave his reasons to explain these successes :

> This Communist film production . . . should not be underestimated. It accustoms the masses to seek in the cinema something more than a diversion; a form of instruction in the essential problems of life, a pattern of conduct, a guide in daily difficulties . . . In matters of sex these films never aim at exciting the basest passions as Western films so often do; on the contrary they teach men and women of the Communist countries that their love must be based above all on a community of ideals and work.

The author clearly hopes that the systems of government in these countries will be altered but he expresses misgivings about the results in the sphere of film:

> The peoples at present subjected to this form of cinema will get into the habit of looking to films for answers to life's serious problems and not only for entertainment . . , Is the Western cinema . . . ready to carry off a decisive victory over the Marxist cinema, not only by superiority of technique and cultural values but also by the message it spreads? I very much fear that the answer will be an embarrassed one. ("The Cinema in the People's Democracies" by Andrzej Rucszkowski, *The Tablet,* 17/5/52.)

One of the best and most recent of these films from the People's Democracies is *New Heroes Will Arise* which, based on a novel by the Czechoslovak Premier Antonin Zapotocky, won a State Prize at the 1951 Czechoslovak Film Festival and is widely regarded as the most outstanding of their post-war productions.

I had the interesting experience of taking this film on a week's tour this summer of Co. Durham, where it was shown mainly to miners under the auspices of local miners lodges.

The film deals with the origins of the Social Democratic Party in Czechoslovakia. Zapotocky, who was, until 1948, Chairman of the Czechoslovak Trade Union Movement, describes episodes in the life of his father, Budecsky, who was one of the founders of this Party towards the end of the 19th Century. The film starts with the arrival of Budecsky in his native village where he has been banished, under escort by the police, with a ban on his political activities.

Great care was taken by the makers of the film to recreate the actual conditions of the time and the exact role played by Budecsky. Zapotocky himself helped with the script and background.

The evidence of this care was not lost on the miners. They appreciated fully the way in which the working people of the village—poor peasants for the most part—were each treated with an individual respect. It was a striking change from even the most progressive of Western films which, when they treat a serious subject tend to magnify the stars' roles at the expense of the average characters.

Jiri Fried, script writer of *New Heroes Will Arise,* was himself a technician on these former types of progressive films. In an article on his work on this film, for which he won a State Prize, he wrote recently about the changed attitude he had to bring to it in order to write a script which would satisfy the new Czechoslovak public:

> "I realised the true reactionary character of those 'aesthetics' which exclude from a film, under the plea of 'audience reaction' such 'boring' forms of social life as meetings, and ban from the dialogue everything that bears the slightest resemblance to political terminology . . . In the West the rule of "short dialogues" holds good. Their hero, in the end, has almost nothing to say. In our films we portray the worker, the brave fighter for the happiness of our generation.
>
> "And let us not be afraid to show his face: it is a beautiful face. And let us not be afraid to hear him speak; he has something to say."

Villagers change

The main theme of *New Heroes Will Arise* is the transformation of these village people, the way in which each of them changes into a confident person in the course of the film; how Budecsky, after founding a "Mutual Aid and Cultural Society," is able to bring them all into some form of social activity, culminating in his election as the first Social Democratic M.P. for that area.

The miners liked especially one of these characters—also a great favourite among Czechoslovak audiences—an old man who, at the start of the film, is living on village charity and resigned to a hopeless existence.

Bit by bit the old man, after joining the Society, regained his self-respect. Towards the end, after the Society has become established, he dies; and the whole village, marching behind the Society's brass band, gives him a funeral finer than he had ever dreamed would be possible.

The experiences of the miners seem to bear out this episode. One miners' institute where the film was shown had been pawned to the local co-operative society when unemployment had hit that mining village. They knew well the hard struggles which accompanied the early days of the British Labour movement and, only a few days before the film was shown, a funeral headed by the lodge band had passed down the main street outside the institute carrying a miner who had been killed in an accident.

This part of the film was especially moving to miners and their wives at this colliery, seemed to reflect the growth of that miners lodge—from the days of poverty to today's position of strength and influence.

The Chairman of one miners' lodge made a speech after the end of the film in which he summed up what it meant to him:

> "The film is very informative. It shows us how the people of Czechoslovakia were oppressed by the ruling class in the 19th century; by their nobility and by sections of the Catholic Church. Second, it shows us how a leader has to have confidence in the people and to win their confidence too."

Miners discuss it

Other miners compared Budecsky with their own past leaders; one mentioned how the film recalled to him our own Tolpuddle martyrs; another how telling was the treatment of Budecsky's village friend and colleague who minimised the role of the Society thinking always in terms of immediate revolutionary steps; another liked particularly the treatment of the Catholic Church, how a difference was made between the priest who took the side of the authorities in trying to incite the villagers against the "subversive red" and another (more dominant) who preached peace and worked for the Society seeing in it an instrument for the betterment of the village.

Thus many of the characteristics of film making in a People's Democracy, mentioned above by Anrzej Rucszkowski, are present in this film. Not least important is the treatment of the women, especially of Budecsky's wife who, after turning against her husband's constant political activities and their danger to the family, becomes reconciled to them in an effective scene of discussion between them. The episode truly makes the point that "love must be based above all on a community of ideals and work."

On the last day of my tour I heard a local speaker give a talk on Britain's cultural heritage. Referring to our great poets of the past he quoted a letter written by John Keats :

> "There is an electric fire in human nature tending to purify—so that among these human creatures there is continually some birth of new heroism."

How well, I thought, John Keats would have appreciated *New Heroes Will Arise* based as it is (like so many of these films) on just that concept!

Slovakia sings and dances

By Ralph Parker

MOSCOW, September, 1952

IN August, 1948, I happened to be in the Slovakian town of Turchansky Svati Martin during a folk-dance festival. Peasants had come from all over the land to compete and throughout the day, until a shattering thunderstorm broke over the broad valley in which this little town is cradled, we watched them dance to pipe and drum and zither.

In the audience at that open-air theatre I noticed Igor Moiseyev, the celebrated director of the State Folk-Dance Ensemble of the Soviet Union. He was watching the dancers attentively. "Here you see the real dance-language of a people. What vigour! What playfulness! One has only to watch for a few moments to recognise what is the craft or occupation of each group of dancers; the shepherds of Orava, the field-workers of Detva, the spinning girls of the Hron valley."

"Yet," Moiseyev continued, "in this form these are not dances to be watched and it is the task of us choreographers to trim and shape and curtail without robbing the dances of their directness and reality."

Late that evening, when the storm had abated, we watched Moiseyev's ensemble, and I at once saw what he meant. All the diffuseness of the natural folk-dances had been transformed into ballet that was terse, graceful and dramatic.

Recently there came to Moscow the Folk-Art Ensemble of Slovakia, and in the parks and gardens of the Soviet capital they delighted the public with a programme that showed how in that short space of four years the lessons of Moiseyev had been applied. The dancing and singing had lost none of their genuineness but had become theatrically effective as the result of co-operation between folk-dancers and singers and Professor Rudolf Mrlian and the ballet-masters and musicians who have helped him to produce this ensemble.

Infectious spirit

The creation of folk dance and chorus groups has been a notable development of people's democracy and in recent years Moscow has seen many striking performances by the ensembles of Korea, Rumania, Poland, Albania, Hungary, Bulgaria. And now Czechoslovakia. Each has its own specific character but common to all is an infectious spirit of youthfulness that makes these concerts friendly, almost intimate affairs.

The Czechoslovak concerts in Moscow were no exception. From the first bars of Bartholomew Urbanet's chorus Hej, the Sun is Rising, one realised that this was not the Slovakia of old, with its sad haunting melodies, that was singing to us, but a new Slovakia that needed different, more vigorous, rhythms to express itself. Some of the numbers were concerned to emphasise the contrast between old and new. The Harvest Festival dances to music by Tibor Andrashovan, for instance, introduced those most recent new arrivals in the Slovak village, the tractor drivers. Others were less literal but there could be no mistaking the new spirit implicit in the May Day dances to music by Desider Kardosh or in those songs from Eastern Slovakia in which popular protest against the threat of war is voiced.

It was most interesting to discover how the Janoshik tradition is being preserved in Slovakia. Janoshik was an 18th century figure, who has sometimes been referred to as the Robin Hood of Slovakia because of the raids he conducted on the property of Hungarian magnates for the benefit of the Slovak peasants. This anti-feudal character became associated in Slovak minds with the spirit of independence, bold, buoyant and ingenious. In North-Eastern Slovakia you will find his portrait on countless pictures and carvings. There are many popular songs devoted to his exploits.

Slovak choir

The distinguished Czech composer, Eugen Suhon, has composed a chorus of memorable power and quality which is infused with the Janoshik spirit. It was sung very movingly by the Slovak choir and the moment when all rose from their crouching positions to sing the last bars erect and defiant was, to my mind, the most significant moment of the entire programme.

Another very effective group were the dances of mountain shepherds, each of them a feat of strength as well as of intricacy. Nor shall I easily forget the gentle irony of the play-acting of the young girls who sang bridal songs or the symbolic movements of the dancers depicting the process of spinning.

How splendidly, too, these Slovaks sang modern Soviet songs. When I visited Slovakia a few weeks after the end of the war, I noticed how immediate was the appeal of the vigorous, happy music of the U.S.S.R. to the young Slovaks who seemed quite deliberately to be turning away from their own sad tunes. Now the Slovaks have created their own new music but they still retain an affection for the tunes of Nivikov and Zakharov and other contemporary Soviet composers, singing them with their own harmonies and rhythm.

A few hours before attending this concert I had been listening to a programme of music broadcast from New York in the Voice of America programme. With the usual pompous fanfare a new feature entitled the Voice of Youth was announced, and at once there began a song called Broadway Rhythm, a breathless, mechanical performance rendered by voices from which every bit of humanity seemed to have been drained. It left an impression of the singing of slaves. The singing of the Slovaks was essentially different. They sang as they danced of innocent pleasures, of triumphs in which they had all shared, of their work and their dreams, of the dignity of man.

And as these young people performed they conjured up before us scenes from those new towns beside the River Vah, of the gay holiday centres clinging to the sides of the Tatra Mountains, of enlightenment coming to the once-grim villages of the Orava valley, of the rich agricultural co-operatives beside the Danube. Above all of a talented, vigorous people, a people awakened and on the march.

Letter to the Editor

Keeping in touch with the Unions

Dear Friend,

I was very interested to read in your last issue the series of articles dealing with trade unions in the People's Democracies. There is no doubt that ignorance of, and lack of contact with, these trade union organisations, which are playing such a prominent part in the construction of socialism in Eastern Europe, is one of the reasons why the overwhelming majority of British trade unionists have not yet condemned those in America and Britain who would involve us in a war to "liberate" Eastern Europe from socialist construction.

The sending of British trade union delegations to the People's Democracies is undoubtedly playing a big part in overcoming this lack of knowledge and lack of contact. Those who have not yet been fortunate enough to visit a People's Democracy—and those who have had that privilege, but would still like to keep in touch with developments in Eastern Europe—will find regular trade union information in *World Trade Union Movement*, the fortnightly illustrated journal of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Since the beginning of the year, apart from publishing special articles by visitors to Rumania and Czechoslovakia, our journal has published regular information on the developments taking place in the People's Democracies, especially in the field of trade union questions. I feel sure that many trade union readers of *New Central European Observer* will find our journal a valuable means of keeping in touch with trade union developments in these countries.

Yours fraternally,

JACK WODDIS,
for W.F.T.U. Publications, Ltd.
6 Chichester Chambers,
Chancery Lane, W.C.2.

GOT THE PRITT PAMPHLET?

Germany — Peace or War?

By D. N. Pritt, Q.C.

Now on sale at bookshops or from N.C.E.O., 40 Gt. Russell Street, W.C.1, price 6d. Gives all the facts you need to fight against rearmament of West Germany.

GET IT NOW!

Tito's anti-labour trade unions

This article is taken from the Bulgarian fortnightly in English New Bulgaria.

MARSHAL TITO'S authorities have recently been carrying out a hectic "reorganisation" of the trade union federation in Yugoslavia. The progressive leaders and active members were discharged and arrested.

In 1951 alone, 9,500 trade union workers were arrested. The trade union bodies which took care of health services and social insurances were dismissed.

The main task of the Yugoslav "trade unions" is not to defend the vital interests of the workers, but to engage in "cultural and educational" activities among the working people. In point of fact, this "cultural and educational" activity consists in preaching fascist ideology while the living standards of the working people are undergoing a catastrophic decline.

The prices of all articles of prime necessity have risen by over 750 per cent. For instance, a box of matches cost 0.5 dinars before the war; today it costs 10 dinars. A pound of table-salt sold at 1 dinar; now it costs 15 dinars. A cake of soap cost 2 dinars; now it costs 200 dinars. A pair of moccasins cost 40 dinars; today it costs 1,500 dinars. Men's shirts were sold at 30 to 50 dinars each, while their present price is 3,000 dinars.

Not long ago the Government issued a decree freezing the miserable wages of the workers. According to this decree, the workers' wages are fixed between 20 and 30 dinars a day. Consequently, the Yugoslav worker receives approximately 600 to 800 dinars a month. This is his gross salary, which is subject to various deductions, taxations, and so on.

According to the published plan of the Tito Government, the light and local industries producing consumer goods are to reduce their capacities. For instance, the Yugoslav textile industry will curtail its production by 31 per cent. during the current year, the food industry by 42 per cent., the chemical industry by 49 per cent. There is a tendency for all commodities of prime necessity to become still more expensive by the end of the year.

Purchasing power dropped considerably. The monthly salary of a skilled worker can buy 20 to 25 kgs. of bread or 90 kgs. of potatoes. Still greater is the plight of the young unskilled workers such as those at the railway stations. A young unskilled worker at the Belgrade railway station, for instance, receives 1,015 dinars a month.

Of course, the Tito authorities explain that this is the "minimum wages" given to the worker. He is entitled to receive more, provided the enterprise is "profitable." And there can be no doubt that today's directors, mostly former owners of these enterprises, will see to it that the workers get nothing but their minimum wages.

Unemployment reaches formidable proportions in Yugoslavia today. This country has over 200,000 unemployed as a result of the closing down of hundreds of enterprises of peace-time industry. To make their enterprises more profitable, the directors are dismissing the "surplus manpower," which commonly consists of nursing mothers and pregnant women. Over 3,000 women were recently dismissed from the enterprises of several industrial towns in Croatia alone.

The newspaper *Borba* of March 20 this year wrote that in a number of enterprises in the country—in Belgrade, Novi Sad, Zaïchar, Sombor and other places, workers who have six children and over are being mercilessly sacked. There were 40,000 unemployed in Belgrade in 1951 and over 20,000 in Zagreb.

The health condition of the people in Yugoslavia is very poor. Medical aid is utterly insufficient. In the town of Zenitsa, which has 33,000 inhabitants and many industrial workers, there are only eight physicians. According to *Politica* of April 10, "1,100 to 1,200 workers fail to report to work in this town every day."

"Sick-rate is 50 per cent. higher than last year," continued the newspaper. Each year, 100,000 Yugoslav workers die of tuberculosis.

Overtime work is not paid for. The enterprises do not observe the 8-hour working day. The workers toil 12 to 14 hours a day, but receive payment for eight hours. In this way, during the first six months of 1951, the workers at the Kreka mines were robbed of 154,024 extra hours of work, amounting to over 1,500,000 million dinars.

Over 550,000 Yugoslav workers have left the Titoite "trade unions" in the last two years. Failure to report to work has become a widespread phenomenon, particularly in military enterprises. In many places the workers organise and carry out strikes against the ruthless exploitation and starvation wages. In the course of several months in 1951 over 20,000 workers were on strike in the Adriatic ports.

Book Reviews

Rumanian folk dances for the specialist

Dances of Rumania, Miron and Carola Grindea (Max Parrish, 4s. 6d., pp. 40).

THIS little book is an attractive, and within its limits useful, contribution to the popularisation of its very colourful subject of which so little is known in this country.

The technical details and description of steps are of considerable value to the specialist, and should help broaden the repertoire of the growing numbers of people interested in folkdances of our own and other countries. The book is pleasantly produced and attractively illustrated, and the price is not unreasonable.

Had the authors confined themselves to the merely technical aspects of the subject there would have been little comment to be made, but as it is, the introductory essay calls for criticism. A study of Rumania's dances cannot be separated from the social and economic development of the people who evolved and performed them—and it is this social connection that is lacking here. Rumanian dances, and this is probably not characteristic of Rumania alone, are accompanied by shouts and satirical comments from the dancers, called "strigaturri"—these embody the most overt social content, and are unfortunately completely overlooked by the authors. One such call for instance rouses the peasant dancers to demand their rights from the landlords:

Thrash the boyars on their doorsteps;
Demand money of them
And clothes for our backs.

Again many of Rumania's notable popular composers in the last century wrote tunes for horas which were deliberately given titles relating to the struggles of the people against their oppressors (Unity Hora, etc.).

It is unfortunate that such social significance as the authors attach to the hora in particular is of an idyllic and unreal character—it is only in romanticised versions of a happy peasant community that the hora acts as a censor of village morals, and the reality offered no basis for this conclusion. Imaginative interpretation of the social role of the hora was commonplace in the writing of the past about Rumania—some writers, as here, treated it idyllically, others regard it as a rouser of evil passions and a corrupter of morals, in much the same way as the English maypole was condemned as a wicked survival of paganism.

While M. Grindea says very properly that the dances will survive in the changed society now developing in Rumania, there is no real sense of the changes that society will work on the dances—the Paparuda rain making dance, performed by naked gipsy girls formerly is hardly likely to survive in a community using the resources of science to irrigate its lands (this dance is incidentally not mentioned in the text).

It must also be said that from the point of view of folklore and anthropological interpretation the suggestions of the introduction are misleading and superficial—this is particularly true of the interpretation of the Calusari, which is distinctly bowdlerised.

If one does not seek too much in this book it is quite a useful work, well worth reading, and it leads one to express the hope that sooner or later there will be available in English translation the thorough study of these dances which is already being carried on in Rumania under the auspices of the Folklore Institute, and which sets the dances firmly in their social and historical context, linking them with the day to day problems of the people and with the whole developing social structure.

J. GREENE.

Whither Europe?

Whither Europe—Union or Partnership? by M. J. Bonn (Cohen & West, 15s., pp 204).

DR. BONN begins his approach to the problem of Western Europe's future with two prejudices which give a queer kink to his judgment. The first is his apparent belief that much of the world's present troubles are due to the New Dealers in the U.S., those few American liberals whose influence was "responsible" for the vicissitudes of State Department policy in China and the eventual conversion of that great country into Moscow's "stooge."

The second, and still more violent conception of the author's, is that Russian Communism is an enemy with which it is almost impossible to imagine any agreement or compromise. "In Stalin's hands," writes Dr. Bonn, "Marxism became fundamentally anti-European." By this he appears to mean that socialism in the Soviet Union has departed from the liberal humanism which he identifies with the culture and values of "Europe." Still more astonishing, he declares that the U.S.S.R. "is now pursuing an imperialist policy for the same economic reasons as animated capitalist colonial expansion." Set aside the fact that there is remarkably little evidence of any "imperialist" policy being pursued by Moscow in its relations with neighbouring countries: the suggestion that the U.S.S.R. is imitating 19th century "colonial" techniques in order to secure markets and raw materials is a gross absurdity.

With these important reservations, Dr. Bonn is an intelligent man, who brings to bear on his subject the mind of a trained historian and acute observer of the contemporary economic field. His thesis is that American attempts to force Western Europe prematurely into the straight-jacket of a federal system are doomed to failure. The course which he advocates is that supra-national agencies, such as the coal-iron-steel Authority of the Schuman Plan should be used as a basis from which gradually to build up a League of sovereign Nation States. Even in this process he foresees that the obstacles to closer association—involving, as it does, the abandonment of tariffs and, to some extent, the abrogation of national planning — will be formidable. Indeed, readers are left with the impression that the whole move to build up a "European community" would fizzle out if there were any relaxation of the Cold War tension.

On this point Dr. Bonn is shrewd enough to appreciate that a Russian offer designed to secure a unified Germany, with a freely elected all-German Government, sovereign with the sole proviso that the re-united Germany must not be attached militarily to either the Eastern or Western Power Bloc, may well put the architects of the European Defence Community in an awkward dilemma: they may have to agree that in such circumstances the drive to rearm Germany would be "unnecessary."

"If . . . Russia's concessions are unacceptable," writes Dr. Bonn, meaning presumably "if the Americans reject them," then the Western Powers "will have to establish a screen" behind which the Western German army can be built up. Such indeed is the dreadful logic of the present Western attitude. But the alternative which the author has to propound is not greatly less dismaying. For, even if an East-West agreement over Germany can be secured, enabling Western Europe to proceed calmly with the loose economic league which the author advocates, "it would be an armistice, not a peace." As a forecast of Western intentions this will hardly encourage friendly feelings in the U.S.S.R.

AYLMER VALLANCE

Circulation notes

LANCASHIRE HERE WE COME!

THE unanimous decision of the Trades Union Congress last week, calling for "extensive trading relations with China, the U.S.S.R., and other eastern countries," registers the overwhelming desire of the British workers to overcome the obstacles which still stand in the way of measures necessary to the overcoming of our ever-growing economic problems.

This decision means that it is now more opportune than ever before to provide the Trade Union and Labour Movement with the facts showing the great economic developments in the People's Democracies, and every reader and organisation should now be considering carefully how best to extend the number of readers of the *New Central European Observer*, in order to strengthen still further this desire for more trade and better relations with the eastern and Central European countries.

This is a particularly appropriate time to remind readers that the autumn and winter programmes of organisations in the Labour and progressive movements are now being prepared, and the suggestions we have previously made to hold Schools and Meetings dealing with aspects of life in the Peoples' Democracies should now be seriously considered and acted upon. It is already planned to hold one School in London during the autumn, which will be jointly organised by a Trade Union organisation and the N.C.E.O., and the magnificent response to our School in Kirkcaldy (organised jointly with the Co-operative Men's Guild) indicates the excellent developments that can take place with regard to increased circulation, as well as giving members and organisations of the Labour Movement a deeper understanding of the facts about the People's Democracies.

At the time of going to press, over 120 delegates have been appointed, and a report and analysis of the School will be given in our next issue. In the meantime, we again invite readers to get in touch with us, to make similar arrangements for Schools and Discussion Groups in their organisations and localities.

The Circulation Manager will be visiting Lancashire during the next few weeks, and would like to call on readers in that area who may wish to discuss with him the possibilities of extending circulation there. Please write care of this office, and every effort will be made to notify you in good time when a call may be made.

ALFRED BENDER.
Circulation Manager.

The Coming Fortnight

Sept. 13: British-Czechoslovak Friendship League dance. 20 Pont Street, S.W.1, 7.30-11 p.m.

Sept. 13: British-Polish Friendship Society social. 81 Portland Place, W.1, 7.30-11 p.m.

Sept. 15: British-Czechoslovak Friendship League. Film show of Czechoslovak Folk Dancing. 20 Pont Street, S.W.1, 7.30 p.m.

Sept. 16: British-Czechoslovak Friendship League. Film show "Herald of the Dawn." At 20 Pont Street, S.W.1, 7.45 p.m.

Sept. 17: British-Polish Friendship Society. Mid-week social. 81 Portland Place, W.1.

Sept. 19: British-Polish Friendship Society. Illustrated talk by Mr. S. Farrar and Mrs. A. Herbert "With the T.U. Delegation Through Poland." 81 Portland Place, W.1, 7.30 p.m.

Sept. 20: British-Polish Friendship Society dance. 81 Portland Place, W.1, 7.30-11 p.m.

Sept. 23: British-Czechoslovak Friendship League. "Two Years of Progress in Czechoslovakia." Speaker: Mrs. B. King. 20 Pont Street, S.W.1, 7.45 p.m.

Sept. 27: British-Czechoslovak Friendship League dance-social. B.C.F.L. Folk Dancers. 20 Pont Street, S.W.1, 7.30-11 p.m.

Sept. 27: British-Polish Friendship Society social. 81 Portland Place, W.1, 7.30-11 p.m.

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25-30-110

Russia Cut Arms Budget After War, U.N. Report Holds

By LEON EDEL
COMPASS U.N. Correspondent

United Nations, N. Y., Feb. 3—The U. N. disclosed today in an unprecedented economic report on the Soviet Union that Russian spending for armaments and defense went into a marked decline after World War II and has zoomed only during the last two years—simultaneously with Western rearmament.

The U.N. figures were contained in its annual "Economic Survey of Europe" prepared by the research and planning division of the Economic Commission for Europe. It was the first time that this report has contained a full chapter on the Soviet Union and constitutes the most comprehensive U.N. report to date on economic developments in the U.S.S.R.

The reason for this is that insufficient data has been available previously for any detailed analysis. But the report explains that the completion of Russia's fourth five-year plan together with an accumulation of data from other Russian sources, plus information contained in a speech made by Deputy President of the Council of Ministers Beria last October has made it possible for the U.N. experts to arrive at some conclusions about the Russian economy.

The U.N. report shows that by 1949 Russian military expenditures had dropped below the level of 1940, the year preceding Russia's entry into the war. The report estimated the Soviet defense expenditures in 1940 at 57 billion rubles; in 1949 they were down to 55.

In 1950, however, with the organization of the Atlantic Pact and the beginning of the huge U. S. arms program, Russian military expenditures rose to 63 billion rubes and during the past year catapulted to 80 billion.

As tabulated in the report, arms spending has undergone the following curve in the U.S.S.R. in recent years:

In 1937 it was 18 billion. By 1940, under the impact of Munich and the German invasion of Poland, it rose to 57 billion. By 1946, the year the war ended, it was 74 billion.

Then the trend was reversed. In 1947 it dropped to 60 billion. In 1948 it remained at this figure. In 1949 it reached a low of 55 billion, to be followed by jumps in 1950 to 63 and in 1951 to 80 billion.

The report noted that while military outlays in Russia during the past two years have "averaged close to three-fourths as much as total gross investment, a higher ratio than in the pre-war years 1937 and 1938," this is "substantially a smaller ratio than during the period of greatly intensified military preparation between the time of Munich and the German attack on the Soviet Union."

The U.N. experts carefully explained they arrived at these overall figures by measuring the drop in goods and services in relation to "the demands levied by defense on available resources."

The report warned that the calculations were of "a very approximate nature because of the paucity of information available" but it reached the general conclusion that "out of its growing volume of resources available each year, the Soviet Union has devoted a substantial and at present increasing amount to defense and a somewhat larger and steadily rising amount to investment, while the amount assigned to consumption has so far increased only moderately above pre-war levels."

Part of the U.N. reasoning seems to be based on the fact that during 1946-49 Russia gave priorities on steel, cement and heavy electrical engineering industries for major peace-time construction projects "expected to make a substantial contribution to the productive resources of the national economy, particularly in power production, inland water transportation, irrigation and total arable area."

Among these projects are cited new hydro-electrical power stations on the Volga, Don and Dnieper and the Volga-Don and Turkmen canals.

Russian expansion in industrial output in 1951, the report says, "was very rapid by almost any standard of comparison, and, in absolute terms, was doubtless at least as great as in any previous year since the beginning of large-scale industrial development in the Soviet Union."

The housing problem is still acute and the just completed five year plan provided for an extensive building program designed to replace also war-damaged and destroyed structures. These have been "more than made good for the urban areas and have been met to the extent of nearly 90 per cent in the countryside."

The U.N. economists note that Russia's current shift to a greater war economy in these circumstances can be made "without risk of inflation" as compared with "less centrally controlled economies where private investment decisions must be influenced by other and more indirect methods."

The report concludes:

"With large natural resources, greatly expanded equipment goods industry, rapidly growing mechanization in industry and wide margins for further increases in labor productivity, the total national product may be expected to continue a fairly rapid expansion . . .

"The most serious limiting factor is of course the relatively low output of agriculture, which has shown only a moderate growth over the last 40 years." The U.N. experts thus expect the new Soviet five-year plan to accent greater emphasis on production of consumer goods.

Germany Big Gainer From Rearmament

COMPASS U.N. Bureau

United Nations, N. Y., Feb. 3—The U.N.'s Economic Commission for Europe predicted today increased inflationary pressure for Europe during the coming year and reported in its economic survey that Germany has been the chief gainer in the West's rearmament program.

West Germany increased its output of engineering products 40 per cent and with Berlin and Austria accounted for more than two thirds of the 15 per cent by which Western Europe's engineering index increased during the past year over 1950.

West Germany has now become the largest single supplier of industrial machinery to Europe.

The report said inflation has been brought under control only in Switzerland, Denmark and the Netherlands. Elsewhere there is no slowing-down of the upward cost spiral.

735

Birthday Greeting by WESTERN UNION

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WARMEST GREETINGS AND DEEP THANKS FOR THE BIRTHDAY GIFT OF ANOTHER YEAR ENRICHED BY YOUR PRESENCE AMONG US. MAY THERE BE MANY MORE=

JESSICA AND JOHN ABT=

EE, 113 - ST

June 22, 1953

Dr. & Mrs. W.E.B. Du Bois wish to express to Mrs. Adderley and her family their distress and condolence at the death of Mr. Adderley.

They hope that the memory of his useful life will sustain the family in their grief.

35-53-20

Mrs. A. F. Adderley
Nassau N.P.
Bahamas

Adebayo

COPY

Legal Department
Nigerian Secretariat
Lagos, Nigeria

(addressed to Dr. W.A. Hunton
100-23-93 Avenue, Richmond Hill, N.Y.)

5/6/53

Dear Sir:

It is my pleasure to write this letter as an African to the Secretary of an organization on African Affairs as the Council on African Affairs is. What mainly motivates my writing this letter, however, is to inquire from you how it is possible for me to get the main publications of our great and revered scholar, Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois. I have come across one of his books, "Color and Democracy", have read it over not less than four times, and will particularly like to be in possession of a copy of this book at least, as the only copy available here has recently got lost. I will also like to be in possession of his other outstanding works which I recently discovered in the "International Who's Who", some of which are "The Dark Princess", "Dusk of Dawn", and others. Permit my inaccuracy if I have misquoted these books for I do this off-hand. What I mainly desire is direction to where I can get these books, and if you could help, a knowledge of the prices, to enable me to purchase them one by one as money gets to hand. If possible, I will like also to receive publications concerning the Council on African Affairs, whatever be the costs. And finally, my compliments to our beloved scholar, Dr. du Bois, and an assurance that his efforts on behalf of the Negro race are sincerely appreciated.

25-53-14

I am,

Yours truly

O. Adebayo

June 19, 1953

Mr. O. Adebayo
Legal Department
Nigerian Secretariat
Lagos, Nigeria

My dear Mr. Adebayo:

Dr. Hunton has handed me your letter of May 6.

Most of my books are out of print, but I would be glad to send you a copy of: COLOR AND DEMOCRACY; THE PHILADELPHIA NEGRO; IN BATTLE FOR PEACE; and later, THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK.

However, if I should send these I am wondering if you would get them, that is, if the government would allow them to come in without confiscation. If you are sure that they will, I will send these copies at no cost to you.

I thank you for your kind words.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Attorney-General's Chambers,
Legal Department,
Lagos, Nigeria
25/6/53.

Dear Sir,

I received your letter of 19.6.53 and am very grateful for it. I am greatly thankful to Dr. Hunton who was so kind as to transmit my letter to you. I could have written you straight but I could not get your address from anywhere; so what I conceived might be best was to write an official of an organisation of which you are the chairman thinking that by so doing the letter would come to your notice; this Dr.Hunton has creditably done.

Concerning the books which you have so kindly promised to send to me, namely "Colour and Democracy" and 3 others, I am extremely grateful. I do not think the Government will seize them as they are not banned books. I know they will come to hand safely and I most anxiously await their arrival. I will like to be informed when they are despatched so that I may be on the lookout for them. As time goes on I will have points to raise and have discussed and to express some sentiments. I hope when I start to do, I will receive a desired hearing. I anxiously look forward to receiving those books and I thank you greatly for this kindness you have shown.

I am,
Yours truly,

O. ADEBAYO

O. Adebayo.

85-53-13

First fold here

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y
New York

First fold here

Second fold here

Sender's name and address

O LEGAL DEPT
AMERICAN EMBASSY
LAGOS,
NIGERIA

August 24, 1953

Advance Printing Co.
324 East 24 St.
New York, N.Y.

25-53-21

Gentlemen:

Please send me 500 sheets and envelopes the size of the enclosed specimens, on paper corresponding in quality to the paper on which this letter is written. I should like to have the following address printed on it:

W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York, 10, N.Y.

Send me specimens of the printing, if possible of embossed printing.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Africa Speaks]

John Howard
99 Moreland St.
Boston, Massachusetts
December 3, 1953

W.E.B. DuBois
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

Undoubtedly you have noted the frequency with which Africa has begun to appear in the news. Also you have probably noticed that this news is slanted to present one-and only one-side of the story. The American people unfortunately have not been informed of the true nature of the struggle now taking place in Africa; they have been told little or nothing of the passive resistance movement in South Africa, and nothing of Dixin Konkola's Railway Workers Union and their fight against British reaction and terror.

They have, however, been told of the native"terrorists" in Morocco, and they have been told of the "ritual murderers" in Kenya; but, they know nothing of the brutal and grinding exploitation of the natives practiced by the French planters in Morocco, nor do they know anything about the horror and hell of the British regime in Kenya.

Because we beleive that more than one side of the story should be told, and because we feel that it is important that the American people know the true nature of the upheaval in Africa, a group of us, mainly students, have decided to publish a magazine tentatively entitled Africa Speaks. In this magazine we plan to disseminate basic information about the historical, political, social, and racial nature of the struggle in Africa.

25-49-25

The question will arise as to whether this magazine will be anything more than a propaganda sheet for the black nationalists. That question is best answered by defining propaganda. We know that it is a respectable word which has gotten a bad reputation. To be a propagandists as the word was originally understood meant to be one who disseminated information. To be a propagandist as the word is understood today means to be one who distorts and colors the material he presents. If you use the word as it was first used, then we are propagandists, for we will do nothing more than present the facts. It will not be our manipulation or distortion of the facts which will condemn the exploiters in Africa; it will be the damning nature of the facts themselves.

After we had decided finally to publish a magazine we set for ourselves three goals. First, we decided to make the magazine a professional venture. Second, we set February as a hoped-for publication date for the first issue. Third, we decided to seek literary contributions from outstanding authorities on the subject.

Our emphasis in the first issue will be upon the history of imperialism in Africa; because the issues under discussion can be understood only in terms of their historical past. Without a doubt, you sir, are America's foremost authority on African history and culture. It is for that reason that we are

(continued)

writing you to explain the nature of our venture, and its purpose. We hope that you will find merit in this project; and finding merit in it will either find the time to compose an article for the first issue on the history of imperialism in Africa, or grant us permission to reprint the talk you delivered at the Community Church in Boston on February 1st, 1953, The Sruggle In Africa. In our opinion nothing would help this magazine accomplish its purpose so much as an article by you in then first issue.

It is perhaps significant that the first movement towards an American protest against the crimes of the exploiters in Africa should start in Boston, the home of the two leading abolitionists, Wendall Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison.

We can only hope that our protest will in the end be as successful as was theirs.

Respectfully yours,

John Howard

John Howard

25-49-26

AFRICAN & COLONIAL WORLD

EDITORS: Dr. K. D. KUMRIA & DOUGLAS G. ROGERS

Telephone: RELiance 2101

Telegrams: Indianotes, London

A POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND TRADE REVIEW

Published Monthly in London

12 KENNINGTON PARK ROAD, LONDON, S.E.11

35-50.2

Dr.W.E.V. Du Bois,
23 West 26th. Street
New York City 10,
U.S.A.

18th. September 1953.

Dear Friend,

Your name and address has been given to us by a mutual friend. I am sending you a copy of "The African & Colonial World", a new publication started in September 1953 in London, and I hope you will find it of sufficient interest to become a regular subscriber.

This is the first and the only publication of its kind, published in this country, and perhaps anywhere else in the world, to deal exclusively with the African and Colonial affairs from the peoples' point of view.

The contents of the first issue will give you an idea about our policy and our objects.

If you care to write to us giving your views about the publication, or send us the names and addresses of any people or organisations, who in your opinion should receive a copy of this journal, we shall be grateful to you.

We are also anxious to get in touch with selling agents and if you could in any way help us in that matter by recommending any names we shall appreciate it.

Thanking you in anticipation for any assistance that you may be able to give.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
Joint Editor, "The African & Colonial World"
Dr. K.D.Kumria.

[AME]

March 31, 1953

Bishop D. Ward Nichols
African Methodist Episcopal Church
1517 North 16 St.
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Sir:

I am seeking through you to reach the Publishing Department of the A.M.E. Church.

Fifty years ago, in 1903, I published my book, "Souls of Black Folk". It went through twenty or more editions, and went out of print only about ten years ago.

I have in mind the publication of a jubilee edition of this book, and since I own the original plates the cost of such an edition should not be large.

I am writing, therefore, to your organization and especially the Book Department, to know if they would be in a position to undertake this publication. I think it might prove profitable.

Will you kindly let me hear from you at your convenience?

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[A.M.E.]

Episcopal Residence:
209 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 30, N.Y.
Tel. WA. 6-2561

New York Office:
2295 Seventh Avenue
N. Y. 30, N.Y.
WAdsworth 6-4259

African Methodist Episcopal Church

First Episcopal District

Conferences:
PHILADELPHIA
NEW JERSEY
NEW YORK

DECATUR WARD NICHOLS, A.M., L.L. D., *Presiding Bishop*
Episcopal Headquarters: Allen Building
716 S. 19th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Telephone: Ki. 6-0455

Conferences:
DELAWARE
NEW ENGLAND
BERMUDA

April 6, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York City, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In reference to your communication of March 13th, I am pleased to inform you that the Publishing Department of the A.M.E. Church is now located at 414 8th Avenue, South, Nashville, Tennesse and Mr. E. A. Selby is the manager. I am sure that Mr. Selby will be glad to hear from you in reference to the matter contained in your letter.

Any further information that you desire, please feel free to call on me.

Very truly yours,

D. Ward Nichols

DWN:vcn

(AME CHURCH)

April 8, 1953

Mr. E. A. Selby
Publishing Dept., A.M.E. Church
414 Eighth Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

My dear Mr Selby:

I am writing you among others concerning a jubilee edition of my book, "Souls of Black Folk".

Fifty years ago, in 1903, I published this book. It went through twenty or more editions, and went out of print only about ten years ago.

I have in mind the publication of a jubilee edition, and since I own the original plates the cost of such an edition should not be large.

I would like to know if your organization is in a position to undertake this publication. I think it might prove profitable.

I may add that the book is small, less than 150 pages. If you do not have a copy you can easily find one in the Fisk University Library, or I can send you one.

Will you kindly let me hear from you at your convenience?

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

STATEMENT

The Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, in declaring open the last session of the IOth Parliament yesterday, stated from the throne that the Government would introduce new measures with powers "to deal swiftly and effectively with possible eventualities" of the Defiance Campaign. This session marks the beginning of the end of Malan's five years of tyrannical rule. The general elections, which are due to take place in April, will decide who will rule the country for the next five years. But, of course, the Non-White people of South Africa will have no say in the matter as they do not enjoy the right to vote.

The record of five years of Nationalist rule is an evil one. The blood-stained pages of its "book of deeds" are filled with acts of wanton violence against innocent people. Throughout the whole period bestial passions of race hatred were inflamed. The Non-White people were oppressed with unprecedented fury and ruthlessness. By its actions the Government precipitated a major crisis in the country.

Under the leadership and guidance of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress the people of the Union embarked on the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws, on June 26th 1952. Born from conditions of utter frustration and indescribable misery, it received mass support of the people. To date more than 8,000 brave men and women have defied racially discriminatory laws and daunted the rigours of South African gaols, and in so doing withstood the Nazi-like terror of the authorities.

In its initial stages the Campaign was dismissed by the Government as it was of the opinion that the masses in general would be apathetic, but was soon forced to realise that the movement had gripped the people firmly. Having failed at many efforts of crushing and discrediting the Campaign, the Government banned meetings of more than IO persons throughout the country in the African areas, made propagation of Defiance a serious offence, punishable to the extent of three years imprisonment and deprived many leaders of the African and Indian Congresses of their right of speech and movement. In spite of these measures the Campaign goes on unabated.

.../ -2-

Now, the Minister of Justice intends introducing despotic measures, which if passed, will give the Government powers of arresting and detaining people in CONCENTRATION CAMPS and the right to declare martial law or state of emergency. These Bills are ostensibly purported to aim at destroying the Defiance Campaign but in effect they will foist absolute dictatorship over the country and bring about complete slavery.

Unbridled oppression based on grounds of race and colour, resort to mediaeval methods of torture and retrogression to barbaric rule in South Africa is a challenge to civilisation and is of vital concern to the whole world. It is a threat to world peace and as such demands closest scrutiny and condemnation of every nation and all peoples.

The struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa is a struggle for right and justice, for life and liberty. The spirit of freedom which is released by the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws can never be exterminated or crushed. No matter what happens the struggle will go on.

We solicit your support in the cause of oppressed humanity in South Africa. In the interests of peace, civilisation and better understanding between the peoples of the world Malanism must be exterminated from the face of the earth. Whilst we carry on the battle in a disciplined and non-violent way, your assistance to this noble cause will be of inestimable value.

Issued by the National Action Committee of the
African National Congress and South African Indian Congress,
P. O. Box 2948,
Johannesburg.

24th January 1953.

Phone 34-1667. P.O. Box 9207

The African National Congress.

UMBUTHO WESIZWE—LEKGOLTA LA SECHABA

All Communications to be addressed to the Secretary — General.

2—3, NEW COURT CHAMBERS,
44, COMMISSIONER ST.
JOHANNESBURG,

23rd March, 1953.

Dr. W.E.B. Du-bois,
53 West, 125th Street,
New York, 27 NY,
U. S. A.

25-50-1

Dear Dr. Du-bois,

Having learnt that you are the co-founder and present President of the Pan-African Congress, I write to suggest that there is a greater need of the Pan-African Congress being summoned now as never before.

There has been this desire on the part of individuals and organisations in this continent. I have, on behalf of my organisation, indicated to various National Organisations in the last few years a wish for such a conference. I am convinced that a Pan-African Conference will be welcome to all the struggling peoples of Africa for the purpose of a co-ordinated effort against their oppressors and other imperialist powers.

It is my firm conviction that, whilst the Asian and Arab countries are playing their part in the fight for fundamental Human Rights for the Colonial countries, the people of Africa must of necessity shoulder the greater part of the burden. In the final analysis, the eradication of imperialism and oppression in Africa will be as a result of the struggle by the peoples of Africa themselves.

As a man whose tireless efforts have been directed towards the assistance of the African people for the last fifty years, your advise would certainly be highly appreciated by my organisation. We feel that many difficulties in sponsering such a gigantic conference may be overcome by your wise advice. I take it that you are also connected with the Council of African Affairs which, as I believe, has the necessary material.

Yours in the cause for Freedom,

SECRETARY - GENERAL.
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

[African Nat'l Congress]

April 9, 1953

Secretary-General
African National Congress
2-3, New Court Chambers
44, Commissioner St.
Johannesburg, Union of South Africa

My dear Sir:

25-50-8

I am unable to decipher the name which you signed to your letter of March 23, but I am deeply interested in a session of the Pan-African Congress in Africa in the near future.

It will, of course, be difficult to realize this, to communicate with the various organizations, and more especially to find a place or country where such a meeting would be welcomed.

On the other hand, its value and significance would be very great.

I will cooperate in any way I can although probably I could not get a passport to attend the meeting, nor could I get a visa to enter Africa, but that is of little importance.

I recommend that you write to all African organizations in Africa and to the various governments which would be interested. If you will send me a list of the organizations I will join you in bringing this matter of a congress to their attention.

Also, you should write to George Padmore, 22 Cranleigh House, Cranleigh Street, London N.W. 1, England, who has worked with me in this matter for a long time.

I shall be very glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W. E. B. Du Bois

Pan-African Congress

Phone 34-1667. P.O. Box 9207

The African National Congress.

UMBUTHO WESIZWE—LEKGOLTA LA SECHABA

All Communications to be addressed to the Secretary — General.

2—3, NEW COURT CHAMBERS, 44, COMMISSIONER ST.

JOHANNESBURG,

6th May, 1953.

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
23 West 26th Street,
NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Du Bois,

25-55-1

Your letter of the 9th ultimo is to hand and I hereby acknowledge it with thanks. I am very grateful to you for the offer you have made to co-operate in bringing about the proposed conference. I also thank you for the suggestions you made in connection therewith.

We are quite aware of numerous difficulties we shall be faced with;but we feel quite confident that this being the feeling of the people of Africa,a way-out will be found. Though we would have prefered a conference in the continent of Africa, conference shall have to be held somewhere else if possible.

I enclose herein a copy of our letter to various National Organisations and Governments in this continent and also the list of addresses as suggested by you. I have also written to Mr. George Padmore in terms of your letter.

Yours in the cause for Freedom,

W.M. SISULU.
SECRETARY - GENERAL.

[African Nat.'l Congress]

6th May, 3.

The President General,
N. Rh. African National Congress,
P.O. Box 1005,
LUSAKA.....N.RHODESIA.

Sir,

The National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of the Union of South Africa has considered the possibility of a Pan-African Congress in Africa of all National Organisations in the various territories on the African Continent including countries with independent status.

Since the Second World War the attention of the imperial powers of Belgium, France, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Portugal, Spain and the United States of America has been turned on Africa. The loss to them of vast imperial domains in Asia, and the emergence of the independent States of China, India, Pakistan, the Phillipines and the United States of Indonesia makes Africa the nerve centre of colonial exploitation.

This situation calls for greater co-ordination of policy not only between the various Colonial countries but between colonial and independent countries in Africa for whilst each retains its own responsibility for its own internal policy, we cannot be unconcerned about the need for common plans. The events taking place in Kenya, Tunisia, South Africa and other Colonies justify the calling of such a conference at the earliest possible convenience.

In this regard we might mention that we have consulted with Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, President of the Pan-African Congress, who has indicated his support of this proposal and offered his co-operation and assistance.

/2.....As a prelude.....

As a prelude to such a conference, we would suggest the immediate establishment of a Consultative Committee which would go into the matter exhaustively and make arrangements for its convention.

Kindly indicate the attitude of your Organisation towards this suggestion.

Yours in the cause for Freedom,

W.M. SISULU.
SECRETARY - GENERAL.

25-55 3

May 1, 1953

Miss Gloria Agrin
401 Broadway
New York, 13, N.Y.

Dear Miss Agrin:

Dr. Du Bois is out of town at the present time. He asked me to send you a copy of his message to the Peace Council. He would appreciate it if you would read it and advise him if you think that in the event this was published, any particular word or phrase would be injudicious.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

25-49-1

[Agrin]

BLANCH FREEDMAN & GLORIA AGRIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
220 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 38, N. Y.

WORTH 4-7428 — REctor 2-3491

May 14, 1953

Dr. W.E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, NY

Dear Doctor:

I received a copy of your message to the Peace Council.

I have read it with care and find nothing in it that should be cut out. As a matter of fact, I think it is one of the finest things that you have ever written.

I might mention that in the list of cases where you talk of the Hiss case, you seem to have confused Hiss with Remington. Remington was tried once and aquitted, and then tried again for alleged perjury in the first trial. Hiss was tried once; the jury disagreed; he was tried again and convicted of the same charge, namely, perjury.

My kindest personal regards to you and Shirley.

Sincerely

Gloria

GA/FR

25-49-2

The American Academy of Arts and Letters

and

The National Institute of Arts and Letters

request the honor of your presence

at their

Annual Ceremonial

in the Academy Auditorium

632 West 156th Street, New York City

on Wednesday afternoon, May 27, 1953

at three o'clock

and

Exhibition of

Works by newly elected members

Recipients of Academy and Institute Honors

and Pictures purchased from the Childe Hassam Fund

in the Art Gallery and Museum

at five o'clock

Please reply to
the Assistant to the President
633 West 155th Street, New York City

Refreshments
will be served on the
Terrace at five o'clock

(Program on page three inside)

Directors of The American Academy of Arts and Letters

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Chancellor
Archibald MacLeish

Secretary
Mark Van Doren

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Deems Taylor

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Franklin C. Watkins
William Carlos Williams

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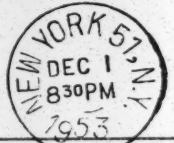
CEREMONIAL PROGRAM

Organ Processional	Leo Sowerby
Chairman of the Day - the Chancellor of the Academy	Archibald Mac Leish
Address by the President of the Academy	Paul Manship
Induction of new Institute Members by the Secretary of the Institute	Louis Kronenberger
Presentation of "Arts and Letters Grants" and "Academy in Rome Fellowship" by the President of the Institute	Marc Connelly
Presentation to MARIANNE CRAIG MOORE of the Gold Medal for Poetry	Glenway Wescott
Presentation to FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT of the Gold Medal for Architecture	Ralph Walker
Presentation to IVAN MESTROVIC of the Award of Merit Medal for Sculpture	Paul Manship
Address: "Subject and the Time"	Elizabeth Bowen
Organ Recessional	Ernest Bloch

Hugh Porter - Organist

1



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois,

23 West 26th Street,

New York 10, N. Y.

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 West 155th Street, New York 32, N. Y.

Just a reminder that you are expected at the Academy on Friday, December 4th

Reading of Commemorative Tributes	12:00
Cocktails and luncheon	12:30

If you find that you cannot be present, please telephone AUdubon 6-1480 or telegraph collect to 633 West 155th Street, New York.

FELICIA GEFFEN
Assistant to the President

650 W 155th St

[redacted]ATEMENT BY THE

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

"The U. S. Supreme Court probably on May 4 will hear argument on whether or not Harry Bridges perjured himself in naturalization proceedings when he denied past membership in the Communist Party. This is the third time that the government has raised the question of such membership in legal proceedings instituted against Bridges. On two occasions, the government attempted to deport Bridges on this charge, but the charge was not sustained in either case, even though one case reached the Supreme Court.

"Now, ten years later, the government has been successful in a prosecution charging Bridges with lying in denying past membership in the Communist Party - which membership the government had already twice failed to prove. It seems to us that this continual harassment on the same issue over a period of ten years amounts to a violation of that due process of law required by the Fifth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution. Three legal proceedings brought against a man, always involving the question of past membership in the Communist Party, reflects an attitude of persecution which is not consonant with American democratic concepts. Regardless of the nature of the proceeding, political or otherwise, if the idea of due process is to be preserved, individuals must be free of the need constantly to defend themselves against the same accusation.

"The ACLU does not, of course, take any position with respect to whether Bridges was or was not a member of the Communist Party, and it affirms its unalterable opposition to Communist totalitarianism. But it repeats once again its firm conviction that, in opposing Communist tyranny, American democracy cannot employ the methods and tactics of that tyranny.

"It hopes the Supreme Court will reverse the conviction."

# # # #

Released April 27, 1953

uopwa-34

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Co-Chairmen
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Dr. Joyce Wike
Prof. Rolland E. Wolfe

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

23 WEST 26th STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MUrray Hill 4-3457

February 19, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Peter Hyun
Southern California Peace Crusade
326 West 3rd Street, Room 310
Los Angeles 13, Calif.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

On behalf of the staff of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, I greet you on this occasion and salute you for your tireless efforts to win full dignity and equality for the Negro people and for your incessant struggles for world peace.

We, of the American Committee, recognize that our task, to maintain and extend the rights of foreign born Americans, goes hand in hand with the fight for the rights of the Negro people. We recognize that in the atmosphere of a world at peace, both goals could be achieved.

We shall heighten our activity for repeal of the Walter-McCarran Law as one step toward the achievement of a democratic, peaceful future for all, native born, as well as foreign born.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Abner Green
Executive Secretary

ag/eb
ftul/1283
dpowa

[Am Labor Pty]

April 8, 1953

Mr. Vito Marcantonio
American Labor Party
17 Murray St.
New York 7, NY

Dear Marc:

Enclosed is my proposed television talk. I think they are right as to length.

It would be possible to interrupt the third or fourth so that we could share the time differently and make it seem more like a conversation.

Let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh
enc.

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-40-5

April 23, 1953

Mr. Vito Marcantonio
American Labor Party
17 Murray St.
New York 7, N.Y.

Dear Marc:

Shirley and I are leaving April 25th for a three weeks' vacation in the Bahamas.

My address there will be:

Dr. G. S. Worrell
P.O. 693
Nassau, N.P.
Bahamas

He has a phone.

We plan to fly back May 17th.

With best regards,

DB;lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

VITO MARCANTONIO
LAWYER

BENJAMIN F. KARPAY

11 PARK PLACE
NEW YORK CITY 7
CORTLANDT 7-3110

May 1, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Dr. G. S. Worrell
P.O. 693
Nassau, N.P.
Bahamas

25-58-4

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed you will find a speech I delivered at the ALP State Conference. If it will not distunb your vacation, please read it.

With this speech I hope to have delineated the differences between those of us who believe in a political party and those who would use it as a pressure group or for purposes other than that of establishing a genuine independent political party.

However, the reading of this speech is by no means more important than your vacation, and if it interferes with it, hold up reading it until you come back. I would like to have your views on it. Please communicate them to me whenever you feel you can.

With kindest personal regards to you and Shirley, I remain,

Sincerely,

Marc

VITO MARCANTONIO

ds
Enc.

TEXT OF REPORT ON

"THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY AND THE 1953 MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS"

Delivered by former Congressman VITO MARCANTONIO, American Labor Party State Chairman, at the American Labor Party State Conference, Stuyvesant Casino, April 29, 1953.

Lincoln opened his famous "house divided" speech with these words: "If we could first know where we are and wither we are tending, we could then better know what to do and how to do it."

This advice is as sound today as on June 15, 1858.

The issue fixes where we are and wither we are tending. The issue today is whether or not our country can live at peace with the Soviet Union, China and other countries whose economic, political and social systems vary fundamentally from ours. On the resolution of this great question rests the present and future welfare of Americans.

Since the nomination of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1944 as presidential candidate of the American Labor Party, we have consistently upheld the affirmative. Those who now constitute the leadership of the alleged Liberal Party split with us basically over this issue in 1944 and formed their party.

Following Roosevelt's death, the Democratic Party repudiated his stand and together with the Republicans directed the affairs of this nation, domestic and foreign, to establish the negative.

It was in opposition to this course that we opposed the Truman Greek-Turkish doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the Korean war.

In the effort to sustain the affirmative, we supported the Roosevelt policy of full collaboration with the Soviet Union throughout World War II. We insisted in the continuance of this policy in the post-war period. We favored the United Nations, endorsed the LaGuardia request for a continued UNRRA, pressed my bill for the setting up of a United Nations fund for aid to needy and under-developed nations, unreservedly urged the adoption of the Indian resolution last November, called upon President Eisenhower to follow the basic principles of this resolution in the present negotiations for the ending of the conflict in Korea and throughout we have striven for the settlement through conferences of the differences without any sacrifice of a single American principle or a single American interest.

We have asserted throughout, that war between us and those who have differing systems would be as insane as the religious wars that almost destroyed Europe. World War today would destroy civilization. That is why time and time

again we have stated that the best defense of America is peace.

Live as we must at peace in the same world with these nations compels us to no more accept their doctrine or ways of life than they are compelled to accept American views and customs. Just as the bitter opponents of the European religious wars, the Catholics and Protestants can today live together in peace, so can non-Communist and Communist nations.

This all-important question has been with us since the establishment of the Soviet Union and merely assumes different aspects in different times.

It is because of our adherance to the affirmative of this issue, that we nominated Roosevelt for President, LaGuardia for Mayor, and opposed Truman, Dewey and Eisenhower and Stevenson. It was because both the Republican and Democratic parties as well as the Liberal party became one as a result of their adherence to the negative of this proposition that we sought to establish in 1948 a national Progressive Party, a third party technically but intended in reality a second party.

Today, the present phase of the question is an early and honorable peace in Korea, preventing our being catapulted into the Indo-China war, and to stop the spreading of the war to engulf the entire Asian continent. On this issue, again we find that the leadership, that those who control the machines of the Republican, Democratic and Liberal parties stand as one on the negative and we again reiterate our position in the affirmative for peace.

This fixes where we are. Now, wither are we tending?

We do not stand alone. Ever-increasing numbers of our fellow Americans are demanding an early and honorable end to the Korean war.

They oppose our being thrown into the Indo-China war.

They repudiate the inquisitions of today, the Congressional and Senatorial committees that would impose tyranny on the minds of men.

Men and women who work for a living feel more and more the shackles of the Taft-Hartley Law and ever stronger becomes their demand for its complete repeal and restoration of the Wagner Act despite the surrenders and betrayals of some of the so-called leadership of labor organizations.

Americans everywhere in greater numbers urge the full application to the Negro and the foreign born and other minorities of the principles of equality enunciated in our Declaration of Independence.

I can categorically state that as a result of this forward march of the American people together with that of the common people everywhere in the world, that the war crisis will soon be transformed into a peace crisis.

Americans are definitely tending towards peace. They are forcing their government toward it. They are tending towards the restoration of their civil liberties and the establishment of equality and the guarantee of the general welfare.

The issue has fixed where we are. The direction in which the American people are moving establishes wither we are tending.

I now deal with the question of what to do and how to do it.

The answer to this problem is a political movement, national in scope, which will give political expression to the desires of the people and to the establishment of the affirmative of the issue.

It is obvious that this cannot be done through the machines of either the Republican, Democratic or Liberal parties.

The three stand together. They are owned and motivated by the same masters. They strive to thwart the will of the American people for peace.

The simulated difference between them is used by the same manipulators to confuse and confound and divide Americans so as to nullify any effort by the people to achieve political action in their own behalf.

Let us examine the record.

With the ascension of the Republican Party, the masters of big wealth in America have shoved aside their servants in the Truman Administration and have taken the high seats of government. They are now operating the government of the United States with only one objective and that is to guarantee and increase their profits.

The titular head of the Democratic Party, Adlai Stevenson, in his travels has embraced Chiang Kai Shek, urged an alliance with every repudiated tyrant in Southeast Asia, demanded our military participation in the war in Indo-China and in Malaya, and has called for an extension of the Korean conflict. On this he has joined Mac Arthur.

The Democratic minority leader of the Senate, Johnson, opposes any reduction in armaments appropriations and so does Mr. Rayburn, the Democratic leader of the House. Only 4 Democrats opposed the confirmation of Mr. Wilson of General Motors. Only 15 Democratic Senators voted for amending the Senate rules to prevent filibustering on civil rights legislation. Only 2 Democrats voted against the House Un-American Activities Committee. Only 89 Democrats voted against the Tidelands Oil Bill in the House while 97 voted for it and a substantial number of Democratic Senators in the Senate makes its passage assured. 67 Democrats joined the Republicans in defeating public housing in the House. The majority of the democratic minority in Congress is controlled by that combination of the last remnants of Southern feudalism and of the new Southern ruthless industrialism.

This is evidence of the continued disintegration of that coalition in the Democratic Party composed of the South, the Negroes, labor and the farmer -- a falling apart which began in the elections of 1952 and the germ of which was established within its body following the death of Franklin Roosevelt.

This disintegration will continue because those who hold the reins of domination by which the Democratic Party is tethered will not permit any real opposition to their program of big profits and war.

The machines of the Democratic Party as well as the Republican Party are used merely to give semblance to a two-party system but in fact constitute one party.

The Liberal Party is merely an appendage of the Democratic Party on main issues.

It is significant that not a single leader of any one of these three machines, either in the upper or lower echelons, has at any time expressed any word of opposition on the great fundamental issue of peace.

I have been speaking of the machines of these parties. I expressly and with all the emphasis of which I am capable assert that these sins are not those of the 33 millions who voted the Republican ticket and of the 26 millions who voted the Democratic ticket.

If given a genuine, independent third party movement, the American people will join it and will support it and make it the other party of genuine opposition, thus once again re-establishing the two-party system.

In our City, on local issues, the situation is no different.

The overriding question here has been since the end of World War II who shall pay the cost of an ever-expanding city?

As candidate for Mayor in 1949, I urged that an honest assessment be made of large commercial and industrial real estate. I now again repeat that this is the crux of the whole question before the people of this City in 1953. I assert that at least $150,000,000 can be garnered by this kind of assessment, an assessment on the basis of 1953 values rather than the values of the year on which the assessments are made, that of the depression year of 1932.

Mind you, I am talking of big commercial and industrial real estate. The small home owners are already over-assessed and they share the same burdens of the rent payers. It is these huge real estate interests who control the affairs of this City and State to guarantee their escape from their fair share of the costs of this City. This has been done by control of the machinery of the Democratic, Republican and Liberal parties.

This is evidenced by the actions of Dewey and Impellitteri of the Republican and Democratic parties, and Halley of the Liberal Party.

The Dewey-Impellitteri program is to let the real estate gang escape their responsibility by placing the burden on those who have to ride to and from work by increasing their fares.

The Halley-Liberal Party way of letting the real estate gang escape is by so-called economy which means taking it out of the necessary services which the little people so badly need and in which there are so many shortcomings such as relief, child care and health.

The Halley plan would turn back our hospitals and schools to the pre-World War I days. It would turn the clock back to 1910.

Again, I point out that neither the Liberal nor the Democratic Party put up any real fight against the 15% rent increase put over by the Republicans. The fight was shadow boxing and everybody who witnessed it up in Albany knows that it was a fake.

So here again we find the machines of the three parties as one in operation for the profit of the big and the mighty at the expense of the little people. Just as they have been operating against the people on the national issues, so are they now operating against the people on the local issues.

Just as they pretended differences in form nationally, so do they affect differences in form here in New York City.

Essentially they are the same. They may use different fiddles but they are playing the same tune.

Therefore, in answering the question of what to do in the City elections, I apply what I have attempted to establish with respect to the question of what to do nationally.

Here in the City of New York, the people's interests cannot be protected through the machinery of the Republican, Democratic and Liberal parties anymore than they can be protected on a national scale through these machines.

I have sought to meet the problem nationally by calling for the establishment of an independent political party. I offer the same for the City, the establishment of an independent political movement. This can best be accomplished with the aid of the only political party which has carried the fight in the interests of the little people -- our own American Labor Party.

Some now state that this is not what to do. They say we have experimented with the third party and that it has failed. They tell us that the vote which the third party received in 1952 was inconsequential.

This is true but where I differ is in the discernment of the cause and with the solution offered by them.

They say that people will not leave the Democratic and Republican parties for a third party. This is not true.

I firmly believe that millions of Americans will join and support a new national third party so as to re-establish once again a two-party system by which their aspirations can be served.

As for our past experiences, I maintain that the Progressive Party prior to the convention of 1948 had a potential of many millions of votes. Its program was the restoration of the Roosevelt foreign policy and the Roosevelt domestic program. This was the enunciated objective of that Party prior to the convention in July, 1948.

At that convention, I recommended, as the Republicans of one hundred years ago did, "the affiliation and cooperation of men of all parties, however differing from them in other respects, in support of the principles declared."

Our Party failed to live up to this precept -- a simple political precept of gathering the greatest number of people around a few all-important central issues irrespective of their disagreement on other matters.

We violated this principle. From the beginning of the convention to this very day, we have operated not on the basis of fundamentals but on tangents. We have been everything but a political party.

We have been a civil rights organization, a peace organization, a defense committee, and time and time again we functioned as though we were not even remotely connected with the basic issues on which we were formed.

We have been off the main beam politically time and time again. As a result, many refused to join while others left us.

This was the cause of our failure as a third party. It was not the concept of a third party that was wrong but it was the way we did it.

Consequently we do not abandon the concept of a new national political party and of the strengthening locally of the American Labor Party. In fact, we reaffirm that concept.

I utterly repudiate any idea of abandoning our Party or its functions as a political party. I also likewise repudiate the alternative that is offered, and that is of liquidating our party either directly or indirectly, and that of our people subordinating themselves to the machinery of the Republican, Democratic and Liberal parties.

This means that they are to become the untouchables, the invisibles and the mutes within the Democratic Party or the Liberal or Republican party. This would mean to allow the American people to be tied to the machines of these parties, depriving them of any opportunity of establishing a political opposition to these machines. This course means the paralysis of any effort to cause the realignment which is so necessary to the welfare of the American people.

I refuse to believe that what to do is to surrender.

I believe in a two-party system. I reiterate that the three parties are one and that there must be another one.

This can be best accomplished with the establishment of a new political party which again I say would help bring about the realignment, the second party. And here in the City of New York, again I say this can best be accomplished with an active, independent, growing American Labor Party dedicated to the principles that I have herein enunciated calling for the "affiliation and cooperation of men of all parties, however differing from them in other respects, in support of the principles declared."

I now come to the question of how to do it. There must be a beginning.

Here in 1953, we can continue to begin in the face of the situation as I have described it.

The American Labor Party, in order to give political expression to the forward march of the common people of this country which has at long last resumed its course, must nominate candidates for all of the major offices to be elected in the municipal elections in New York City in 1953.

Those who have abandoned the course of a third party as the surest way toward bringing about the necessary realignment would urge upon us not to nominate candidates.

Failure to nominate a candidate is a rare exception engaged in by political parties only under the most extraordinary circumstances.

The conditions of 1953 do not warrant any such exception.

Not to nominate our candidates under these circumstances is liquidation by indirection.

Not to nominate would force on us the role of a pressure group. The moment we assume the role of a pressure group, we die as a political party and we soon become extinct as a pressure group and fail to survive in any manner.

We are not a political maneuver, we are a political movement. We are not a pressure group; we are a political party.

The question is not one of going or not going it alone. To raise such an issue at this time is dishonest for the realities of the situation preclude any such issue.

We face the political realities of 1953 without indulging in political metaphysics. We seek no partisan advantage. We are ready to stand with anyone who stands right.

The coalition of the real estate gang consists of the Democratic Party leadership on the one hand and the Republican and Liberal party leadership on the other, the Impellitteris, the Deweys, the Javits', the Halleys, the Windels, the Rockefellers, and the Riegelmans. All of these either through a higher fare or by cutting or by reducing the necessary services of the people serve those who benefit from low assessment. They are the candidates of the big real estate gang. They hide behind the false facade of good government.

They do not stand right. They stand wrong.

We are ready to nominate anyone who stands right even though he be not a member of our Party. In fact, we will withdraw our candidate and nominate him, if such an occurrence should take place.

Please note that I use the word -- nominate.

This means that while we are ready to subordinate our partisan interests, we will not subordinate our identity as a political party, nor compromise the fundamental issues or the fundamental principles.

This means we will place him or her on our ticket. It is inherent in anyone who will not run on our ticket that he does not stand right under the conditions of the day, and on the fundamental questions of the time.

On this, I accept the challenge within and without our party, and let the enrolled voters decide the question on Primary Day.

I say we are ready to seek any and every alliance of the common people, the little people of this City, in this election. We do so as a political party seeking to serve the best interests of the common people of our city.

I again repeat: We call for the affiliation of all men of all parties, however differing from them in other respects, in support of the principles I have here declared.

Doing what I have recommended and doing it in the manner that I have suggested here, I know is not easy.

The course of progress has always been difficult. The fight in the interest of the indigent, the poor, the Negroes, labor, and farmers, and for the affirmation of peace, equality and freedom, has always been a severe and painful endeavor.

What is the alternative -- to surrender the fight, to listen to the words of those who would have us become a pressure group, to liquidate our party as a result of not functioning as a political party, to disperse and give up our political enterprise toward the establishment of the realignment which everybody admits is so necessary? I think not.

As your Chairman, I say -- I pledge my personal endeavor in the exercise of my leadership to guarantee that this will not occur.

I have stated that Americans have resumed their great march toward peace, civil rights and liberties and the unshackling of American labor and for the welfare of the American people.

We carried on when all of this seemed to be at a standstill. Did we not? We sacrificed then.

We were subjected to vituperation, abuse and distortion, yet we fought on. We fought on even though our fight was seemingly alone but that lone fight was no more wasted than when I cast my lone vote against the catapulting of our country into the Korean war.

Now events have vindicated us. Our fellow citizens are beginning to march for the same things for which we have striven so long and arduously.

I began this speech with the words that Lincoln used in his "house divided" speech. I now humbly adopt the words he used in closing that famous speech:

"We did this under a single impulse of resistance to a common danger with every external circumstance against us. We formed and fought the battle through under the constant hot fire of a disciplined, proud and bitter enemy. Would we brave all then to falter now? Now when the same enemy is wavering. The result is not doubtful. We shall not fail -- if we stand firm -- we shall not fail. Wise counsel may accelerate or mistakes delay it but sooner or later the victory is sure to come."

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May 22, 1953

Mr. Arthur Schutzer
American Labor Party
17 Murray St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Schutzer:

I would appreciate it very much if you would send me a copy of the ALP brochure on the transit situation.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

May 28, 1953

Mr. Vito Marcantonio
American Labor Party
17 Murray St.
New York 7, N.Y.

My dear Marc:

Thank you very much for the Lacrimae Christi. We did not give it to the crowd. We were afraid they would not appreciate it, and Shirley made some of her noted punch.

However, we have some of it stored downstairs, and we tried it last night. It is, as usual, magnificent.

With best regards,

Yours very sincerely,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

55-59-1

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
STATE COMMITTEE

VITO MARCANTONIO
Chairman

REV. EDWARD D. McGOWAN
Secretary

EDWARD KUNTZ
Treasurer

STATE HEADQUARTERS
17 MURRAY STREET
New York 7, N. Y.

Telephone: WOrth 4-8153

ARTHUR SCHUTZER, Executive Secretary

SEPTEMBER 12, 1953

NOTICE OF MEETING OF STATE COMMITTEE

Dear Friend:

In accordance with the provisions of the Election Law and the Rules and Regulations of the State Committee of the American Labor Party, the members of the State Committee of the American Labor Party are hereby called to a meeting thereof to be held

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1953
at
STUYVESANT CASINO
142 Second Ave.
New York, N. Y.
at
7:30 P.M. Sharp

The purpose of this meeting of the State Committee is to nominate the candidate of the American Labor Party for the public office of Judge of the Court of Appeals to be voted for by all the voters of the State of New York on Election Day, November 3rd, 1953, and to transact such other business as may properly come before said meeting.

The city-wide candidates of the American Labor Party--Clifford T. McAvoy for Mayor, Charles I. Stewart for President of the City Council, and Arthur Schutzer for Comptroller--will be present at this important gathering of our 1953 municipal election campaign.

I look forward to the pleasure of seeing you there.

Sincerely,

VITO MARCANTONIO,
CHAIRMAN

VM:as

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
STATE COMMITTEE

VITO MARCANTONIO
Chairman

REV. EDWARD D. McGOWAN
Secretary

EDWARD KUNTZ
Treasurer

STATE HEADQUARTERS
17 MURRAY STREET
New York 7, N. Y.

Telephone: WOrth 4-8153

ARTHUR SCHUTZER, Executive Secretary

October 2,1953

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois,
30 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Kindly accept the enclosed honorarium in connection with the American Labor Party Dinner held last Wednesday.

With personal regards to Mrs. DuBois,

Sincerely,

Arthur Schutzer

Arthur Schutzer
State Executive Secretary

AS:ac
ENCL.

25-54, 73

October 5, 1953

Mr. Arthur Schutzer
American Labor Party
17 Murray St.
New York 7, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Schutzer:

I appreciate your check of October 2.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
STATE COMMITTEE

VITO MARCANTONIO
Chairman

REV. EDWARD D. McGOWAN
Secretary

EDWARD KUNTZ
Treasurer

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17 MURRAY STREET
New York 7, N. Y.

Telephone: WOrth 4-8153

ARTHUR SCHUTZER, Executive Secretary

October 23, 1953

Dr. W.E B.DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

25-64 1/6

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I am sorry that I was prevented from getting signatures to your statement, after all the trouble you took in preparing it. I asked two people who I hoped might sign but who declined because they were not intimately involved in the inner workings of the American Labor Party.

Then I was forced to take to my bed with the infected throat which was in the making when I saw you.

The time, I feel, has passed when the statement would be pertinent, and I suggest that we do not pursue the matter further.

With kindest personal regards to you and Mrs. Dubois,

Cordially,

Charles I. Stewart

Nov. 10, 1953

Mr. Vito Marcantonio
11 Park Place
New York, N.Y.

My dear Marc:

I was deeply distressed to learn of your resignation, but I expected it, and agree entirely with your decision.

When a man has worked as hard and unselfishly as you have for great social purposes and then has seen his support fall steadily and continuously away, this means not that the leader has resigned but has been deserted.

Democracy is not an end in itself -- it is a method, and in the long run the only method, of accomplishing the best interests of men. It places power in the hands of men of ability and good will so as to enable them to realize these interests. If, as so often happens, power is not given a leader; if the leader is regarded as a servant with the duty of obeying advice which he knows is wrong, then he is no real leader but a demagog and does not deserve public office even when it is thrust upon him.

What we saw in this last election was not want of a good platform or the lack of proper candidates or of good leadership; it was the failure of all but 50,000 voters out of at least 200,000 who knew they ought to support the American Labor Party, to realize what the preservation of such a third party meant today.

After such a result an honest and conscienscious leader could do nothing but withdraw.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-31-94

Let The People Speak for Peace!

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-1660

January 5, 1953

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PROF. LELAND H. TAYLOR
MAURICE TRAVIS
REV. CHARLES E. TYLER
JUSTICE JAMES N. WOLFE
MICHAEL WOOD
DR. EDWARD L. YOUNG

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York City, NY

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Please find enclosed a check for $150.00, which we would like to have considered as the first installment on the money owed to you from the proceeds of the dinner. We hope to be able to make another payment within the next few weeks and we believe that the entire amount can be paid in the very near future.

With regard to the discussion on policy and operations of the American Peace Crusade to be held with you by several of the Sponsors of the Crusade, I would like to say that due to the difficulties of coordinating schedules we have not yet arrived at a date which could be suggested for your consideration. However, this problem will be solved within the next few days. I will call you.

Very truly yours,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Encl:

[Amer. Peace Crusade]

January 7, 1953

25-63.20

Mr. Doxey Wilkerson
Jefferson School
575 Sixth Av.
New York 11, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Wilkerson:

Thomas Richardson sent me yesterday $150 as an installment on the debt of the American Peace Crusade.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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DR W E B DUBOIS=

23 WEST 26 ST=

CONGRATULATIONS ON THE AWARD JUST RECEIVED BY YOU FOR YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO THE MOVEMENT FOR WORLD PEACE. IT IS A MUCH DESERVED RECOGNITION OF YOUR COURAGEOUS BATTLE FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY AND FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA AS WELL AS FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP AMONG ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD. MAY THE FUTURE BRING MANY MORE OF YOUR WRITINGS TO THOSE OF US WHO ASPIRE TO A PEACEFUL AND HAPPY WORLD=

THOMAS RICHARDSON AND WILLARD UPHAUS=

25-65.
37

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Let The People Speak for Peace!

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-1660

January 23, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I called about 4:30 Friday afternoon, but you had already left. Professor Morrison, who is to be one of those to meet with you would be available at 8 o'clock on Friday evening. Examinations prevent him from reaching the city earlier.

If 8 o'clock Friday evening is not agreeable with you, the remaining members of the Committee would meet with you earlier on Friday. I will call you on Monday for confirmation.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

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REV. CHARLES E. TYLER
JUSTICE JAMES N. WOLFE
MICHAEL WOOD
DR. EDWARD L. YOUNG

[illegible]
[American Peace Crusade]

February 8, 1953

MEMORANDUM # 2 TO: Thomas Richardson, Abbott Simon, Karen Morley, Hugh Bryson, Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, Howard Fast, Albert Kahn, Dr. John A. Kingsbury, Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, Prof. Philip Morrison, Dr. Clementina J. Paolemo, Paul Robeson, Rev. Richard Morford, Rev. Willard Uphaus, Denny Wilkerson, Elizabeth Moos, Gloria Agrin, Krylo Klein, Herbert Aptheker, Sylvia Seleff
Alice Mondell
Helen M Robinson C/o

I wrote you in December stating my dissatisfaction with the way in which the American Peace Crusade was being conducted. Since then no proposals for change have been made which seemed to me at all adequate. I am therefore resigning from my honorary place as Co-Chairman of the organization and from the list of sponsors. I will take no further part in the organization until there are full reports of operations from each of the present officials; a report of income and expenditures from the beginning with bank books and vouchers; a renewed organization with by-laws; and an election of officers.

25-62-19

23:1h

W.E.B. Du Bois

MEMORANDUM # 2 Feb. 2, 1953

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25-62-20

North Africa is the seat of French Empire where now with American capital, exploita-

February 3, 1953

MEMORANDUM TO: Thomas Richardson, Abbott Simon, Albert Kahn, Rev. Richard Morford, Rev. Willard Uphaus, Halois Moorehead Robinson, Doxey Wilkerson

I am asking you to meet me at my office, 23 West 26 Street, in the penthouse, at 2 o'clock Friday, February 6th, to talk about the American Peace Crusade.

I hope each of you can come.

W.E.B. Du Bois

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[American Peace Crusade]

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W.E.B. Du Bois

25-62 30

[Amer. Peace Crusade]

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This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1220

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
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DR W E B DUBOIS, ~~CARE~~ MR PETER HYUN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

PEACE CRUSADE=326 WEST THIRD ST ROOM 310 LOSA=

WARMEST GREETINGS ON OCCASION 85TH BIRTHDAY TO WORLD RENOWNED PEACE LEADER AND CHAMPION FULL FREEDOM FOR EVERY PEOPLE. BELOVED BY MILLIONS FOR UNCOMPROMISING FIGHT TO END KOREAN WAR AND WIN PEACE BY GREAT POWER NEGOTIATIONS. YOUR LIFE AND YOUR WORK A CONSTANT SOURCE OF INSPIRATION TO ALL OF US IN AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE=

THOMAS RICHARDSON, NATIONAL CO-DIRECTOR AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE=..

Let The People Speak for Peace!

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-1660

February 20, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York City, NY

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed herewith is a check for $50.00 in payment to you, which was due from the dinner held in your honor.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Encl:

Deposited LH
Feb 24/53

Total fund — $150.00
Fb 24 50

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[Am Peace Crusade]

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

W. E. B. DU BOIS
23 WEST 26TH STREET
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

VICE-CHAIRMAN
COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

March 9, 1953

DU BOIS DINNER 1952 BY THE AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

FINANCIAL REPORT

At a meeting in my office Friday, February 6th, 1953, the co-director, Thomas Richardson, and the Executive Secretary, Abbott Simon, promised that the indebtedness would be met by monthly payments.

The indebtedness as set forth in the attached letter is acknowledged to be: $1225. No account here is taken of the $585 in pledges. When asked if this had been collected, Mr. Richardson said he would "check" . No report on this has been made.

The following payments have been made:

Jan. 5th $150.00
Feb. 50.00

46-11-24

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL POLICY MEETING OF THE AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
CHICAGO, MARCH 14-15, 1953

Uppermost in the minds of the American people today is the question: Is it to be war or is it to be peace for themselves and their loved ones?

Will the Korean war be ended or will it be spread?

Will the leaders of nations get together to resolve their differences peacefully or will the peoples of the world meet mutual destruction in atomic war?

Certainly those millions of Americans who in the November elections sought to express their desire for peace want to be assured that our government will search out every means to secure a peaceful world for ourselves and for all other peoples.

As official pronouncements are made for blockading China, for bombing Manchuria and for using atomic weapons in Korea and as tensions are heightened in Europe, millions of Americans are asking today whether the time has not come for a great new effort to find a way for the nations to live together in peace.

Voices representing growing currents of opinion in churches, trade unions, Negro and civic organizations and among women, farmers, youth, professional and cultural workers are expressing concern and alarm about the prospect of prolonging and even increasing the burdens of great military programs on our people. Ever larger numbers of people are seeking the road for obtaining relief from rising living costs and heavy taxes and for ending the climate of fear and uncertainty which threatens the democratic traditions of our country. Active participation in the winning of world peace is being considered more and more as a vital part of all efforts to meet the needs of the American people.

In this critical situation, new opportunities are emerging for rallying great sections of the American people in support of demands to resolve international tensions through reconciliation and to establish the basis for a world of peace.

The key to world peace lies in the peaceful negotiation of differences between nations. The war in Korea must not be spread; the Korean slaughter can and must be ended immediately on the basis of agreements already reached so that the prisoner of war issue can be settled peacefully. President Eisenhower and Premier Malenkov, the new leaders of the two greatest powers on earth, must get together to seek solutions to East-West tensions. The right of all peoples to determine their own way of life without outside interference in their internal affairs can and must be assured. Sincere and genuine steps for disarmament must be taken to end the insecurity of the arms race and the menace of weapons of mass destruction. National and international programs of trade and economic development must be undertaken to assure the full use of the world's labor and natural wealth for the benefit of all peoples.

Present world conditions impose special attention to the problems of ending the war in Korea and of bringing together the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union as immediate and necessary steps to assure peace.

Both these steps pose a choice between the peaceful negotiation of international differences or the attempt to settle differences through reliance on force. With both these steps, this choice involves the lives of millions of Americans and the cultural and material treasure of our land. With both these steps, the choice for peace cannot be postponed much longer without committing our country irrevocably to a course of national suicide.

Today, the need for both these steps is challenging the thinking of every section of our people. Action in support of these steps can now bring new millions of Americans into active work for the cause of peace.

The American Peace Crusade has been working for over two years to advance the cause of world peace. It is committed to the program of achieving peace through negotiation between nations so that all peoples can follow the lives of their own choosing without the menace of atomic destruction.

The American Peace Crusade strives to realize this program for peace by bringing it to all sections of the American people and by helping to build an ever broader unity between all persons of good will who want a peaceful world.

We are confident that the people of our land will make the choice for peace

Let The People Speak for Peace!

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-1660

March 25, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York City, NY

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We have just returned from an extremely important and successful National Policy Meeting held by the American Peace Crusade in Chicago. Many important conclusions were reached at this meeting, which was attended by many Sponsors, National Committee members and local leaders of the APC movement. Throughout the remarks of every delegate ran the thread of the need for a meeting between President Eisenhower and Premier Malenkov, to discuss and reach agreement on matters which are, at the present, sources of world tension.

You are no doubt aware of the widespread support for this meeting which has developed both here a nd abroad. Not only have President Eisenhowe and Premier Malenkov indicated in public statements that such a meeting is not impossible, but more recently a number of Senators and Congressmen have expressed favorable reactions to the proposal. Only this week the nation's largest labor union, the CIO United Automobile Workers, meeting in Convention in Atlantic City, passed a resolution which endorsed the idea of an Eisenhower-Malenkov meeting.

It is our belief that the American Peace Crusade would be rendering an important service to the nation of several of the principle Sponsors and leaders of the Crusade joined in signing a wire to President Eisenhower urging the holding of an Eisenhower-Malenkov meeting. Such a wire, after being sent, would be released publicly and further endorsement of the position expressed in the wire would be sought from the hundreds of national, regional and local leaders of American life, who have, from time to time, taken a public position with APC on peace issues.

We are therefore writing you to ask if you will join with other Crusade Sponsors as a signer of the enclosed wire to President Eisenhower. If the draft and the proposal meet with your approval, will you please answer immediately by wire or special delivery. Also, indicate if you have suggestions for improvement of the draft.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Encl:

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Let The People Speak for Peace!

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-1660

March 29, 1953

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DR. EDWARD L. YOUNG

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York City, NY

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Please find enclosed a copy of the report which Willard and I presented to the National Policy Meeting in Chicago. This report was accepted with several amendments, which we are now in the process of reproducing.

We are, however, sending the original report along to you now so that you may have some idea of the thinking presented at that meeting.

We will be in further communication with you relative to specific decisions that were made in terms of program and organization of the APC.

Best wishes.

Yours fraternally,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Encl:

[American Peace Crusade]

800 South Halsted Street
Chicago 7, Illinois
April 2, 1953

Mr. Thomas L. Richardson
American Peace Crusade
125 West 72nd Street
New York 23, New York

Dear Tom:

25-62,25

I suppose that you have received a copy of the letter which I drew up for local circulation, asking for a special fund to finance a pilgrimage to Washington.

The points I make are:

First, the possibility of ending the Korean War will stir up the opposing forces such as the China Lobby, McCarthy and Co., to build pressure on Eisenhower to postpone action on the ground that the Communists are not to be trusted. This obviously calls for renewed affort on the part of the Peace Crusade.

Second, I think the Peace Crusade can claim credit for having limited the war in Korea. The shortage of ammunition indicates that the government was not willing to allow Van Fleet to make a big offensive with correspondingly heavy losses.

Whether it is wise to make this appeal is a policy to be settled on the highest levels. I think Du Bois and Morrison should be consulted. I am sending copies of this letter to them.

Mrs. Johnson has been compelled to take a job which keeps her out of the office most of the time. I have not seen her since the convention here. I am indebted to Marjorie Kelley of the Progressive Party for typing my letter.

Sincerely, yours,

/Robert Morss Lovett

Robert Morss Lovett

RML:mgk
CC: Dr. DuBois ✓
Dr. Morrison
Mrs. Johnson

[Amer. Peace Crusade]

FLASH

The new proposal by Premier Chou En-lai of the Peoples Republic of China has been hailed by many U.N. and other forces as being very close to the Indian resolution proposed last December. This proposal, coming so swiftly after the agreement of the Chinese and North Korean forces to the proposal for exchange of sick and wounded Prisoners of War, heightens the possibility for the achievement of an armistice in Korea. Action suggested later in this Bulletin in support of an armistice in Korea becomes al the more urgent in view of the swift moving developments of the past few days. An end to the Korean War is in sight if the peace loving peoples of the United States but act swiftly and decisively.

FIELD BULLETIN

The National Policy Meeting of the American Peace Crusade, which took place in Chicago on March 14, 1953, made a number of decisions which, if applied during the coming period, will bring about increasing effectiveness of the American Peace Crusade movement in the United States. The repor t of the Co-Directors to that meeting and the discussions which served to improve and amend the report, is in the process of being edited in order that it may be distributed to all peace committees and peace workers. This document will not be available for another few weeks and we are therefore enclosing the statement that was issued by the National Policy Meeting, which serves to indicate the approach and programatic points a greed upon at that meeting.

Peace hopes of the people of the United States and of the people of the world received new impetus last week when the North Korean and Chinese forces agreed to the proposal for the resumption of truce talks at Panmunjom. If these proposals become reality, an important barrier for the achievement of an armistice in Korea will have been overcome Meanwhile, there is no earthly need for the continuation of the shooting in Korea. Let the killing stop now!

The people of the United States have a real opportunity to bring about a situation which would result in an armistice in Korea with all of the happy consequences that would follow. The National Policy Meeting of the APC urged organization of delegations to the United Nations and to members of Congress by labor, community, women, youth, religious and fraternal organizations. The organization of such delegations can and must be intensified in the light of the new developments. Hundreds of delegations to the UN and to Congressmen when they return on week-ends, demanding the resumption of truce talks and an immediate armistice in Korea can have a decisive effect on the achievement of peace in Korea. Those areas not within easy travel distance of the UN and whose Congressmen do not return on week-ends, should concentrate on wires, letters, resolutions and long distance telephone calls to the United States Delegation to the U.N. and to their Senators and Congressmen, urging resumption of truce talks and armistice in Korea. If the people speak now for peace in Korea -- then peace can be achieved.

The Connecticut Peace Council set an example for the entire APC movement when it brought a delegation of some 50 persons to the U.N. on Monday, March 30. The delegation was composed of auto, smelter and electrical workers, veterans of World War I, II and Korea, leaders of religious, women and youth organizations.

The delegation had 14 appointments with members of the U.N. The delegation presented a 3 point program: Korea, South Africa and the promotion of a meeting between President Eisenhower and Premier Malenkov.

At the report back meeting the same day the delegation revealed that they had requested the President of the General Assembly - and the Secretary-General of the U.N. to continue the Assembly in session until hostilities in Korea shall cease.

The entire world has been watching the outcome of the proposal for a conference between President Eisenhower and Premier Malenkov of the Soviet Union. On every hand, at home a nd abroad, voices have been raised in support of such a conference. Not only have President Eisenhower and Premier Malenkov indicated the desirability of such a conference, but important leaders of the U.S. Congress have also indicated that they feel that such a conference would be worthwhile. Only last week the CIO United Automobile Workers, the nations largest labor union, passed a Convention resolution supporting such a conference.

The holding of an Eisenhower-Malenkov meeting could serve to resolve many of the tensions which today stand in the way of peace. Such a conference could develope a solution to the war in Korea, to the tense situation in Germany and other sections of Europe, and to the grave situations in Asia, Africa and other sections of the world.

Here again the people of the United States can play a decisive role. President Eisenhower has said that he would be willing to participate in such a conference if "it is the desire of the people." It is incumbent upon the people of the United States, who so deeply desire peace, to let him know that a meeting between himself and Premier Malenkov, which could resolve the world tensions, is the great and overwhelming desire of the vast majority of the people. Wires, letters, resolutions, by the millions to President Eisenhower can help to bring this desire to his attention. Wires, letters, resolutions, delegations and long distance telephone calls to members of Congress, urging that they speak out and use their influence in support of such a conference will be of great importance.

We are enclosing for the information of the peace committees quotes of expressions in support of an Eisenhower-Malenkov meeting. We hope that this material will prove helpful to the peace committees in their discussions with the various organizations and individuals in their areas.

Those of you who attended the National Policy Meeting will recall the very sober and mature approach that was taken on the matter of finances necessary to maintain the national center during the immediate period. At that meeting it was agreed that $3,000 was the absolute minimum necessary between March 15 and April 1. The deadline period is up. We have only received, so far, some $800. In order to permit the National Center to perform the kind of services which is desired by the peace committees throughout the country, it is essential that every peace committee and every peace worker send their contributions into the National Center by Friday April 10. Upon response to this appeal depends the effectiveness of the work of the National Center during the next few weeks.

Let The People Speak for Peace!

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-1660

April 9, 1953

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PROF. PHILIP MORRISON
BISHOP ARTHUR W. MOULTON
PROF. ERWIN PANOFSKY
DR. CLEMENTINA J. PAOLONE
DR. LINUS PAULING
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REV. WILLIAM N. REID
SLANDA GOODE ROBESON
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DR. LEWIS BAYARD ROBINSON
DR. THEODOR A. ROSEBURY
MRS. ANDREW A. SIMKINS
ALEX SIROTA
PROF. LOUISE PETTIBONE SMITH
FRED W. STOVER
PROF. LELAND H. TAYLOR
MAURICE TRAVIS
REV. CHARLES E. TYLER
JUSTICE JAMES N. WOLFE
MICHAEL WOOD
DR. EDWARD L. YOUNG

Dear Friend:

The National Policy Meeting of the American Peace Crusade which was held in Chicago on March 14 and 15 made a significant contribution in strengthening the working unity of the APC coalition and in defining the major areas of policy and program which will guide the APC in its activities during the coming year.

The developments both at home and abroad in the weeks since the Policy Meeting have accentuated the responsibilities and the opportunities for fruitful work for peace which face the Crusade in this period.

One of the principal steps which the National Policy Meeting adopted in order to assure that responsibilities will be met and opportunities fully realized was to call for the establishment as soon as possible of a Resident Board of the American Peace Crusade. This Board is to be made up of responsible persons who, because of their knowledge of certain fields or because of their active experience or leadership in peace work, can give effective guidance and practical assistance to the on-going work of the Crusade.

It is our hope that you will be willing to serve as a member of the Resident Board of the Crusade. The Board will meet once a month in order to review the work of the Crusade and to make decisions to guide the Staff in the carrying out of the Crusade's program. We feel that your membership in the Resident Board of the Crusade, whether through your participation in the monthly Board meetings or through your availability to the Staff for consultation and assistance, will help greatly to strengthen the Crusade's contribution to the cause of peace.

The first meeting of the Resident Board will be held in the Crusade office at 7:30 P.M. on Friday, April 17th. We need not stress the importance of this meeting. Already, the fast flow of historic events opening new perspectives in the work for peace is being echoed in the reports which we have been receiving from the field and which we shall pass on to the Board meeting. We are now facing in the Crusade the greatest challenge we have yet known to give the sort of leadership and help that can mobilize the tremendous sentiment for peace among the American people into effective channels of expression and action capable of halting the drift toward war.

We hope that you will want to share with us the facing of this challenge by accepting to be a member of the Resident Board of the Crusade, for we shall need your help. We hope too that you can be with us for the important meeting of the Board on April 17th.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

RESIDENT BOARD MEETING OF AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE --
FRIDAY - APRIL 17, 1953

The meeting was called to order by Mr. Thomas Richardson, National Co-Director of APC. Professor Philip Morrison was elected chairman.

AGENDA:

1. Report of National Policy Meeting, March 15-16, 1953 by Mr. Richardson.
2. Purpose and Function of a Resident Board.
3. Standing Committees Responsible to the Resident Board.

Following Mr. Richardson's report, Prof. Morrison opened the discussion on the meaning of President Eisenhower's speech. He proposed preparation of a general statement for release to the field from which would be made an appropriate selection to be sent directly to the President and form the basis of a press release. The meeting heard a very detailed analysis on the President's speech which had first been sent to Mr. Richardson by Prof. Royal France, a Resident Board member, who was unable to be present. Portions of this letter were read to the Resident Board. Mr. Richardson's report, Prof. Morrison's proposals and Prof. France's suggestions were discussed at length and accepted.

A sub-committee was elected to make a thorough study of the speech and the diplomatic proposals therein and to present its findings at the next Resident Board meeting.

Mr. Richardson then placed before the Board the proposal of the National Policy Meeting that APC form 3 standing committees - campaign, publication and financial. This proposal was discussed and agreed to. Members for each committee were suggested and the field of work of each committee broadly outlined.

Mrs. Elsie Willcox reported on Connecticut's very successful delegation to the U. N.

Mrs. Robeson reported on her experiences as an observer at the UN and proposed a permanent APC observer. Mrs. Robeson was nominated and elected to serve as the APC observer.

Mrs. Robeson and Mrs. Elsie Willcox undertook to draw up a draft on how to organize delegations to the United Nations.

She stressed the need to work especially hard to obtain an interview with the U.S. delegation. She also made the point that several of the Asian countries will cooperate in sending speakers to any group which wishes to hear them.

A proposal was made and accepted that APC list all informational material on Africa, including films, for the benefit of its peace councils and other interested groups and individuals.

The Board discussed how the question of Colonialism and the question of jobs and peace can be most effectively raised by APC. A motion was made and passed that John Darr become a full time member of the APC staff and be Chairman of the Publications Comm.

Proposal made that the Board meet the 3d Friday of every month. The next meeting to be on May 15, 1953.

Let The People Speak for Peace!

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-1660

May 6, 1953

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Dear Friend:

Please find enclosed a copy of the minutes of the A.P.C. Resident Board meeting of April 17, 1953. May we also remind you that the May meeting of the Resident Board will take place on Friday, May 15th, 8 P.M. at the APC office, 3d floor, 125 W. 72nd St., NYC.

Suggestions for the agenda include a report and recommendations of our legal advisor. (This item will deal with the notification which we received on May 1st from the Attorney General's office, stating that he proposes to designate the APC on the Attorney General's list of Subversive Organizations.)

Other suggestions for the agenda of the Resident Board meeting include reports and recommendations of the Campaign, Finance and Publication Committees; report and recommendation on field work and new business.

If you have additional suggestions for the agenda of the May 15th meeting, please send them in by Wednesday, May 13th.

We can not stress too much the importance of the forthcoming meeting of the Resident Board and of the need for every member of the Board to be present and to participate in determining policy relative to the points listed above.

If you can not make the meeting, please inform us and seek to send your personal representative.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Encl:

MINUTES - RESIDENT BOARD MEETING OF THE AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
Friday, May 15, 1953 -- New York, N. Y.

The meeting came to order at 8:30 P.M. Mr. Thomas Richardson, National Co-Director opened the meeting. Mrs. Elsie Willcox unanimously elected as Chairman of tonights meeting.

Following agenda adopted:
(1) Messages
(2) Report and recommendations from Professor Royal France on the proposal of the Attorney General to list the American Peace Crusade as subversive.
(3) Report and Recommendations on the Resident Board campaign committee.

Messages of support were heard from Resident Board members Paul Robeson and Albert Kahn who expressed regret at inability to attend meeting. Message from the Executive Board of the N.Y. Peace Council expressing support to the APC.

Mr. Richardson gave a brief background on the facts relating to the proposal of the Attorney General.

Professor Royal France, imminent civil-liberties attorney and APC sponsor then gave his analysis and recommendations. Excerpts of Prof. France's remarks follow:

"You are all familiar, I am sure, with the fact that when he was Attorney General, the present Justice of the Supreme Court Clark, he issued a list of organizations of which there are some 200, which he designated as being subversive. There was never any clear definition of what was meant by the term subversive, or what was involved in being subversive. Three of the organizations so designated brought legal action to have their names removed from the Attorney General's list. These were the International Workers Order, the Joint Anti-Fascist Committee and the American-Soviet Friendship Committee. This action went to the Supreme Court and in a decision in the case of the Joint Anti-Fascist Committee, and the other 2 against McGrath, who was then the Attorney General, the Supreme Court ordered that this list was not valid as against any organization without proof and prior hearing as to its being a subversive organization and so the case went back to the lower court for such proof and hearing with respect to these 3 organizations and that case is now pending in the courts and will be again before the Supreme Court, undoubtedly after the Attorney General decides what he considers proof to be the subversiveness of these organizations.

So that at this stage, at least, the Supreme Court has never officially approved the listing of any organization on this list and has held that such organizations are entitled to a hearing. Pursuant to this, undoubtedly the present Attorney General has taken steps to give what he calls a hearing before himself as to whether certain organizations are subversive and he has sent out similar requests to this one, which was received by the APC, to a number of organizations, the purpose being to require these organizations to answer certain questions.

I advised the APC to put in this formal notice of contest, not with the idea that we may wish to answer the Attorney General's question, but we may wish to put in another form of answer in which we wish to say the questions are improper and we refuse to answer, but this answer permits getting the questions upon which the Attorney General is going to reply.

When we get those questions we will then be given 60 days to decide whether we wish to answer the question or refuse to answer the question and state our legal reasons for refusing to answer the question...."

Question: "Then the APC is not at present on the Attorney General's subversive list?"

Prof. France: "No, it is not. In a legal sense it is not."

Motion second and passed that the Resident Board retain Prof. France as legal advisor for this action, at the agreed upon fee. Motion amended to express appreciation to Prof. France for his services up to date.

M/S/C that the Resident Board establish a small defense sub-committee, which would devote its attention to the question of defense over and beyond the legal question. Such a sub-committee would work in close association with the officers of the Crusade and Professor France throughout the action.

Recommended that this sub-committee be open to volunteers, with the National Co-Director empowered to complete membership of the Committee by appointment.

2. Mr. Richardson opened the discussion on the present developments at home and abroad in-so-far as peace is concerned. He called particular attention to the fact that in the United States, in the past few months, trade unionists representing over 5 million workers in the U.S. have, through convention, resolution, International Executive Board resolutions, editorial policy and otherwise expressed themselves for the policy of settling differences through negotiations rather than war.

The essence of his remarks emphasis the upsurge of peace sentiment and expression here in the United States. Mr. Arthur Kahn reported for the Campaign Committee. The report revealed that several prominent individuals in the fields of religion and science have discussed with leaders of APC their desire to bring together representatives of various fields of work for the endorsement of a Citizens Lobby for Peace in Washington on or around the anniversary of the Korean War.

It was recommended that the Resident Board lend every possible encouragement to such a project.

It was suggested that in the next discussion with the individuals concerned with the Citizens Lobby for Peace, that spokesmen for APC convey to them the Resident Board's feeling that a qualitative lobby, representative of various fields of work, such as labor, farm, youth, Negro, women, nationality and religion, totaling some 500 delegates, would be more realistic than a lobby of 1500 or 2,000. It was also suggested that the organizers of the Citizens Lobby seek to secure the sort of representation from various areas of American life and the various geographic areas of the nation in order that the various aspects of the desire for peace would be effectively presented to Congress and to the Executive in Washington.

The Resident Board recommends that the APC realistically approach the question of the Citizens Lobby by carefully planning and carrying out a series of field trips and the publication of necessary educational material which would make possible a greater response to the Citizens Lobby. A tentative budget of $3,000 to cover the APC supporting activity of the Citizens Lobby was agreed upon. Methods of securing this budget included a national fund letter, city wide and community rallies commemorating the 3d Anniversary of the Korean War, house meetings and sale of material.

It was recommended that the initiators of the Citizens Lobby investigate the possibility of securing from those sections of labor which have already spoken out on the question of peace through active cooperation and support.

The shortness of time was discussed and the Resident Board concluded that ordinarily it could not support such a project in the short time available for preparation but that in view of the great stakes involved it was incumbent on this section of the American movement to overcome any obstacle and to join the great peace discussion which is now taking place throughout the nation and throughout the world.

It was agreed that this project would be brought to the attention of all other peace organizations and all organizations and individuals concerned with peace, with the hope that they too would either join this action or carry on their own activities around this question.

Resolution proposed and adopted by the Resident Board authorizing the following persons to send APC checks: Dr. Clementina J. Paolone, Mr. Thomas Richardson and Mrs. Betty Haufrecht.

The Board felt that it was necessary to meet again before its regularly scheduled meeting and therefore set its next meeting for June 5th.

Meeting adjourned 11:20 P.M.

Let The People Speak for Peace!

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

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DR. THEODOR A. ROSEBURY
MRS. ANDREW A. SIMKINS
ALEX SIROTA

June 1, 1953

Dear Friend:

The last meeting of the Resident Board on May 15th took a number of important decisions, the most important being to encourage a peace action in Washington. The enclosed minutes gives a resume of the discussion.

We can report to you now that a group of prominent individuals have joined in sponsoring the call to a Lobby for Peace in Washington on the anniversary of the Korean War. On Friday evening, at 8 P.M., June 5th, in the National office of the American Peace Crusade, there will be a meeting of the Resident Board to examine the progress made toward the realization of this important action in Washington and to plan further steps.

Because of the importance of this meeting, we ask you to make every effort to attend.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Encls:

PROF. LOUISE PETTIBONE SMITH
FRED W. STOVER
PROF. LELAND H. TAYLOR
MAURICE TRAVIS

REV. CHARLES E. TYLER
JUSTICE JAMES N. WOLFE
MICHAEL WOOD
DR. EDWARD L. YOUNG

Let The People Speak for Peace!

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-1660

June 4, 1953

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York City, NY

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have wanted to write to you for sometime in order to give you, as honorary Co-Chairman of the American Peace Crusade, a report on the recent progress of our work.

There has been a new spurt of activity throughout the country by American Peace Crusade committees since the National Policy meeting which took place in Chicago on March 15th. We have established a Resident Board of the Sponsors and peace committee leaders who are within easy travel distance of New York. That Resident Board meets once a month regularly and has begun to dig into many of the problems which present themselves as we seek to expand the influence of the American Peace Crusade.

You are no doubt aware of the Attorney General's proposal made some weeks ago to place the American Peace Crusade on his list of subversive organizations. I would like to give you the exact status of this matter. First of all, contrary to what has been the general impression left by newspaper accounts, the American Peace Crusade is not now on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. A recent ruling of the Supreme Court now makes it necessary for the Attorney General to advise an organization of his intentions in that direction and provides an opportunity for the organization to appear at a hearing and contest such a proposal. The Resident Board has retained Prof. Royal France, formerly of Rollins College in Florida, and an imminent attorney in the field of civil liberties, and a Sponsor of the APC, to represent us in this matter.

It was on Prof. France's advice that I and the treasurer, as executive officers of the APC have filed formal notice contesting the Attorney General's recent proposal and are demanding a hearing.

The Resident Board established a small defense sub-committee, which would work with Prof. France and the executive officers of the American Peace Crusade in planning every step involved in this matter.

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It is our feeling, however, that this effort to place on the subversive list, a peace organization is one which will not go unchallenged by the vast majority of decent minded Americans. It is our belief that the most effective defense against this sort of hysteria will be found in a renewed and determined effort to provide ways and means whereby the people of the United States can join into the present debate now going on in Washington and throughout the world relative to a prompt truce in Korea and high level discussions among the major powers.

Thus, while giving the necessary attention to the legal steps to protect our procedural rights under the law, we are giving much more attention to the stimulation of peace activity which we hope would become more and more equal to the tremendous sentiment for peace which now exists on the part of the people of the United States.

It is for this reason that we welcomed the initiative taken by three outstanding citizens, Rev. Joseph M. Evans, Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes and Prof. Philip Morrison, in calling for a Peace Lobby to take place in Washington on the third anniversary of the Korean war. At this writing over 100 leaders from various sections of American life have joined with the initiators in sponsoring the Lobby. Naturally, the American Peace Crusade is giving every support to the achievement of a successful Lobby, which can be of great importance, particularly in view of the present status of the Korean situation and in view of the forthcoming Bermuda talks.

You undoubtedly received a letter from the initiators of the Lobby asking you to join with them in endorsing the Lobby. It would be extremely helpful if you couldfind your way to joining in endorsing the peace lobby. I am enclosing, for your information, a copy of the communication which they sent out.

One of the most impressive things about this Lobby is that the Sponsors of the Lobby are daily receiving mail from throughout the country indicating agreement with the holding of it and affirm the possibility of a successful Lobby.

Last week several of us met informally with the National Leaders of the American Friends Service Committee. They were extremely impressed with the idea of the Lobby and felt too, that the time had come when the people must evoke some positive action from Washington on the question of peace. They were extremely interested in the Attorney General's attack on our organization, and we intend to remain in contact with them on this matter.

You have, no doubt, received a letter from Mr. Laffitte, of the World Peace Council, telling of the forthcoming Council meeting in Budapest, June 15th to 20th, and indicating the Council's desires for the opinions of Americans relative to the following 3 points: 1) on the Korean and Asian question; 2) the German problem; and 3) the economic consequences which would arise as the result of an international relaxation of tension.

25-6.2.27

On the basis of the letter which we recently received here from Mr. Laffitte, we are bringing this matter to the attention of several of the Sponsors of the Crusade and asking that they give their opinion in writing on any of the 3 points. To facilitate the sending of this material, we have suggested that copies of the material can be sent here and we will see that they are sent to the World Peace Council. However, if you, as a World Peace Council member prefer to send your comments directly to them, that would also be satisfactory.

We are aware that the American Peace Crusade has not kept the financial committment which we made to you at our last conference in March. I would like to say that while a major change has occurred relative to the financial operations of this organization, that we are still fighting an uphill battle. I do want to reaffirm, however, the sincerity of the committment made to you relative to the funds from the dinner. I hope that in the very near future it will be possible for us to make another payment on this committment.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Encls:

25-62.28

[Am. Peace Crusade]

55-58.38

THE APC MOBILIZES TO SUPPORT THE LOBBY FOR PEACE IN WASHINGTON

Enclosed is a copy of the Call to a Lobby for Peace to be held in Washington on June 25th - the Third Anniversary of the Korean War. Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes of Philadelphia, Secretary of the Episcopal League for Social Action, Rev. Dr. Joseph M. Evans of the Metropolitan Community Church of Chicago, and Professor Philip Morrison of Ithaca, N. Y., were the individuals who initiated the Call. They received some 100 replies in five days to their letter sent to 800 persons inviting them to join in sponsoring the Lobby.

A spokesman for the Initiators of the Lobby was present at the last meeting of the APC Resident Board, at which time the APC pledged full support to the proposed Lobby. The National Office of the APC is therefore concentrating all its resources to rally support from the APC movement throughout the country for this action to assure the success of the Lobby. The Initiators are also inviting other organizations to take part in the Lobby.

It is essential that local APC groups and individuals take immediate steps to send a representative delegation from their area to the Lobby for Peace in Washington. TIME IS SHORT!

WHAT KIND OF DELEGATIONS ARE SOUGHT FOR THE LOBBY?

The Initiators of the Lobby seek to have in Washington at this time about 500 persons who are truly representative of great sections of the American people: farmer, labor, Negro people, women, youth - trade unionists, educators, students, house-wives, relatives of P.O.W.'s and G.I.'s, civic and religious leaders, active members of community organizations.

HOW CAN SUCH REPRESENTATIVE DELEGATIONS BE ACHIEVED?

The plans for work on the Lobby should seek to accomplish the following objectives:

1. Step up the campaign of messages to the President and Congress for a speedy truce in Korea and for Great Power talks.

The developing situation around the Korean negotiations and around Great Power talks require that the people's voice for peace be heard clearly in Washington. The developments in Korea for a truce and in other parts of the world for a Great Power meeting are hopeful as indicated by the Chinese and Korean reply to the UN truce proposals and by the support given by all the Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth to Prime Minister Churchill's proposal for talks with Soviet leaders. The President must know how the American people feel about these developments as he prepares to go to the meeting with British and French leaders in Bermuda.

Stepping up the campaign of messages to Washington will help bring home to people the great importance of the Lobby for Peace as a means to bring the voice "from back home" to Washington at this crucial time, and will also prepare the way for a more effective Lobby by giving proof that the persons who come to Washington for the Lobby represent the desires of great sections of the American people.

Along with messages to the President and Congress, other actions directed toward state and local officials - delegations to the mayor or state assemblymen or city councilmen - will help arouse individual citizens to their responsibilities to speak out now for peace and will encourage support for the Lobby, while at the same time impressing on elected officials what the people expect them to do for peace.

2. Arouse as much interest in your community as possible in the Lobby.

a) Hold a meeting of your peace committee and friends to discuss the importance of the Lobby and to draw up plans for it. National Sponsors of the Lobby who live in your area should be seen to discuss what they can do to help the Lobby preparations in your area and whether they can be members of the delegation. b) Draw up a statement by your local peace group hailing the Call to the Lobby as meeting the urgent need for the "people back home" to have a chance to get into the decisive debate now going on in Washington. Send this statement to the local press. Send a copy to the APC National Office so that it can be used in national press releases. c) Mail the Call to local organizations and individuals interested in peace. d) Visit local community leaders (of trade unions, churches, Negro, woman, Parent-Teachers groups, etc.) to discuss the Lobby with them and to ask a representative from their group to go to the Lobby. e) Try to get other individuals and groups to issue statements hailing the Lobby. Get interviews from community leaders about the Lobby, asking them to make a brief public statement on what they think about the Lobby or the need for the voice of

the people to be heard in Washington at this time. Send such brief statements to the local press and to the APC national office. f) Send to the local press announcements of the plans to send a delegation to the Lobby. g) Distribute leaflets and petitions calling attention to the Lobby and asking financial support. h) Where possible, hold meetings or forums for peace in Korea where the Lobby can be discussed.

3. Deepen the understanding of the local reasons for working for peace.

The delegates to the Lobby should come to Washington prepared to tell their Congressman the concrete local reasons why his constituents want peace through a speedy truce in Korea and through Great Power talks: in terms of living costs, the need for housing and schools, etc. They should also be prepared to tell him concretely in what varied ways the people back home have been expressing their concern for peace: what churches, trade unions and other organizations have been saying and doing about peace.

In gathering materials to arm delegates with the reasons for peace action, visits should be made to the local offices of such groups as the American Friends Service Committee, the Friends Committee on National Legislation, the NAACP, the Urban League, the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom, church peace committees, the United Packinghouse Workers and other unions, in order to get copies of statements and literature on peace. Two recent pieces of literature that every peace worker should have are the June issue of Freedom (53 West 125th St., New York 27, N.Y. - 10¢ a copy; $1 a year) devoted to the situation in Africa and the new 65 page pamphlet, Resistance against Fascist Enslavement in South Africa, published by the Council on African Affairs (51 West 125th St., New York 27, N.Y. - 35¢ a copy).

4. Broaden the work of the APC movement.

Every attempt should be made to bring the meaning of the Lobby for Peace to every section of the community. Even where community leaders may not be won to participate in the Lobby, a discussion with them about the Lobby can lay the basis for a continuing relationship with them. Such discussions may also result in encouraging parallel and independent actions designed to make Washington feel at this time the full weight of American peace opinion.

Preparing for the Lobby in this way will strengthen the basis for future peace work. APC workers will have come to know better the thinking among people outside the APC movement and will have extended the area of their relationships with persons and groups who share with the APC a deep concern about peace, who are taking or will take peace action in their own way and who may, in time, be ready to engage in joint efforts with the APC movement.

5. On the basis of the work toward the above goals, draw up a plan for the sort of delegation that is possible from your area and that will reflect the various communities of interest in the need for peace. While each delegation should include a representative of the local peace committee, most delegates will be persons who have not up to now been active in your peace group, but who work in their own areas.

THE WORK FOR THE LOBBY FOR PEACE BEGINS

The National Office of the APC has already received enthusiastic responses from many parts of the country in reply to letters about the Lobby. In some areas, work is already underway to assure representative delegations. In Northern California, New York, Connecticut, plans have been drawn up and work begun. The National Office is sending persons into the field: to Detroit, Ohio, Chicago and into the South. In some places, report-back meetings for Lobby delegates are being planned. The first issue of the APC's monthly printed bulletin - Peace Facts - is devoted to the Lobby and will be off the press shortly. In order to keep abreast of the preparations for the Lobby, the National Office must be kept fully and frequently informed of the work being done in local areas. Please write the National Office as soon as possible what your plans are for sending a delegation to the Lobby.

FUNDS ARE ESSENTIAL FOR THE NATIONAL OFFICE

In the last Peace Action Memo, we made an appeal for $25 from each local group in order to enable the National Office to devote its full resources to the work for the Lobby. We repeat this appeal. Have you sent your $25? If not, send what you can now.

The National Office is mailing out immediately in bulk shipments copies of the Call to local peace groups. We have taken this liberty in order to save valuable time. We are at the same time billing each group for the number of Calls sent to it as 1½¢ a copy. Prompt payment of the Calls will greatly help the National Office in meeting other expenses.

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
125 West 72nd Street
3d Floor
New York City 23, NY

SU 7-5160

June 16, 1953

Dear Friend:

The regular monthly meeting of the Resident Board of the American Peace Crusade will be held on Friday, June 19th, 8:00 P.M., at the office of the APC, 125 W. 72nd St., 3d Floor.

In view of the new opportunities for advancing the cause of peace and the Lobby for Peace which takes place in Washington on June 25th, I urge that you make every effort to attend.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

A N E R I C A N P E A C E C R U S A D E
125 W. 72 Street New York 23, New York Phone: SU 7-5135

July 9, 1953

Dear friend:

Recent developments in Korea and elsewhere are bringing the world closer to peace. But many obstacles to peace remain. This is not a time for a let-down in the work for peace. It is rather a time when greater efforts than ever before are required by the American people to ensure that no one in this country will be able to block or delay the present progress toward peace.

We are calling a special and enlarged meeting of the Resident Board of the American Peace Crusade. To this meeting we are inviting leadersof trade unions and other organizations concerned with peace, as well as peace leaders from this area. At this meeting, we will seek an exchange of views about the current situation and the projection of certain specific actions to meet our common responsibilities for advancing the work for world peace.

The meeting will be held in the offices of the American Peace Crusade at 8:00 P.M., Thursday, July 16th.

We are counting on you to make every effort to be present. If you find that you cannot come, please send someone to represent you at the meeting.

We are sure that you understand the importance of a meeting of this sort at this time.

Very truly yours,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson
Co-Director

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
125 W. 72nd St. , New York 25, N.Y. Phone SU 7-5135

July 20, 1953

Dear Friend:

The emergency, enlarged meeting of the Resident Board of the American Peace Crusade held last Thursday evening, July 16th, and attended by some thirty-five persons including representatives of trade unions, mass organizations and community groups, decided to launch a thirty day campaign to assure a speedy, permanent truce in Korea and to arouse public vigilance against any further barriers to the peaceful settlement of Korean problems.

We are sending you a copy of the telegram which was sent from the emergency Resident Board meeting to local peace groups and to peace leaders.

The meeting elected a committee to draw up concrete plans for the campaign and decided to reconvene Thursday, July 23rd, to hear the report of the committee and to take further steps.

We hope you will be present. If you cannot come, please send someone to represent you or your organization.

Yours for peace,

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

Thomas Richardson

THOMAS RICHARDSON, Jr.
CO-DIRECTOR

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
125 West 72nd Street
New York 23, New York
SUsquehanna 7-5135

U R G E N T A C T I O N T E L E G R A M

(On Thursday night, July 16th, there was an emergency meeting of the Resident Board of the American Peace Crusade in order to examine the present serious situation in regard to the Korean truce negotiations and to plan action to save the truce. To this meeting came representatives of other groups - mass organizations, trade unions and community groups. It was the first time in a long while that representatives of these groups had sat down together to plan joint action on peace. At this important meeting, all agreed that it was vitally necessary immediately to mobilize action across the country for a Korean truce and to organize wherever possible mass demonstrative actions to express the determination of the American people for a speedy truce and against all barriers to the peaceful settlement of Korean problems. A collection was taken at the meeting for phone calls and wires to major cities and key peace leaders. The meeting launched a 30 day action campaign, set up a committee to draw up concrete plans for this campaign and decided to reconvene in a week to give further impulsion to the campaign. The following telegram was sent out to suggest immediate actions that should be undertaken wherever possible. We are sending this telegram to you as fast as we can with our limited financial resources because its urgent message is for every peace worker.)

NEW YORK CITY, JULY 16TH - ENLARGED, EMERGENCY MEETING OF AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE RESIDENT BOARD TONIGHT LAUNCHED THIRTY DAY ACTION CAMPAIGN BECAUSE SERIOUS DANGER TO KOREAN TRUCE STOP CAMPAIGN SLOGAN: FOR SPEEDY, PERMANENT TRUCE - AGAINST ALL BARRIERS TO PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF KOREAN PROBLEMS STOP URGE IMMEDIATE ACTION IN YOUR AREA SEEKING SUNDAY SERMONS; LETTERS, WIRES, PHONE CALLS, RESOLUTIONS TO PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS; DELEGATIONS TO CONGRESSMEN AND/OR LOCAL OFFICIALS; STREET-CORNER TABLES WITH POST-CARDS AND LEAFLETS; SHOP-GATE MEETINGS AND COMMUNITY RALLIES STOP INFORM US OF YOUR PLANS AND RESULTS

SIGNED: THOMAS RICHARDSON
CO-DIRECTOR, AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

THE AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
125 West 72nd Street
New York 23, New York
SUsquehanna 7-5135

July 24, 1953

Dear friend:

I am writing to inform you of the recommendations of the enlarged meeting of the American Peace Crusade Resident Board on the question of Korea. In two meetings in the last week, the Resident Board concluded that the situation in Korea indicated great danger to the achievement of permanent peace in that land, jeopardizing the use of negotiations as a method of settling international differences wherever they exist in the world.

It is the feeling of the Board that the coming weeks are decisive if a truce is to be achieved and maintained in Korea. It is the feeling of the Board that only the insistent demand of the people of the United States could be decisive in guaranteeing a lasting end of bloodshed and the arrival of peace. It is for this reason that the Board, on Thursday, July 23rd, adopted a program submitted by its campaign committee for an intensive, dramatic nation-wide campaign to continue through Labor Day. The campaign plan, with its time schedule, is enclosed for your information.

As we write this letter, there comes news from Washington that a truce may be signed on Monday or Tuesday of next week. In our opinion, dramatic peace action is required up to the moment a truce is signed and will then be even more necessary to prevent any developments which could upset the truce. In the event a truce is signed in the period of this campaign, we strongly urge all peace committees to organize public actions at which the victory of negotiatipn for the peaceful settlement of international differences over resort to force between nations be hailed and the support of the people be mobilized to guarantee no violation of the truce terms and to assure continued and ever-wider use of negotiation to settle issues between nations.

You will be happy to know that the enlarged meetings of the Resident Board included, in addition to its regular members, representatives of labor, religious and civic organizations. It was on the basis of such participation that the Board arrived at its decision.

The national office of the APC is prepared to cooperate in any way with local peace committees in getting under way this important campaign in the areas. At the moment we would suggest, however, that local peace committees take immediate steps to achieve the following:

1. A meeting of Executive or leadership bodies of the local peace committee, which should be enlarged to include representatives of labor, religious and civic organizations and other individuals concerned with peace.

At this meeting, we would suggest a full discussion of the urgency of taking whatever steps are possible (along the lines of the enclosed Campaign Recommendations) in your area for achieving and maintaining a truce in Korea.

2. We would urge that you use the letter which we have sent to leaders of almost 100 national labor, pacifist and religious organizations, as a guide to a similar letter (individually typed) to people of similar stature in your local community. As the Recommendations indicate, it is important that such letters be followed up by personal visits.

3. We urge local groups to utilize the enclosed press release as a guide in issuing their own press release in launching the campaign.

You will be happy to know that at the meeting launching this campaign, the participants themselves made available sufficient money to make possible this mailing to to you, to the national organizations and for the press release. We suggest you pose frankly the question of funds at your meeting to launch the campaign. We need not remind you that funds from local areas will play a highly decisive role in making this campaign possible on a national level.

Personnel of the national office are prepared to make limited field trips if they can be worked out where several cities share the expense and where in each city fund-raising affairs can be organized for local and national purposes.

We shall be in frequent communication with you. We must urgently request that you send us news of your actions so that they can be publicized nationally.

Sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson
Co-Director

[Am. Peace Crusade]

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE

CAMPAIGN OF PEACE ACTION FOR KOREAN TRUCE

I. OBJECTIVES

A. To win support of the people and
To bear decisive influence in Washington for a policy of

1. Establishing at once a truce in the Korean war
2. Maintaining the truce unviolated while
3. Engaging promptly and continuously in broad negotiations until final peaceful settlement of the Korean war has been accomplished.

It is clear that, if in the early stages of the campaign, the truce is, in fact, established, action moves to point #2. Because of U.S. relationships with Syngman Rhee and the South Korean government, one can see the importance of action on Point # 2. And, with the record of past negotiations in mind, we may know that strong action will be necessary during the next weeks on Point # 3.

B. People's action to be conveyed directly to

1. President Eisenhower
2. Two U.S. Senators in each state
3. Congressmen in each Congressional District.

II. TIME TABLE

A. To commence at once
B. To be prepared for hail-the-truce actions should a truce be signed and the shooting be stopped
C. To focus coordinated national and community action on August 6th (Anniversary of the atom-bombing of Hiroshima)
D. To plan for action to reach climax on or about Labor Day (September 7th).

III. FORMS OF ACTION

A. The peace actions conducted should be of a nature to compel maximum public attention and participation. The following are strongly recommended, without at all excluding other actions, suiting local conditions and resources.

1. Town or city-wide rallies. Out of doors, if possible.
2. Neighborhood meetings or tables on street corners, at shopping centers, near factory gates, in vacant lots, indoors (if necessary), where leaflets can be distributed and postcards signed. We also suggest block-parties. Especially, out of doors rallies on August 6th where possible.

The neighborhood meetings may well precede and constitute part of the build-up for the central rally (out of doors) on August 6th which, in turn, can be part of the build-up for a big indoor meeting. At all meetings, action should be taken for resolutions, postcard-signing, etc.

3. Special events. Speaking and distribution of action leaflets and postcards at beaches, at public parks, at picnics and in summer colonies.

4. Peace Caravans. The use of trucks, buses, horse-and-wagon and passenger cars in caravan fashion moving throughout town or city - business, industrial, residential and other sections.

a) Displaying signs to attract attention and present brief messages
b) Using amplified public address, if permitted
c) Stopping at important intersections for
d) Holding brief meetings
e) Distributing leaflets
f) Getting postcards signed.

Most effective use has been made of one or two buses or horses and wagons for this purpose, since this permits a number of people, young and older, family groups, to participate in the caravan showing the broad interest, creating the nucleus of an audience at each stop, and making possible the rapid distribution of literature and postcards at each stop.
(Interference with normal traffic regulations should be avoided or special permission secured.)

(over)

5. Leaflet distribution

a) A simple leaflet should be drawn up stating

i. The urgency of the present situation
ii. The immediate objectives for people's action
iii. To whom telegrams, letters, delegations should go
iv. A simple draft of a message for letters or telegrams

b) Postcards or other action instruments should be prepared

Places of distribution: Door to door in residential neighborhoods, on the streets, in buses and streetcars, before factory gates, churches and synagogues, at shopping centers, picnics, beaches, parks, all public meetings.

6. Delegations to Congressmen by committees or individuals of the Congressional District.

B. Special attention should be given to reach working people and to get peace expressions from the ranks of labor. The following actions are suggested.

1. Lunch hour informal discussions where postcards can be signed.
2. Holding a social evening for fellow-workers who have relatives in the armed forces or in Korea - where peace can be discussed and action taken.
3. WhereInternational Union officials or union newspapers have made statements on peace, leaflets based on those statements to be used in shops or at factory gates.
4. Persons from community peace groups to distribute literature at factory gates, docks, etc., where workers may not be able to do it.
5. Community out-door meetings near factories to guarantee success of a city-wide rally.

C. It is clear that the largest impact on a community will be made if not one or two, but all of the above "demonstrations" are carried out and within a short compass of time — several lines of action culminating in a city-wide rally on Thursday, August 6th.

IV. COLLATERAL ACTION

A. A letter (individual, not broadside) from national leadership of the American Peace Crusade to selected leaders of other national and regional organizations which have been concerned with peace.

1. Pressing for their independent or cooperative actions in line with the objectives put down at the beginning of the outline, such as

a) Public statements by officials in support of these objectives
b) A leaflet distribution - by mail or personal - to members
c) News of campaign efforts and editorial support in organizational publications.
d) To take the initiative in drawing up a public letter to the President and in seeking to get other prominent persons to sign.
e) With clergy, seeking sermons on the Saturday or Sunday preceeding August 6th - the anniversary of Hiroshima.
d) To place statements or letters by prominent persons as ads in local newspapers.

2. Personal follow-up of letters.

a) Visit by appropriate persons (arranged by APC), after arrival of letter, to urge acceptance of its recommendations.

B. Letters (individual, not mimeographed) from local Peace Committee to selected local organizations and prominent individuals who are concerned with peace. (See attached copy of APU letter to other groups and individuals as a guide.)

1. In the local community, a personal visit at the outset, rather than letter communication, is preferable.
2. Encouraging independent action, at the same time securing as much cooperation as possible in the plans of the local campaign.

(more)

V. EDUCATIONAL MATERIAL

A. Certain materials will be made available by the APC national office to support local campaign efforts, for reproduction in local and regional Peace Committee publications:

1. A Fact Sheet giving essential points of the truce terms and commitments made to implement those terms (See the New York Times of July 20th) and giving a recapitulation of the events endangering a truce in Korea since the agreement on the P.O.W. question. (To be sent later.)
   (Useful in implementing Point # 2 at the beginning of the outline.)

2. A sample letter for use by local groups in writing local organizations and peace leaders. (See other side of this page.)

3. A sample postcard to be duplicated by local groups. (See back of the page.)

4. A sample leaflet for local use. (To be sent later.)

5. A compilation of statements by labor, religious and other groups that can be useful in the campaign. (To be sent later.)

VI. FINANCES

A. Money will have to be raised in order to carry out this campaign so that local peace groups and individuals can be provided with the necessary materials. (Local groups having their own resources to provide such materials should remember that many other local groups are not in this position and that the most effective possible action by <u>all</u> groups is essential for the success of this campaign.)

1. We therefore ask local peace groups and individuals to send in immediately $ 5, 10 or 20 dollars, or whatever they can.

2. We therefore ask local groups to make contributions in the course of the campaign from whatever funds are gathered from fund-raising actions during the campaign.

3. Suggestions for fund-raising would include mass meetings, small gatherings and house parties, picnics, individual solicitations, theatre parties, collection booklets, etc.

In raising money, local committees should approach individuals who are concerned with peace but not active in the peace organization, in order to ask them to defray the expense for some specific item in the campaign plans (e.g., the cost of printing a leaflet, the rental of a bus or a horse and wagon, the rental of a meeting hall, etc.). If such items are taken care of at the beginning of the campaign, more of the money raised through mass actions (collections at meetings, selling peace pins or balloons, <u>contributions solicited when postcards are signed</u>) can be sent to the national office to help the national campaign.

# # # # # # # #

Here is a sample form for making up a collection book which can be given to friends to collect money where they work or on the street (where permissible) or when they visit friends:

NAME_____

Address_____

City_____State____

I contribute ____ to the 30 day campaign of the American Peace Crusade for a lasting truce in Korea and for world peace.

(Copy of letter to organizations and individuals concerned with peace)

Dear friend:

We are writing you because of the deep interest which you have shown in the achievement of peace through negotiations and reconciliation.

Recently the Resident Board of the American Peace Crusade has devoted considerable discussion to the fluctions in the Korean situation. We are taking the liberty of sending you the enclosed Statement which represents the thinking of the most recent meeting of the Resident Board.

We are urging those peace committees with which we have contact to conduct an intense campaign between now and Labor Day, to help guarantee the achievement of a lasting truce in Korea and the continuation of negotiation of outstanding issues until peace is achieved.

We are urging that these peace committees take advantage of the summer weather to conduct outdoor rallies, leaflet distributions in communities and at factory gates, postcard -signature collections, forums, debates and other actions. We have also asked these peace committees to conduct discussions in their local communities, with leaders of religious, labor, civic and other organizations towards the end of encouraging sermons, resolutions, delegations to Congressmen and other officials in support of lasting truce and continuing negotiations in Korea.

We bring this information to your attention with the hope that you may be prepared to take some steps to help guarantee a speedy truce in Korea and the maintenance of that truce, once signed, against any violation.

We hope that you will be able to do something during this extremely period. We would appreciate hearing your views on the matter and of any action you may decide to take.

Yours sincerely,

# # # # # # # # # # # # # #

Dear President Eisenhower:

My deepest desire has long been for a speedy, lasting truce in Korea. Let the killing stop forever !

That is why I have wanted the truce terms signed as quickly as possible.

That is why I am against any violation of the truce terms which would start the fighting again.

I urge you to do everything possible for the negotiation of outstanding issues to continue until peace is achieved.

Sincerely yours,

Dear Senator (or Congressman):

I urge you to speak out for a lasting truce in Korea and against any violation of the truce terms agreed upon.

The voices of Congressmen desiring peace must be heard above those who would encourage further bloodshed.

I urge you to express our deep desire for continuing negotiation of all outstanding issues so that peace can prevail.

Sincerely yours,

(These postcards can be reproduced by local peace groups for use in mailings, mass meetings and street gatherings.)

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE STATEMENT ON KOREAN SITUATION.

Even as hopes soard anew for a cease-fire in Korea, new threats to this chance for peace are heard.

We cannot rest until the truce is a fact. We have already seen the signing of the armistice blocked by Syngman Rhee's violation of the prisoner-of-war agreement.

The overwhelming concern of Americans that the bloodshed in Korea and the threat of its extension into new world war must cease, have been demonstrated in numerous ways.

Yet it is not enough. Syngman Rhee's action could only have been taken because the voices of those few who want no peace were heard above the voices of the American people.

We in the American Peace Crusade view the next 30 days as decisive to the cause of Peace. We have therefore called upon our peace committees throughout the country to conduct an intensified campaign during that period to assure the following:

1. UNTIL THE ARMISTICE IS ACTUALLY SIGNED let there be unceasing demands that nothing be permitted to block immediate cease-fire.

2. ONCE THE ARMISTICE IS SIGNED the demand should take the form that no provocations to start up the war again be permitted, and that negotiations on outstanding issues be continued until peace is achieved.

We also urge that Americans of all political and religious views, of every walk of life, whatever their differences on other issues, take whatever action through whatever methods they find most appropriate, to make this coming month a month of decision for peace.

An overwhelming expression of the will of the American people for peace will strengthen the Administration in keeping its pledge, and weaken the efforts of those who want the war continued and extended. Therefore it is of the utmost importance that all peace actions and expressions be directed to the President and members of Congress.

Peace in Korea comes first. But there is grave danger of heightened war activity elsewhere. Therefore we must also urge upon our government the top-level negotiations among the big powers desired by America's allies and all people everywhere who long for peace. Only such negotiations can insure the settlement by peaceful means of the conflicts rending the world and save humanity from atomic destruction.

(7/25/53)

THE AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
125 West 72nd Street
New York 23, N.Y.
SUsquehanna 7-5135

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

July 27th, 1953

New York City - : "Even as hopes soared anew for a cease-fire in Korea, new threats to wreck this chance for peace are being heard," said an enlarged meeting of the Resident Board of the American Peace Crusade as it adopted detailed plans for an emergency "Win-the-Truce: Keep-the-Truce" campaign through Labor Day for a speedy, lasting truce in Korea and against all barriers to the peaceful settlement of Korean problems.

"An overwhelming expression of the will of the American people for peace will strengthen the Administration in keeping its pledge and will weaken the efforts of those who reject negotiation and reconciliation for the peaceful settlement of differences between nations. We urge Americans of all political and religious views, of every walk of life, to make this coming month a month of decision for peace."

The Resident Board meeting, attended by representatives of labor, religious and civic organizations in addition to peace leaders, adopted a comprehensive plan recommended by the campaign committee of the Crusade. The plan calls for dramatic peace actions such as peace caravans, community rallies, street corner meetings, leaflet distributions and postcard-signature collections at beaches, picnics and summer colonies as well as at other peace actions. The plan also calls for the widest possible communication with all organizations and individuals concerned with peace to urge them to take whatever action they see fit to help guarantee the speedy and permanent silencing of the guns in Korea and the victory of negotiation over resort to force for the settlement of problems between nations.

The Board set the 8th anniversary of the atom-bombing of Hiroshima - August 6th - as the first climax in the campaign, on which date it urges that outdoor rallies and other actions take place across the country.

The Board heard reports of city-wide mobilizations last week-end in San Francisco and Los Angeles, of a postcard and petition campaign in New Jersey, of action plans in Detroit and Chicago and of very successful street-corner tables in New York as well as of plans in New York for peace caravans by buses and horse and wagon and for outdoor rallies.

The Board appointed a committee for the immediate preparation of sample leaflets, fact sheets and postcards for the use of local peace groups.

The Board appealed to all peace-lovers to help the successful realization of the campaign by sending in immediately financial contributions to the national office of the American Peace Crusade at 125 West 72nd Street, New York 23, N.Y.

The Resident Board, in adopting this plan, underlined the urgent need for the voices of the American people for peace to be heard above the cries of those few individuals who refuse to accept peaceful alternatives for the settlement of international differences.

# # # # #

(This is a sample press release. It should be double-spaced when sent to an editor.)

IN THE MATTER OF THE)
PROPOSED DESIGNATION)
OF THE AMERICAN PEACE)
CRUSADE PURSUANT TO)
EXECUTIVE ORDER 10450)
_____)

TO: AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE that pursuant to Title 28, Chapter I, Part 41, Section 41.1 et seq. of the Code of Federal Regulations with respect to notice, hearing, and designation of organizations in connection with the Federal employee security program, there are set forth hereinafter a statement of the grounds upon which it is proposed to designate American Peace Crusade as coming within the purview of Executive Order No. 10450, and interrogatories with respect thereto.

STATEMENT OF GROUNDS

(1) For the past several years, the forces of international Communism have promoted a world-wide movement ostensibly on behalf of world peace characterized by such activities as the Stockholm Peace Petition.

(2) The American Peace Crusade (hereinafter referred to as the A.P.C.) was formed on or about February 1, 1951 as a front organization for the Communist Party of the United States of America (hereinafter referred to as the Communist Party -- U.S.A.) for the primary purpose of coordinating and publicizing the Communist "peace" movement in the United States.

(3) The A.P.C. succeeded the Peace Information Center as the organization in the United States primarily designed to co-ordinate and publicize the Communist "peace" movement.

(4) The A.P.C. was formed by persons who were members of, affiliated and sympathetically associated with the Communist Party -- U.S.A. and other groups officially designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Orders 10450 and 9835.

(5) The national headquarters for the A.P.C. has been and is located in New York City and the A.P.C. maintains association with numerous chapters, branches and other subdivisions in various communities throughout the United States.

(6) From its initial formation, up to and including the date of this statement, the A.P.C. has constituted a vehicle to further the program and policies of the Communist Party -- U.S.A., operating at all times as an instrument to promote functions and affairs designed to publicize and implement the program and policies of the Communist Party -- U.S.A.

25-48-7

(7) From on or about February 1, 1951, up to and including the date of this statement, the Communist Party -- U.S.A., its sections, branches and clubs, and persons who are members of, affiliated and sympathetically associated with the Communist Party -- U.S.A., have formed and operated chapters, branches and other subdivisions of the A.P.C. in various communities throughout the United States for the purpose of joining with and supporting the A.P.C. in publicizing and implementing the program and policies of the Communist Party -- U.S.A.

(8) From its initial formation, up to and including the date of this statement, the A.P.C. has functioned and operated under the leadership of persons who were and are members of, affiliated and sympathetically associated with the Communist Party -- U.S.A. and other groups officially designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Orders 10450 and 9835.

(9) From its initial formation, up to and including the date of this statement, the policies of the A.P.C. have been determined by and in collaboration with the Communist Party -- U.S.A., and persons who are members of, affiliated with and sympathetically associated with the Communist Party -- U.S.A.

(10) From its initial formation, up to and including the date of this statement, the A.P.C. has solicited and

accepted, directly and indirectly, the association and support, financial and otherwise, of the Communist Party -- U.S.A. and persons who are members of, affiliated and sympathetically associated with the Communist Party -- U.S.A.

(11) From its initial formation, up to and including the date of this statement, the A.P.C. has conducted, sponsored and co-sponsored and caused to be conducted, sponsored and co-sponsored, rallies, expositions, meetings and other functions and affairs for the purpose of carrying out the program and policies of the Communist Party -- U.S.A.

(12) From its initial formation, up to and including the date of this statement, the A.P.C. has engaged and invited persons who are members of, affiliated and sympathetically associated with the Communist Party -- U.S.A. to speak and otherwise participate at rallies, expositions, meetings and other functions and affairs, conducted, sponsored and co-sponsored by the A.P.C.

(13) From its initial formation, up to and including the date of this statement, the A.P.C. has prepared, printed, published and circulated and caused to be prepared, printed, published and circulated, various pamphlets, leaflets and other printed matter, including the bulletin Peace Crusader, for the purpose of supporting and publicizing the program and policies of the Communist Party -- U.S.A.

(14) From its initial formation, up to and including the date of this statement, the A.P.C. has sent persons who were members of, affiliated and sympathetically associated with the Communist Party -- U.S.A. to speak at various functions and meetings throughout the United States for the purpose of supporting and publicizing the program and policies of the Communist Party -- U.S.A.

(15) From its initial formation, up to and including the date of this statement, the A.P.C. has never deviated in its program and policies from the program and policies of the Communist Party -- U.S.A.

INTERROGATORIES

INTERROGATORY 1

(a) State any other names that the A.P.C. may have used or by which it may have been known.

(b) List the address or addresses (number, street, city and state) where the APC, from the date of its inception, up to and including the date of these interrogatories, has maintained its principal office or headquarters.

(c) Did the headquarters of the A.P.C. at any time ever share or use the offices or facilities of the National Labor Conference for Peace or any other organization or group?

(d) If the answer to Interrogatory 1 (c) is in the affirmative, set forth the time and place that such offices or facilities were so used, the purpose for which such offices or facilities were so used, the organization or group with which such arrangements were made, and by whom on behalf of the A.P.C. and with whom on the behalf of the other organization or group such arrangements were made.

INTERROGATORY 2

(a) Was the A.P.C. ever incorporated?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 2(a) is in the affirmative, list the following information:

i. the state of incorporation

ii. the date of incorporation

iii. the state or states in which authorized to function

iv. the full name under which incorporated

v. the alleged purpose for which incorporated

INTERROGATORY 3

(a) State the circumstances which preceded and eventually led to the formation of the A.P.C.

(b) List the names and addresses of any organizations that participated or cooperated in the formation of the A.P.C. and describe the manner in which each such organization so participated or cooperated.

(c) List the names and addresses of all those persons responsible for the formation of the A.P.C. and describe the manner in which each such person was so responsible.

(d) List the names and addresses of all those persons who initially participated or cooperated in the organization of the A.P.C. and describe the manner in which each such person so participated or cooperated.

(e) State the address where the initial organizing meeting of the A.P.C. was held, and indicate the date of such meeting and by whom such meeting was called.

(f) List the names and addresses of all those persons present at the initial organizing meeting of the A.P.C.

(g) List the names and address of all those persons who were the initial sponsors of the A.P.C.

INTERROGATORY 4

(a) List the names of the respective chapters, branches or other subdivisions of the A.P.C. and indicate the address or addresses where each of the said chapters, branches or other subdivisions has maintained offices or headquarters from its inception, up to and including the date of these interrogatories.

(b) Are there any organizations, groups or units, national or local, other than those listed in answer to Interrogatory 4(a) that have at any time worked with, collaborated with, cooperated with, contributed to or supported the A.P.C. or any program or function conducted, sponsored or co-sponsored by or in support of the A.P.C.?

(c) If the answer to Interrogatory 4(b) is in the affirmative, list the names and addresses of each such organization, group or unit and describe the nature, time, place and extent of its connection with the A.P.C.

INTERROGATORY 5

(a) List the names and addresses of all directors, officers, sponsors, committeemen and employees, and persons performing the ordinary and usual duties of directors, officers, sponsors, committeemen and employees of the A.P.C. and its various chapters, branches and other subdivisions, from its initial formation, up to and including the date of these interrogatories, specifying the position or positions held and indicating the inclusive dates during which each of the listed persons held such position or positions or acted in such capacity.

(b) List the names and addresses of all directors, officers, sponsors, committeemen and employees, and persons performing the ordinary and usual duties of directors, officers, sponsors, committeemen and employees of each of the organizations, groups and units listed in answer to Interrogatory 4 (c) from the time of the inception of the A.P.C., up to and including the date of these interrogatories, specifying the position or positions held and indicating the inclusive dates during which each of the listed persons held such position or positions or acted in such capacity.

INTERROGATORY 6

(a) Has the A.P.C. or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions at any time furnished or sent Arthur D. Kahn, W. E. B. DuBois or any other person or persons to address any rallies, meetings or other functions held at any place in this country?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 6(a) is in the affirmative, indicate the name and address of each such speaker, the nature, time and place of each of the functions before which each such speaker appeared, the names and addresses of the organizations or persons conducting or sponsoring each such function, and the subject matter and content of each of the speeches so delivered.

INTERROGATORY 7

(a) List the names and addresses of all those persons who have at any time been engaged or invited by or on behalf of the A.P.C. or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions to speak or otherwise participate at any rally, exposition,

meeting or other function conducted, sponsored or co-sponsored by the A.P.C. or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions, and state as to each such person listed the nature, time and place of each such function to which invited to speak or otherwise participate, and the nature or subject matter of each speech or other participation.

(b) List the names and addresses of all those persons who have at any time been engaged or invited by or on behalf of any of the organizations, groups or units listed in answer to Interrogatory 4(c) to speak or otherwise participate at any rallies , expositions, meetings or other functions that were conducted, sponsored or co-sponsored by any of the said organizations, groups or units in connection with any program or function conducted, sponsored or co-sponsored by or in support of the A.P.C. or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions, and indicate as to each such person listed the nature, time and place of each such function to which invited to speak or otherwise participate, and the nature or subject matter of each speech or other participation.

INTERROGATORY 8

(a) Has the A.P.C. or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions at any time published, or circulated, or caused to be published or circulated any articles, pamphlets, leaflets, or other printed material?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 8(a) is in the affirmative, list the title of each particular item, the day, month and year of publication, and enclose a copy of each such item listed with the verified reply.

(c) Have any of the organizations, groups or units listed in answer to Interrogatory 4(c) at any time published or circulated or caused to be published or circulated in connection with any program or function conducted, sponsored or co-sponsored by or in support of the A.P.C., or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions, any articles, pamphlets, leaflets or any other printed material?

(d) If the answer to Interrogatory 8 (c) is in the affirmative, list the title of each particular item, the day, month and year of publication, and enclose a copy of each such item listed with the verified reply.

INTERROGATORY 9

(a) Has the A.P.C. or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions, or any of their officials or members at any time received orders, instructions or recommendations, directly or indirectly, from the Communist Party -- U.S.A., its leaders or representatives?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 9(a) is in the affirmative, describe the orders, instructions, or recommendations received and indicate when, where and by whom on behalf of the A.P.C. and from whom on behalf of the Communist Party -- U.S.A. received, and the manner in which acted upon.

(c) Have any of the organizations, groups, or units listed in answer to Interrogatory 4(c), or any of their officials or members, at any time received orders, instructions or recommendations, directly or indirectly, from the Communist Party -- U.S.A., its leaders

or representatives, in connection with any program or function conducted, sponsored or co-sponsored by or in support of the A.P.C. or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions?

(d) If the answer to Interrogatory 9 (c) is in the affirmative, describe the orders, instructions or recommendations received and indicate when, where, and by whom on behalf of the said organization, group or unit and from whom on behalf of the Communist Party - U.S.A. received, and the manner in which acted upon.

INTERROGATORY 10

(a) Has the A.P.C. or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions, or their officials or members at any time received or solicited aid or assistance, financial or otherwise, from the Communist Party -- U.S.A., its leaders or representatives, or from the Peace Information Center, the National Labor Conference for Peace, or any group officially designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Orders 10450 and 9835?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 10(a) is in the affirmative, state the nature and amount of the aid received or solicited, from whom and by whom received or solicited, and the purpose for which received or solicited.

(c) Have any of the organizations, groups or units listed in answer to Interrogatory 4 (c) or their officials or members at any time received or solicited aid or assistance, financial or otherwise, in connection with any program or function conducted, sponsored or co-sponsored by or in support of the A.P.C., or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions, from the Communist Party -- U.S.A., its leaders or representatives, or from the Peace Information Center, the National Labor Conference for Peace, or any group officially designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Orders 10450 and 9835?

(d) If the answer to Interrogatory 10 (c) is in the affirmative, state the nature and amount of the aid received or solicited, from whom and by whom received or solicited, and the purpose for which received or solicited.

INTERROGATORY 11

(a) Has the A.P.C. or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions, or their officials or members ever distributed or shared, or caused to be distributed or shared, any part of any funds received from any source to or with the Communist Party -- U.S.A., the Peace Information Center, the National Labor Conference for Peace, or any group officially designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Orders 10450 and 9835?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 11(a) is in the affirmative, state the amount so distributed or shared, when distributed or shared, to or with whom distributed or shared, the purpose for which such distribution or sharing was made, and the source of the funds involved.

(c) Have ny of the organizations, groups or units listed in answer to Interrogatory 4(c) ever distributed or shared, or caused to be distributed or shared, any part of any funds received from any source in connection with any program or function conducted, sponsored or co-sponsored by or in support of the A.P.C., or any of its various chapters, branches or subdivi-

sions, to or with the Communist Party -- U.S.A., the Peace Information Center, the National Labor Conference for Peace, or any group officially designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Orders 10450 and 9835?

(d) If the answer to Interrogatory 11(c) is in the affirmative, state the amount so distributed or shared, when distributed or shared, to or with whom distributed or shared, the purpose for which such distribution or sharing was made, and the source of the funds involved.

INTERROGATORY 12

(a) Has The Worker, Daily Worker, Political Affairs or any other publication of the Communist Party -- U.S.A. at any time given coverage or support to the A.P.C. or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 12(a) is in the affirmative, specify the publication and edition, date and page number where the A.P.C. or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions are mentioned?

INTERROGATORY 13

(a) Does the A.P.C. or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions own, operate, control, publish or circulate, directly or indirectly, any newspapers, magazines, bulletins or other publications?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 13 (a) is in the affirmative, give the name and address of each such publication, and the connection between the A.P.C. or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions and each such publication.

(c) If the answer to Interrogatory 13 (a) is in the affirmative, list the name, address and position for each of the members on the staff of each such publication.

(d) Have any of the publications listed under Interrogatory 13 (b) at any time deviated in any manner whatoever from policies or program of the Communist Party -- U.S.A.?

(e) If the answer to Interrogatory 13 (d) is in the affirmative, state the particular point and time of such deviation.

INTERROGATORY 14

(a) Have any officials or members or persons otherwise connected with the A.P.C., or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions, or any of the organizations, groups or units listed in answer to Interrogatory 4(c) at any time attended any conference, convention or other function held in any foreign country, wholly or in part, for the alleged and ostensible purpose of promoting world peace?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 14 (a) is in the affirmative, list the names and addresses of each such official, member or other person, the name, date and location of the convention, conference or other function attended by each such official, member or other person, and the nature, time and circumstances of the connection between each such official, member or other person and the A.P.C., or any of its various chapters, branches, or other subdivisions, or any of the organizations, groups or units listed in answer to Interrogatory 4 (c).

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(c) Have any persons who have been engaged or invited to speak or otherwise participate at any rallies, expositions, meetings or other functions or affairs of the A.P.C., or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions, or any of the organizations, groups or units listed in answer to Interrogatory 4(c), at any time ever attended any convention, conference or other function held in any foreign country, wholly or in part for the alleged and ostensible purpose of promoting world peace?

(d) If the answer to Interrogatory 14 (c) is in the affirmative, list the name and address of each such person, the name, date and location of each such convention, conference or other function attended by each such person, the nature, time and place of each such rally, exposition, meeting or other function or affair at which each such person spoke or otherwise participated, and the nature or subject matter of each such speech or other participation.

INTERROGATORY 15

(a) Has the A.P.C. ever distributed for redistribution any of its pamphlets, leaflets, bulletins or other printed material or publications, with or without cost, to any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions, or to any of the organizations, groups or unite listed in answer to Interrogatory 4(c), or to any individuals?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 15(a) is in the affirmative, set forth the name and address of each such chapter, branch or other subdivision, and each such organization, group or unit, and each such individual who purchased or otherwise acquired such printed material or publication for redistribution, and list the title and date of and furnish copies of each such item of printed material or publication, indicating the recipients of each of such items.

INTERROGATORY 16

(a) Did the A.P.C. conduct, sponsor or co-sponsor a "Peace Pilgrimage" to Washington, D.C. on or about March 15, 1951?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 16 (a) is in the affirmative, set forth the following:

i. the manner in which the "Peace Pilgrimage" was planned, organized and conducted.

ii. the names and addresses of the persons who were responsible for and executed the planning, organization and conduct of the "Peace Pilgrimage."

iv. the names and addresses of the delegates to the "Peace Pilgrimage," and the name and address of the organization that each such delegate represented.

v. the program and activities participated in by the said delegates at Washington, D.C. on and about March 15, 1951.

vi. the names and addresses of the persons who were the leaders of such program and activities participated in by the said delegates.

vii. furnish copies of any reports, pamphlets, statements, speeches or other material prepared at or in connection with the "Peace Pilgrimage."

INTERROGATORY 17

(a) Did the A.P.C. conduct, sponsor or co-sponsor the "American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace" at Chicago, Illinois on and about June 29, 1951?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 17(a) is in the affirmative, set forth the following:

i. the manner in which the "American Peoples' Congress and Exposition for Peace" was planned, organized and conducted.

ii. the names and addresses of the persons who were responsible for and executed the planning, organization and conduct of the "American Peoples' Congress and Exposition for Peace."

iii. the names and addresses of the persons who addressed the delegates at the "American Peoples' Congress and Exposition for Peace" and the subject matter and content of each such address.

iv. the names and addresses of the delegates to the "American Peoples' Congress and Exposition for Peace" and the name and address of the organization that each such delegate represented.

v. the program and activities participated in by the said delegates at Chicago, Illinois on and about June 29, 1951.

vi. the names and addresses of the persons who were the leaders of such program and activities participated in by the said delegates.

vii. furnish copies of any reports, speeches, pamphlets, statements or other material prepared at or in connection with the "American Peoples' Congress and Exposition for Peace."

INTERROGATORY 18

(a) Did the A.P.C. conduct, sponsor or co-sponsor a campaign for ballots pertaining to the Korean War during and about March 1951?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 18(a) is in the affirmative, set forth the following:

i. the manner in which the campaign was planned, organized and conducted.

ii. the names and addresses of the persons who were responsible for and participated im the planning, organization and conduct of the campaign.

iii. the names and addresses of all organizations participating in the campaign.

iv. furnish a copy of the ballot used in connection with the campaign.

v. furnish copies of any reports, pamphlets, statements or other material prepared in connection with the campaign.

INTERROGATORY 19

(a) Did the A.P.C. conduct, sponsor, or co-sponsor a "National Delegates Assembly for Peace" at Washington, D.C. on and about April 1, 1952?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 19(a) is in the affirmative, set forth the following:

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i. the manner in which the "National Delegates Assembly for Peace" was planned, organized and conducted.

ii. the names and addresses of the persons who were responsible for and executed the planning, organization and conduct of the "National Delegates Assembly for Peace."

iii. the names and addresses of the persons who addressed the delegates at the "National Delegates Assembly for Peace" and the subject matter and content of such address.

iv. the names and addresses of the delegates to the "National Delegates Assembly for Peace" and the name and address of the organisation that each such delegate represented.

v. the program and activities participated in by the said delegates at Washington, D.C. on and about April 1, 1952.

vi. the names and addresses of the persons who were the leaders of such program and activities participated in by the said delegates.

vii. furnish copies of any reports, pamphlets, statements, speeches or other material prepared at or in connection with the "National Delegates Assembly for Peace."

INTERROGATORY 20

(a) Has the A.P.C. at any time conducted, sponsored or co-sponsored any congress, exposition, convention, petition or ballot campaign, assembly or other similar function or affair other than those referred to in the preceding four interrogatories?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 20(a) is in the affirmative, set forth with respect to each such function or affair:

i. the name, location, date or dates, and purpose.

ii. the manner in which planned, organized, and conducted.

iii. the names and addresses of the persons who were responsible for and executed the planning, organization and conduct.

iv. the names and addresses of all delegates (if any) and the name and address of the organization represented by each such delegate.

v. the program and activities in which the said delegates participated.

vi. the names and addresses of the persons who were the leaders of such program and activities.

vii. the names and addresses of the persons by whom the said delegates were addressed and the subject matter and content of each such address.

viii. furnish copies of any reports, pamphlets, statements, speeches or other material prepared at or in connection with each said function or affair.

INTERROGATORY 21

(a) Did the Communist Party -- U.S.A. in early 1951 deter-

mine that its primary immediate concern was the formation and development of the A.P.C. on a nationwide basis?

(b) Were the members of the various sections, branches, and clubs of the Communist Party -- U.S.A., instructed during and after February 1951 to form, develop and support chapters, branches and other subdivisions of the A.P.C. in their respective local communities?

(c) Were any of the various chapters, branches or other subdivisions of the A.P.C. or any of the organizations, groups or units listed in answer to Interrogatory 4(c) formed, developed or conducted by or with the assistance or support of the Communist Party -- U.S.A. or any of its sections, branches or clubs, or by or with the assistance or support of any persons who at any time were

i. members of

ii. affiliated with

iii. sympathetically associated with the Communist Party -- U.S.A.

(d) If the answer to Interrogatory 21(c) or any part thereof is in the affirmative, list the names and addresses of the chapters, branches or other subdivisions and the organizations, groups or units so formed, conducted or developed, the name and address of each such section, branch or club which or each such person who participated in the formation, conduct or development of each organization so listed, the nature, time and place of such participation by each such section, branch or club or by each such person, and the periods of time during which each such person was

i. a member of

ii. affiliated with

iii. sympathetically associated with the Communist Party -- U.S.A.

INTERROGATORY 22

(a) Did Arthur D. Kahn address a meeting or rally of the Phoenix Peace Crusade or the Phoenix Committee of the A.P.C., at Phoenix, Arizona on or about May 18, 1951?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 22(a) is in the affirmative, list the names and addresses of the persons who planned such meeting or rally, and indicate whether or not the arrangements for such meeting or rally were made by or in collaboration with the Communist Party in Phoenix, Arizona.

(c) Did Arthur D. Kahn on or about May 18, 1953 state at Phoenix, Arizona that "the American Peace Crusade will go on until socialism takes over?"

INTERROGATORY 23

(a) Did the APC or any of its chapters, branches or other subdivisions, or any of the organizations, groups or units listed in answer to Interrogatory 4(c) participate in the picket line in August 1951 at the Hall of Justice, Los Angeles, California in protest against the bail set for the twelve California Communist Party leaders arrested for alleged violation of the Smith Act?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 23 (a) is in the affirmative, set forth the name and address of the chapter, branch or other subdivision, or the organization, group, or unit so participating, and indicate the names, addresses and positions of the persons by whom and with whom the arrangements for such participation were made.

(c) Was the rent or any other expense of the Southern California Peace Crusade, or any organization, group or unit in any way connected with the Southern California Peace Crusade, at any time paid, wholly or in part, by or through the Los Angeles County Communist Party?

(d) If the answer to Interrogatory 23 (c) is in the affirmative, set forth the name and address of each organization, group or unit receiving payment of such expenses, the amount and source of the funds paid, the purpose for which paid, and the names, addresses and positions of the persons by whom and with whom the arrangements for such payment were made.

INTERROGATORY 24

(a) Were the expenses of the San Francisco delegation to the "American Peoples' Congress and Exposition for Peace" at Chicago, Illinois in June 1951paid, wholly or in part, by or through the San Francisco Communist Party?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 24 (a) is in the affirmative, set forth the amount and sources of the funds paid, the names and addresses of the delegates receiving such funds and the names and addresses of the organizations represented by such delegates, and the names, addresses and positions of the persons by whom and with whom arrangements for the payment of such funds were made.

(c) Were the expenses of any of the other delegations to the "American Peoples' Congress and Exposition for Peace" at Chicago, Illinois in June 1951 paid, wholly or in part, by or through the Communist Party or any Communist Party official?

(d) If the answer to Interrogatory 24 (c) is in the affirmative, set forth the amount and source of the funds paid, the names and addresses of the delegates receiving such funds and the names and addresses of the organizations represented by such delegates, and the names, addresses and positions of the persons by whom and with whom arrangements were made for the payment of such funds.

INTERROGATORY 25

(a) Did the A.P.C. or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions, or any organization, group or unit listed in answer to Interrogatory 4 (c) at any time receive, directly or indirectly, any funds from the Oregon Peace Information Center or the Oregon Communist Party?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 25 (a) is in the affirmative, set forth the chapter, branch or other subdivision, or the organization, group or unit receiving such funds, and the names, addresses and positions of the persons by whom and with whom the arrangements for the payment of such funds were made.

(c) Did the Northern California Peace Crusade or any organization, group or unit in any way connected with the Northern California Peace Crusade raise or help

to raise in late 1952 the sum of about $3200 for the purpose of sending delegates to the Vienna Peace Conference?

(d) If the answer to Interrogatory 25 (c) is in the affirmative, set forth the name of the organization, group or unit raising or helping to raise such funds, the amount and source of such funds, the names and addresses of the delegates receiving such funds, the names and addresses of the organizations represented by such delegates, and the names and addresses of the organizations or persons conducting, sponsoring or co-sponsoring the Vienna Peace Conference.

INTERROGATORY 26

(a) Did the Northern California Peace Crusade, its officials or members, conduct, sponor or co-sponsor a meeting or reception on or about December 20, 1952 at San Francisco, California at which Edwin and Isobel Cerney were the principal speakers?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 26 (a) is in the affirmative, set forth the content of the speeches given by Edwin and Isobel Cerney and indicate whether Edwin Cerney reported on their trip to Moscow and to the Asian Peace Conference at Peking, China, and whether Isobel Cerney accused the United States of germ warfare and atrocities in Korea and of blocking peace in Asia.

(c) Did the chapter, branch or other subdivision of the A.P.C. at Coeur d'Alene, Idaho conduct, sponsor or co-sponsor a meeting at that city on or about December 9, 1952 at which John Blackwell was the principal speaker?

(d) If the answer to Interrogatory 26 (c) is in the affirmative, set forth the content of the speech by John Blackwell and indicate whether he referred to his recent trip to Russia and praised the good conditions enjoyed by the Russian working class.

INTERROGATORY 27

(a) Did the Communist Party in Chicago, Illinois help to house, and instruct its members to help to house the delegates to the "American Peoples' Congress and Exposition for Peace" on and about June 29, 1951?

(b) Did Fred Fine, a Communist Party official, participate in any way in the formation and development of the A.P.C. or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions?

(c) If the answer to Interrogatory 27 (b) is in the affirmative, describe the nature, dates, places and extent of such participation.

(d) Did Fred Fine, a Communist Party official, write a memorandum concerning the "Peace Pilgrimage" held at Washington, D.C. on or about March 15, 1951 entitled "Memo on Peace Pilgrimage"?

(e) If the answer to Interrogatory 27 (d) is in the affirmative, set forth a copy of such memorandum.

INTERROGATORY 28

(a) Did the A.P.C. or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions, or any of the organizations, groups or units listed in answer to Interrogatory 4 (c)

conduct, sponsor or co-sponsor a meeting or rally at the Riverside Plaza Hotel in New YorkCity on or about August 16, 1951 at which Edward McGowan, Leon Straus, Abbott Simon and Paul Robeson were speakers?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 28 (a) is in the affirmative, indicate by whom such meeting or rally was conducted, sponsored or co-sponsored, set forth the content of each speech delivered at such meeting or rally, state whether Edward McGowan had been a delegate to the "Second World Peace Conference" held in Poland and whether Leon Straus had visited Russia and other eastern European countries in 1950 or 1951, and indicate if Edward McGowan said that the United States was the aggressor in Korea, if Leon Straus praised the Russian "peace camp" and criticized the United States "war camp," if Abbott Simon said that bombs were killing women and children in Korea thanks to United States imperialism, and if Paul Robeson reported that the Communist Party was being forced underground and said that this would soon lead to a "leaping change" in this country just as the Civil War produced a change from "slavocracy."

(c) Did Marcel Scherer in March 1952 make arrangements for a special train to carry several hundred delegates from New York City to the "National Delegates Assembly for Peace" in Washington, D.C. on April 1, 1952?

INTERROGATORY 29

(a) Set forth a statement indicating the course and amount of all funds received by the national headquarters of the A.P.C. from its inception tothe date of these interrogatories, and showing the manner and to whom such funds have been expended.

(b) Has the A.P.C. or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions at any time deviated in any manner from the program and policies of the Communist Party -- U.S.A., its leaders and representatives?

(c) If the answer to Interrogatory 29 (b) is in the affirmative, state the particular point and time of each such deviation.

INTERROGATORY 30

With regard to each of those persons listed below describe fully any activities, contributions, declarations, articles, speeches or other action on behalf of or in support of the formation, development or conduct of the A.P.C., or any of its various chapters, branches or subdivisions, or any of the organizations, groups or units listed in answer toInterrogatory 4 (c), or on behalf or in support of any rally, exposition, congress, pilgrimage, delegation, petition campaign, ballot campaign, meeting or other function or affair conducted, sponsored or co-sponsored by or on behalf of the A.P.C., or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions:

Marcel Scherer	Howard Fast
William Levner	Gil Green
Charles Collins	
Edwin S. Smith	
Paul Robeson	Morris Graham
Arthur D. Kahn	Madge Copeland of Arizona
Mary Van Kleek	
Thomas Richardson	
John Marsalka	
Audley Moore	Charles Glenn
Judy Boudon	Peter Hyun
W. E. B. DuBois	Ann Berenholtz

Abbott Simon
Ernest DeMaio
Linus Pauling
Albert Kahn
Gale Sondergaard
Fred Fine
Clementina J. Paolone

Minnie Carter
Doris Dawson
Betty Hirschfelder
Betty W inter
of California

Helen Gordon
David Bramhall
Arthur Bary
of Colorado

Robert E. Light
Elsie Willcox
Lois Fahs Timmons
Alice Hamilton
Irving Dichter
of Connecticut

Al Manly
Opal Mae Brooten
Leonard H. Butterfield
Frederick H. Marchant
Thomas Wood
of Idaho

Joseph M. Evans
Henry Noyes
Ruth Rothstein
Robert Morss Lovett
Bill Sennett
James West
of Illinois

Simon Boorda
LaRue Spiker
Virginia Meskimer
Benjamin Cohen
Katherine Hyndman
of Indiana

Carl Braden
Anne Braden
John Clifford Young
Alberta Ahearn
I. O. Ford
of Kentucky

Andrew Steve Nelson
Winifred Feise
James A. Dombrowsky
Samuel Joseph Hall
of Louisiana

Betty Daniels
of Utah

Ernest Chandler
Louis Kalb
Robert Handman
of Virginia

William Kerner
Clint Smith
Charles Cannon
Sarajo Lord
Christine Hufford
of California

C. Ernest Taylor
Sigrid Pierson
Betty Jo Hiner
Ralph Taylor
Leo Giovanni
of Minnesota

Harold Bernhardt
Edward D. Montgomery
Archibald Ray Miller
of Missouri

Doris Maltais
Anna Langy
Hattie Lumpkin
Lillian Gates
Philip Morrison
Leon Straus
Haloia Moorehead
of New York

Leonard Tushuet
of New Jersey

Clinton E. Jencks
Virginia Jencks
of New Mexico

Lucille B. Carresquero
Helen Abicht
Andrew B. Jones
of Ohio

Clarence A. Lewis
Maurice B. Ogdon
Mary Louise Richardson
Harold B. Richardson
of Oklahoma

Vincent Howard
Gladys Hindson
Gertrude Holzinger
Kathryn Neufer
Herbert Simpson
Virginia MacDonald
of Oregon

Kenneth Ripley Forbes
Priscilla Holton
Eudice Tontak
J. Rutman
of Pennsylvania

George Hurley
Josephine Hughes
Kathleen Thode
Joseph Butterworth
Giles Evans
James A. McDaniels
of Washington

F. W. Bentley
Sidney Berger
of Wisconsin

INTERROGATORY 31

(a) Have any of those persons listed in answer to Interrogatories 3(c), 3(d), 3(f), 3(g), 5(a), 5(b), 6(b), 7(a), 7(b), 13 (c), 14(b), 14(d), 16(b) (ii), 16(b)(iii), 16 (b) (iv), 16 (b) (vi), 17 (b) (ii), 17 (b) (iii), 17 (b) (iv), (17 (b) (vi), 18 (b) (ii) 19 (b) (ii), 19 (b) (iii), 19 (b)(iv), 19 (b) (vi), 20 (b) (iii), 20 (b) (iv), 20 (b) (vi), 20 (b) (vii), 22 (b), 23 (b), 23 (d), 24 (b), 24 (d), 25 (b), 25 (d), at any time been:

i. members of

ii. affiliated with

iii. sympathetically associated with

the Communist Party -- U.S.A., National Labor Conference for Peace, American Slav Congress, Peace Information Center, American Women for Peace, or any group officially designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Orders 10450 and 9835?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 31 (a) or any part thereof is in the affirmative, list the names and addresses of all such persons and indicate the periods of time during which they were:

i. members of

ii. affiliated with

iii. sympathetically associated with

the Communist Party -- U.S.A., National Labor Conference for Peace, American Slav Congress, Peace Information Center, American Women for Peace, or any group officially designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Orders 10450 and 9835?

INTERROGATORY 32

(a) Have any of those persons listed in answer to Interrogatories 3(c), 3(d), 3(f), 3(g), 5(a), 5(b), 6(b), 7(a), 7(b), 13 (c), 14 (b), 14 (d), 16 (b) (ii), 16 (b) (iii), 16 (b) (iv), 16 (b) (vi), 17 (b) (ii), 17 (b) (ii), 17 (b) (iii), 17 (b) (iv), 17 (b) (vi), 18 (b) (ii), 19 (b) (ii), 19 (b) (iii), 19 (b) (iv), 19 (b) (vi), 20 (b) (iii), 20 (b) (iv), 20 (b) (vi), 20 (b) (vii), 22(b) 23 (b) 23 (d), 24(b), 24 (d) 25 (b), 25 (d) at any time served or acted as officers, directors, sponsors, committeemen or employees of the Communist Party -- U.S.A., National Labor Conference for Peace, American Slav Congress, Peace Information Center, American Women for Peace, or any group officially designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Orders 10450 and 9835?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 32(a) or any part thereof is in the affirmative, list the names and addresses of all such persons, specify the inclusive

dates of the connection between each such person and any of the said organizations, and indicate the office or position held by each such person in any of the said organizations.

INTERROGATORY 33

(a) Has the A.P.C . or any of its officials or members, or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions at any time, directly or indirectly, had any arrangement, association, contact, dealing, communication, correspondence or other connection, not set forth in answer to the preceding interrogatories, with the Communist Party -- U.S.A., its leaders or representatives, National Labor Conference for Peace, American Slav Congress, Peace Information Center, American Women for Peace, or with any group officially designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Orders 10450 and 9835?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 33 (a) is in the affirmative, set forth the nature, time and place of each such connection, the chapters, branches or other subdivisions and the persons making each such connection, the organization or persons with whom each such connection was made, and the nature, time, and place of the event, occasion, function or affair involved in each such instance.

(c) Have any of the organizations, groups or units listed in answer to Interrogatory 4 (c) or any of their officials or members at any time had, directly or indirectly, in connection with any function or affair conducted, sponsored or co-sponsored by or on behalf of the A.P.C. or any of its various chapters, branches, or other subdivisions, any arrnagement, association, contact, dealing, communication, correspondence of other connection, not set forth in answer to the preceding interrogatories, with the Communist Party -- U.S.A., its leaders or representatives, National Labor Conference for Peace, American Slav Congress, Peace Information Center, American Women for Peace, or with any group officially designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Orders 10450 and 9835?

(d) If the answer to Interrogatory 33 (c) is in the affirmative, set forth the nature, time and place of each such connection, the organization, group or unit and the persons making each such connection, the organization or persons with whom each such connection was made, and the nature, time and place of the event, occasion, function or affair involved in each such instance.

Your attention is hereby directed to Section 1001 of Title 18 of the United States Code which provides in part that whoever, in any matter within the jurisdiction of any department or agency of the United States, makes any false, fictitious or fraudulent statements or representations, or makes or uses any false writing or document knowing the same to contain any false, fictitious, or fraudulent statement or entry, shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

For the Attorney General

(signed) WARREN OLNEY III
Assistant Attorney General

July 31, 1953

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
125 West 72nd Street
New York 23, New York

August 4, 1953

Dear Friend:

We are eagerly awaiting news from you of the plans in your area for participation in the national 30 day campaign launched by the APC Resident Board to maintain the truce in Korea and to assure continuing negotiations of the problems there until peace is achieved. We cannot stress too strongly the importance of this campaign.

In our last letter, we outlined a number of recommendations for peace action in this campaign. We realize that all of these actions cannot be done in every locality, but we are confident that local peace groups can carry out some of the actions indicated.

Some areas have already informed us of actions already carried out and of plans for action during this month: A letter from Georgia informs us that they are planning a leaflet distribution, in spite of the difficulties, and the sending of postcards to the President. Included in the letter was a clipping from the Atlanta Journal of a letter from a local peace leader urging letters to the President and Congress calling for no truce violations and for negotiation of issues ...In Connecticut, truce celebrations are planned in major cities within the next ten days. Postcards are being distributed with a message to the President and with a photo attached of the peace float of the Bridgeport Women for Peace in the annual P.T. Barnum Parade on July 4th... The St. Louis Peace Committee has sent a letter to 150 local trade union, church and other groups and community leaders and is pressing for delegations to visit local Congressmen when they return home.

The New York Council of the American Peace Crusade has announced a People's Truce Celebration and Peace Rally to be held Wednesday, August 12, at the City Center Casino, which is planned to be a major demonstration of the peace movement hailing the victory of the people for peace. We are enclosing a copy of the leaflet which the N.Y. Peace Council has issued. 75,000 copies are being distributed in New York City this week. We urge you to duplicate this leaflet (if you have not already gotten out a leaflet of your own) and to arrange for its distribution at street corners, shop gates or by mailings. If you prefer, we can send this leaflet to you for $5. per thousand copies, plus mailing costs.

We also enclose a copy of the fund-book being used to raise money for this campaign. If you duplicate this book and pass out books to local friends of peace, you will find this a good way to raise money. We remind you of the need for the national office to get financial help from the field for this campaign. We would hope to receive a part of all funds raised by such methods as the fund-books.

The enclosed memorandum on the Peace Reporter speaks for itself. We urge you to lay out plans immediately for the integration of this special issue of the Peace Reporter into your peace work.

We also underline the importance of your informing us right away of how many copies you need of this first issue of PR in order to carry out your subscription drive. You willunderstand why we must ask you to base your requests for orders on your own realistic estimate of how many subscriptions you feel sure of getting in your subscription campaign; for while the national office is raising a special fund for this first issue of the Peace Reporter, we must gage the number of copies to be printed in relation to estimates of money coming in from subscriptions in a short period.

We close this letter with a plea that you let us know what you are doing or, if you are doing nothing, what your problems are. With the truce in Korea there are new opportunities for fruitful work for peace- and new responsibilities to reach out to all sections of the people, urging expression of peace demands to Washington, helping the visits of delegations to Congressmann when they come home, deepening understanding of the issues involved in peace negotiations, and above all bringing home the lesson that the Korean truce shows that successful negotiations are possible and that the people's action for peace can win further negotations which can succeed in bringing lasting peace to Korea and in ending the cold war.

Peace is within our reach. It is for us to win it.

Very truly yours,

Thomas Richardson,
Co-Director

P.S. We enclose a copy of the telegram which the American Peace Crusade sent to President Eisenhower after the signing of the Korean truce. We also announce that a book "WhatWWe Saw in China", written by U.S. delegates to the Asian and Pacific RRegion Peace Conference in Peking last October, is now off the press. We can send you copies for .50¢ each.

THE PEACE REPORTER
The American Peace Crusade
125 West 72nd Street
New York 23, N.Y.

August 9, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

As you may know, the American Peace Crusade has wanted for some time to publish its own regular bulletin. There is a great need for it. We now plan to try to meet this need.

The enclosed announcement of the first issue of the Peace Reporter will indicate to you the nature of this publication. You will see that we plan to make this first issue a special issue centering on the Korean truce.

I am writing to a few persons who are recognized as leaders of the American Peace Crusade in the hope that they will be willing to contribute an article to this first issue of the Peace Reporter. I am asking each person to deal with a particular aspect of the meaning of the Korean truce for the American people and for world peace. I have already written to a much larger number of persons asking for brief comments on the Korean truce.

It is my hope that these articles by APC leaders will draw some conclusions from the Korean war experience - conclusions which, if applied now in Korea and elsewhere in the world, can help achieve lasting peace. Each of the articles would be brief - about 250 words - but I feel that each, added to the others, will contribute to a well-rounded summation of conclusions.

The special aspect of this topic that I would ask you to treat in such a brief article is the meaning of the Korean truce for the peoples who are waging struggles for national liberation and independence.

For your information, here are the other requests I am making: Of Professor Philip Morrison: the role of the American people in securing the truce. Of Dr. Royal France: the truce in relation to the possibility for a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem. Of Paul Robeson: the role of the world peace movement in winning the truce. Of Leo Kryzcki: the meaning of the truce for the peaceful solution of the German problem. Of Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes: the meaning of the truce in regard to the use force in trying to settle disputes between nations. Of John T. Gojack, a vice-president of UE: the truce and peace-time jobs. Of Dr. Paolone: the truce's meaning for American women.

If you prefer to write on some other aspect of the meaning of the Korean turce, please fell free to do so. I would also welcome any suggestions you may want to make for this first issue of the Peace Reporter.

While it may not prove possible to meet the August 15th date for getting this issue off the press, I will appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible and hope very much that you will accept to write an article.

With best wishes,

John W. Darr, Jr.
Editor

25-62.24

COMING OFF THE PRESS AUGUST 15th

-THE PEACE REPORTER-xxx

OF THE AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

A SPECIAL KOREAN TRUCE ISSUE

START PLANNING NOW FOR DISTRIBUTION AND FOR A SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE!

WHAT'S IN THE FIRST ISSUE OF THE PEACE REPORTER:

I. Comments on the Korean truce by public figures in and outside of the AP.
II. Articles by peace leaders on the meaning of the truce for the American people and for world peace.
III. Essential facts on the Korean situation and the new perspectives for world peace and for a peace economy with peacetime jobs.
IV. Peace news around the country and the world. The Budapest meeting of the World Council of Peace. Peace activities of local peace groups and of other groups concerned with peace.

HOW TO USE THE FIRST ISSUE OF THE PEACE REPORTER:

I. Use it widely in your campaign to maintain the Korean truce and to guarantee continuing negotiations for lasting peace.

II. Use it to get subscriptions for the Peace Reporter:

A. Start planning now for a subscription drive.
Line up people who will go out canvassing for subs.

B. Subs cost one dollar ($1) a year for six issues.

C. Sixty cents (60¢) of this dollar is for the national office.
Forty cents (40¢) is kept by the local group.

D. Beginning with the second issue of the Peace Reporter, each local group will receive, in bulk, enough copies of each issue of the Peace Reporter for its local subscribers and for using extra copies to continue to get subs. Each local group will distribute the Peace Reporter (by mail or otherwise) to its local subscribers and at the same time can distribute its own local material. In this way, local subscribers will develope ties with the local peace group. (Subscriptions that are mailed directly from the national office to subscribers cost one dollar.)

E. Each local group should send to the national office sixty cents and a receipt with the name and address of each local subscriber. Each local group keeps a copy of the receipt for its own record of subscribers.

III. Send us <u>immediately</u> your estimate of how many copies of the first issue of the Peace Reporter you need so we can tell the printer how many to print. We would suggest that you base this estimate on a figure which is twice as many as the <u>minimum</u> number of subscribers you are confident you can get in a three month subscription drive.

IV. If there is no news in this first issue of the Peace Reporter about peace activity in your area, it is because you have not sent us any news. Get local peace news to us quickly, please.

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
125 West 72nd Street
New York 23, New York

SU 7-5135

August 18, 1953

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York City, NY

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We want to put into your hands this copy of the latest communication from the Attorney General in answer to our letter contesting his intention to designate the American Peace Crusade as a "subversive" organization.

We shall write you more fully in the next few days on the matter after we have had an opportunity to consult with our attorney, Dr. Royal Wilber France.

25-48-9

As you know, the APC has been carrying on a month's campaign to maintain the truce in Korea and to encourage public support for extended negotiations to assure lasting peace in Korea and to end the cold war. This campaign ends on Labor Day.

Now that the fight to halt the killing in Korea has been won, we feel that the leadership of the American Peace Crusade must come together in order to plan for new steps in our work for world peace. At such a meeting, consideration would also be given to the action of the Attorney General toward our organization.

We would propose, therefore, that an enlarged meeting of the Sponsors and National Committee of the APC be held on the week-end of September 26th and 27th in New York City.

We ask you to put this date down on your calendar and to let us know if it conflicts with other engagements.

We have made only a limited number of copies of the enclosed document. We will not make any public comment on this document until there has been an opportunity for an exchange of views on it within the American Peace Crusade.

Very truly yours,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Encl:

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
125 West 72nd St.
New York, N. Y. SU 7-5135

August 21, 1953

Dear Friend:

There will be a meeting of the Campaign Committee of the American Peace Crusade on Thursday, August 27, 1953 at 8 P.M. at the APC office, 125 W. 72nd Street, 3d Floor.

The meeting of the General Assembly of the U.N. now taking place in preparation for the Political Conference on Korea, provides us with an opportunity to urge upon the U.S. Representatives at the U.N., negotiations for a lasting peace in Korea. In order to achieve this, we further urge that they agree to include India and the USSR in the Political Conference.

We have already requested of Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., an appointment for a meeting with a delegation of the APC for Wednesday, August 26.

If the appointment is granted and the meeting takes place, we should like to report to you the outcome of that event and to plan for further steps. If the meeting is refused, we want to enlist your help in planning and taking the next steps to assure continued pressure for peaceful negotiations upon the U.S. delegation a the U.N.

We urge that you attend the Campaign Committee meeting on Thursday night. If that is impossible will you please phone us and send a representative.

Yours for peace,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

THE AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
125 West 72nd Street
New York 23, N.Y.

August 22, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N.Y,

Dear Dr. Dubois:

Tom Richardson has left the city for a week or two. Before he left, we discussed the need for the APC to intervene in some way in the developing situation in the United Nations.

We are planning a delegation to see the U.S. delegation in the United Nations. It is our feeling, however, that it would also be helpful if the APC could release a statement or open letter signed by some of the APC leaders as soon as possible in order to influence in our own small way the imprtant debate now going on in the United Nations.

Will you please read the enclosed draft letter to President Eisenhowwr and Mr. Lodge? Please recommend what changes you think are advisable in it. It is our hope that you will want to sign this letter for public release. The others being asked to sign the letter are Mr. Richardson, Professor Morrison, Dr. Royal France, Rev. Kenneth Forbes, Dr. Lovett, Professor Louise Pettibone Smith, Ben Gold, Fred Stover, Ernest De Maio and Rev. Charles Hill.

I am enclosing an addressed, stamped envelop for you reply since we hope to release this letter early next week.

With best wishes to you,

John W. Darr, Jr.

P.S. Many thanks for your statement for the Peace Reportwr. It will be printed and I shall send you a copy.

[ENC]

OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT EISENHOWER AND HENRY CABOT LODGE, JR, HEAD OF THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

We are gravely disturbed by the position our nation is taking in the current debate in the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The fundamental issue under dispute there is of great importance to all who worked and prayed for the truce in Korea in order to open the way for the peaceful settlement of the issues under dispute there and for the lessening of tensions elsewhere in the world through international negotiations.

The underlying issue in the present United Nations discussions is whether or not the time has come to make a serious attempt, through international negotiations, to settle peacefully some of the problems of the cold war which, if left unsettled too long, can lead to world war.

The leaders of many nations, including Great Britain, France , the Soviet Union and India feel that this time is now here and they therefore approach the problems of the post-truce Political Conference with the view of its being an occasion to make such a serious attempt to bring a truce in the cold war. This is the meaning of the "round-table" concept of the Political Conference, which takes as its point of reference, not the role which this or that nation has played in the Korean war, but the role which this or that nation must play if lasting peace is to be achieved in Korea and elsewhere.

It is quite understandable why this round-table concept of the Political Conference should arise from a genuine desire to seek peaceful settlements which can lessen international tensions.

It is, of course, possible to debate again in the United Nations who is the aggressor in Korea and to try to force nations not directly involved in the war into a position of "taking sides" in regard to a group of nations branded as aggressors by another group of nations. But such a debate will only contribute to prolonging the cold war and will only lead to the sort of one-sided decisions in regard to the Political Conference which will make difficult, if not impossible, the success of the Conference as far as its contribution to achieving lasting peace is concerned. That such a debate will have these consequences is clear when it is recalled that only [illegible] people, (including the 8,000,000 on Formosa) were represented by the votes in the United Nations in February, 1951, branding the Chinese People's Republic as an aggressor in Korea, while [illegible] people were represented by the negative and abstaining votes on this question (not including the 500,000,000 people of China).

It is obvious that agreement on the question of who is the agressor in Korea cannot be made a pre-condition for discussion of the Korean

problem, if a discussion to find a peaceful solution of this problem is sincerely desired.

By rejecting a "round-table" Conference and insisting on a "two-sided" Conference, the leaders of our nation are in danger of placing the United States in the position of being the sole major power prolonging the cold war by refusing to explore the present possibilities for bringing the cold war to an end.

No sensible person can say with certainty that international negotiations today will solve all the problems of the cold war. But sensible people in our country and throughout the world are today saying, with greater and greater insistence, that now is the time at least to make the attempt to end the cold war and its heavy burdens. Indeed, it would be criminal not to make this attmpt in a world menaced with the aweful destruction of hydrogen bombs.

We want our nation to join in making this effort for world peace with all other nations which are today ready to put aside the weapons of the cold war in order to seek the road to peace. We therefore urge that our representatives in the United Nations support the concept of a "round-table" Political Conference which would include such nations not directly involved in the Korean war as India and the Soviet Union.

In this way, we are convinced, the leaders of our nation can help to fulfill the great hopes aroused everywhere by the truce in Korea for the achievement of lasting peace between nations.

Let The People Speak for Peace!

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-1660

September 1, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In the absence of Thomas Richardson, I shall try to answer the question you pose in your letter of August 31st.

It is regretable that you have been put to such trouble in regard to your peace prize award.

The American Peace Crusade did indeed receive a letter of July 27th from the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace, telling us of the award of the peace prize to you and asking us to inform them of any plans for the presentation of the award. There was nothing in this letter that would have led us to believe that we were responsible for informing you officially of the award and that this responsibility would not be met by the World Council itself. It therefore comes as a surprise to us that the Secretariat had not officially informed you of the award.

It has been our intention to deal with the matters raised in the Secretariat's letter to us at the first meeting of the appropriate bodies of the Crusade after the summer period is over. Feeling sure that the Secretariat of the World Council was in touch with you directly, we had felt that we could safely wait to discuss plans for the award presentation with you after other Crusade leaders had returned to New York.

I see from the letter of Mr. Gore to you, a copy of which you sent me, that the Secretariat is awaiting word from us on the practical arrangements for transmitting the prize here. We shall take this matter under advisement at the earliest opportunity. I hope you will communicate to us any suggestions you may have in this regard, even before the talk we hope to have with you on the other matters the Secretariat had raised with us.

I am very sorry if there has been some confusion of responsibilities in this whole affair - a situation complicated by the nature of the vacation period. I am sure that, now that the picture has been cleared by your own initiative, the award will be properly presented to its distinguished recipient.

Thank you for drawing our attention to this situation. I shall look forward to seeing you when I return from a long-delayed brief respite from the office.

Very truly yours,

John Darr

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Let The People Speak for Peace!

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-5135

September 15, 1953

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DR. W. E. DuBOIS
ARNAUD d'USSEAU
REV. EMMER ENGBERG
REV. JOSEPH M. EVANS
PROF. HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD
HOWARD FAST
REV. O. LINWOOD FAUNTLEROY
ABRAM FLAXER
HON. CLEMENS FRANCE
PROF. ROYAL WILBUR FRANCE
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KARLY LARSEN
PROF. OLIVER S. LOUD
DR. ROBERT MORSS LOVETT
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ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON
PAUL ROBESON
DR. LEWIS BAYARD ROBINSON
DR. THEODOR A. ROSEBURY
MRS. ANDREW A. SIMKINS
ALEX SIROTA
PROF. LOUISE PETTIBONE SMITH
FRED W. STOVER
PROF. LELAND H. TAYLOR
MAURICE TRAVIS
REV. CHARLES E. TYLER
JUSTICE JAMES N. WOLFE
MICHAEL WOOD
DR. EDWARD L. YOUNG

25-57-2

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Reverend John Darr has called my attention to your letter of August 31st, relative to the World Peace Council prize. I wish to concur with the contents of Rev. Darr's letter to you of September 1st.

Permit me to take this opportunity to congratulate you for the award which you have received in recognition of your continuing contribution to the cause of peace.

I would like to have an appointment with you, at which time the A.P.C. role and responsibility in guaranteeing the proper presentation of the prize can be determined. I shall call you on Friday, September 18th.

Sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Let The People Speak for Peace!

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-~~1660~~ 5135

September 18, 1953

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MAURICE TRAVIS
REV. CHARLES E. TYLER
JUSTICE JAMES N. WOLFE
MICHAEL WOOD
DR. EDWARD L. YOUNG

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York City, NY

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The enclosed is for your information.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Encl:

[Amer. Peace Crusade]

COPY

COPY

September 29, 1953

Hon. Herbert Brownell, Jr.
Attention of Warren Olney III,
Assistant Attorney General
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: Re: American Peace Crusade

This is to advise you that we have received your notice dated July 31, 1953 alleged to have been issued pursuant to Title 28, Chapter I, Part 41, Section 41.1 et seq. of the Code of Federal Regulations, containing a statement of grounds upon which it is proposed to designate American Peace Crusade as coming within the purview of Executive Order No. 10450, with certain interrogatories attached.

We have decided not to participate in such a proceeding before the Attorney General and not to answer the said interrogatories for the following reasons:

1. We consider the entire proceeding by the Attorney General to be unconstitutional.

2. More specifically, the Executive Order No. 10450 and the rules of procedure thereunder do not, in our judgment, provide the kind of fair hearing which satisfies the due process clause of the Constitution.

3. The rules of Procedure under Executive Order No. 10450 seem to us to be designed to provide only a semblance of a hearing in good faith omitting the substance in that:

(a) Although they require American Peace Crusade to answer interrogatories of the Government on penalty, otherwise, of acquescing in the designation, the American Peace Crusade is given no opportunity to submit interrogatories to the government.

(b) There is no guarantee that the government will offer any evidence at a hearing in which the American Peace Crusade will be permitted the right of cross-examination.

(c) The Attorney General, himself an interested party to the proceeding, becomes himself at once accuser, prosecutor, judge and jury.

(d) If the government does offer "evidence" there is no guarantee that it will be legally acceptable evidence. On the contrary, under the rules, the government may introd uce hearsay in the form of "information" from undisclosved persons or "documentary material, in summary form or otherwise" and "affidavits in lieu of oral testimony", while the American Peace Crusade is prohibited from cross-examination to ascertain the basis of the hearsay or the identity of the declarant or informant or the bias, prejudice, accuracy or mental condition of the undisclosed supplier of the information.

(e) The enormous detail demanded and the research work and expense that would be required to answer the interrogatories are unreasonable and beyond our power. For example, we are asked to provide the following information concerning a large number of persons:

"INTERROGATORY 30

"...describe fully any activities, contributions, declarations, articles, speeches or other action on be half of or in support of the formation, development or conduct of the A.P.C., or any of its various chapters, branches or subdivisions, or any of the organizations, groups or units listed in answer to Interrogatory 4 (c), or on behalf or in support of any rally, exposition, congress, pilgrimage, delegation, petition campaign, ballot campaign, meeting or other function or affair conducted, sponsored or co-sponsored by or on behalf of the A.P.C., or any of its various chapters, branches or other subdivisions:

• • •

"INTERROGATORY 31

(a) Have any of those persons listed in answer to Interrogatories 3(c), 3(d), 3(f), 3(g), 5(a), 5(b), 6(b), 7(a), 7(b), 13(c), 14(b), 14(d), 16(b)(ii), 16(b)(iii), 16(b)(iv), 16(b)(vi), 17(b)(ii), 17(b)(iii), 17(b)(iv), 17(v), 17(vi), 18(b)(ii), 19(b)(ii), 19(b)(iii), 19(b)(vi), 20(b)(vii), 22(b), 23(b), 23(d), 24(b), 24(d), 25(b), 25(d), at any time been:

i. members of

ii. affiliated with

iii. sympathetically associated with

the Communist Party -- U.S.A., etc...or any groups officially designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Orders 10450 and 9835?

(b) If the answer to Interrogatory 31(a) or any part thereof is in the affirmative, list the names and addresses of all such persons and indicate the periods of time during which they were:

i. members of

ii. affiliated with

iii. sympathetically associated with

the Communist Party -- U.S.A., etc or any groups officially designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Orders 10450 and 9835?"

To conduct such an investigation would involve a research staff and funds which we do not possess. Even Congressional Committees, with the pow er of subpoena and to cite for contempt have been unable, in numerous cases, to secure such information in the face of constitutional rights of individuals . Certainly American Peace Crusade would have neither the means, the power, nor the disposition to engage in such an inquisition as called for by said interrogatories.

We cannot accept the view that it is possible to judge an organization by the activities or views of individuals who may have been associated with it. American Peace Crusade has welcomed into its membership persons of all political faiths who agreed with its objectives for honorable peace. The American Peace Crusade has at all times determined its policies and activities thr ough the decisions of its own National Committee, Resident Board and officers and received no orders or directions from outside. Its activities have never been concealed nor have we the slightest wish to conceal them from the Attorney General. Surely honest and sincere activities for peace have not become subversive in America and American Peace Crusade has engaged in no other.

Accordingly in lieu of an answer to the interrogatories, which, for the reasons above stated, we shall not answer, we attach he reto all available statements, declarations, resolutions, announcements and pronouncements, issued by and in the name of the American Peace Crusade over the years of its existence.

By these we s tand and by them we wish to be judged.

Yours truly,

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Encls:

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-5135

October 2, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

42-10-27

Mrs. Marjorie Milton, of the Arrangements Committee for the Chicago Conference, has informed me that she has wired you today confirming that the Sponsors of the Conference there enthusiastically approved your proposal that the World Peace Council award be presented when you speak on October 16th. The committee further approved your suggestion that Dr. Robert Morss Lovett present the award.

I am enclosing for your information, a copy of my most recent letter to Mr. Laffitte. I am also cabling him today to let him know that the award will be presented at the Chicago Conference and that Dr. Robert Morss Lovett will officiate.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Encl:

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-5135

October 2, 1953

35-62-17

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The enclosed is for your information. Will it be possible for you to send a greeting to this gathering?

Sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Encl:

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
125 W. 72nd Street
New York 23, N.Y.
SU 7-5135

FOR MONDAY RELEASE
October 5, 1953

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE REJECTS ATTORNEY GENERAL PROCEEDING

The American Peace Crusade has forwarded to the Attorney General of the United States 82 exhibits of documents giving the public record of its acts and policies during its three years of existence. "By these we stand and by them we wish to be judged," said the American Peace Crusade in a letter to the Attorney General stating its decision not to participate in the proceeding initiated by him five months ago with the intention of designating the Crusade as a "subversive" organization under Executive Order #10450.

Standing on its record of consistent work for peace in Korea and for world peace through international negotiations, the Crusade, in its letter, rejected the notion that "it is possible to judge an organization by the activities or views of individuals who may have been associated with it", pointing out that the Crusade has welcomed the support of all persons "of all political faiths who agreed with its objectives for honorable peace". The letter added: "Surely honest and sincere activities for peace have not become subversive in America and American Peace Crusade has engaged in no other."

Referring to the lengthy interrogatories submitted to it by the Attorney General concerning the thought, activities and associations of several score individuals in over twenty states, the Crusade's letter stated that the American Peace Crusade "would have neither the means, the power, nor the disposition to engage in such an inquisition as called for by said interrogatories."

In refusing to take part in the proceeding initiated by the Attorney General, the American Peace Crusade called the proceeding unconstitutional in its violation of due process since it involves a "hearing" in which an interested party is "at once the accuser, prosecutor, judge and jury", in which there is no guarantee that "evidence" will be more than hearsay and in which there is no opportunity for cross-examination to determine the "bias, prejudice, accuracy or mental condition of the undisclosed supplier of the information".

The Crusade asserted in its letter that it had "at all times determined its policies and activities through the decisions of its own National Committee, Resident Board and Officers and received no orders or directions from outside", and that these policies and activities had never been hidden from the public. The letter, accordingly, aske d that the American Peace Crusade be judged by this public record of work for peace.

A copy of the Crusade's letter to the Attorney General is attached.

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-5135

October 6, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Please find enclosed a copy of our reply to the Attorney General.

The letter of reply was agreed upon at the conference of September 26th, which included Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, Paul Robeson, Philip Morrison and others.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Encl:

25-48-13

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-5135

October 15, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
c/o Dr. Robert Morss Lovett
Room 312, 166 West Washington St.
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

On the occasion of the awarding to you of the International Peace Prize of the World Council of Peace, may I extend to you the warmest congratulations on behalf of the American Peace Crusade.

This award is one of the highest honors that a man or woman can receive today, embodying, as it does, the appreciation and respect of peoples all over the world for the contribution of an individual to the cause of peace.

This appreciation and respect for your great contribution to world peace and friendship between all nations are deeply shared by your associates in the American Peace Crusade. As Honorary Co-Chairman of the Crusade, you have been a constant inspiration to us all in our common work to serve the cause of peace.

We are confident that this honor which has been bestowed on you will challenge all peace workers in our country to redouble their efforts for world peace.

Very truly yours,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson
National Co-Director

25-57-5

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-5135

November 6, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am writing to confirm the time and place of the American Peace Crusade National Committee Meeting. The meeting will take place on Sunday, November 15th at 10:30 A.M. at the Cornish Arms Hotel, 23d Street and 8th Avenue, New York City. The meeting will adjourn at approximately 6:00 P.M.

Among the Sponsors and leaders of the Crusade who will be present are Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, Prof. Philip Morrison, Father Forbes, Dr. Royal France, Rev. Kuester, Dr. Barsky, Albert Kahn, Angus Cameron, Mrs. Idell Umbles, Mr. & Mrs. Henry Willcox and Dr. Willard Uphaus.

There will be several additional local peace people from Chicago. Connecticut is sending a delegation of 10. There will be a delegation from the newly organized and highly successful Atlanta Peace Council. There will also be delegations from the west coast, Michigan, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Ohio.

Rev. M.F. Hardin, a leading Negro clergyman in Cincinnati and a member of the Methodist Peace Commission, has just written that he intends to be present.

There will also be a representative delegation from New York City. I am not yet certain about Mr. Robeson's attendance, since he has a concert the next evening in Detroit, but he has indicated that he is putting it down on his calendar and willmake every effort to be present. I will be seeing him in the next few days.

We are also inviting to the meeting, individuals and leaders of groups who are not a part of the Peace Crusade, but who are concerned with the question of peace. As things look now, there will probably be in attendance as observers several who represent the Quaker point of view, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom movement and some farm spokesmen.

We are seeking to conduct the meeting on such a level that there will grow out of it minimum agreement relative to the need to organize action among the people of the United States, to influence our government towards a realistic policy of settling differences through peaceful negotiations. We would seek, at that time also, to get agreement on the launching of the first stage of a campaign which would continue until the objective of peaceful negotiations has been won.

At its meeting Thursday evening, the Resident Board of the American Peace Crusade voted to pay recognition to the award which you have recently received from the World Peace Council at the National Committee Meeting.

It was the feeling of the Board that such an action would serve to bring to the attention of those who are in attendance the existance of the strong and growing world movement for peace. The Board also felt that the American Peace Crusade must take formal cognizance of the fact that the award had been made to you and the honor which has thus been given to all Americans concerned with peace. It was the Board's thinking that even if you might find it impossible to be present for the entire meeting, that if you were present in the afternoon between the hours of 2 and 5 it would be possible to give serious attention to the award. At an appropriate time Dr. Robert Morss Lovett would be asked to make a statement on the significance of the award and the contribution to peace of the recipient. We would hope that it would be possible for you to make some remarks in reply.

The Resident Board has asked me to bring to your attention its proposal and to work out with you the time whem you might find it convenient to be present on the 15th.

25-6-8-21

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Nov. 9, 1953

Mr. Thomas Richardson
American Peace Crusade
125 West 72 St.
New York 23, NY

25-68-19

My dear Mr. Richardson:

I regret to say that I shall be unable to attend the meeting of the American Peace Crusade Sunday, November 15th at the Cornish Arms Hotel.

I shall, however, if it is practicable, be glad to arrange for the exhibit of the gold medal and diploma, and also to have my books on sale.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Amer. Peace Crusade]

CO-DIRECTOR'S REPORT TO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING
Cornish Arms Hotel - New York City
November 15, 1953

On behalf of the American Peace Crusade I want to thank all of the delegates, guests and observers who have come together with us today at this extremely important meeting of our National Committee.

I am sure that I can, in the name of all of you, express our appreciation to our friends in the New York Council of the American Peace Crusade for the cooperation in physical arrangements and for the warm hospitality which is being shown to all who are in attendance at this meeting.

Since we last met in an American Peace Crusade national gathering in Chicago, March, 1953, new developments for a peaceful world have appeared upon the horizon. In the first place, the killing has stopped in Korea and a cease-fire is in effect in that war-torn and devastated land. The achievement of a truce in Korea is a great victory for peace-loving people in the United States and throughout the world. It demonstrates the futility of settlement of differences between nations by force and lights up much more brightly the path for peace between nations through a policy of negotiations.

A cease-fire in Korea, however, does not lead automatically to world peace. There are in this country today some who feel that peace is in the bag; there are others who feel war is inevitable. Both these positions weaken the fight for peace.

There is no doubt that the threat of resumption of the fighting in Korea; the danger of new Koreas developing in other parts of the world, such as Israel, Viet Nam, Trieste and British Guiana have become even more serious. The growing divisions over the question of Germany and its remilitarization, and the dangers of the policy of remilitarization of Japan pose grave questions for the future of mankind.

Over this whole situation hangs the continued tensions of cold war and a persistently growing threat of atomic or hydrogen warfare.

Accompanying the tension which is now characteristic of the international scene is the increased denial of basic civil liberties and civil rights of the people of the United States, continued high taxes and high prices and the announcement of new plans for the revival of efforts to secure Universal Military Training.

However, it cannot be denied that the ending of the fighting in Korea through a policy of negotiations offers new possibilities for the attainment of world peace. Public opinion, both in the United States and in the world, was a decisive factor in the ending of a war which was already in process. If the majority of the people of the United States had not, in one form or another, pressed for an end to the war in Korea, the conclusion of that war would not have come so speedily. As the recognition grows that the cease-fire is a victory of peoples of the world, people everywhere, including those in the United States who are concerned with peace, gain

new strength and confidence that a policy of negotiations can prevent war.

The direction of opinion in the world and here at home is moving rapidly towards a position which says "if a policy of negotiations can stop a war already in progress, then a policy of negotiations can prevent the outburst of new wars and can eventually lead to the relaxation of tensions between nations and the development of friendship, trade and security for all the peoples of the world."

Such a position is not mere conjecture. We would direct your attention to the growing expressions in the United States and in the world calling for negotiations between nations to settle differences. Only last week the Gallup Poll revealed that 79% of the voters of this country want a meeting between the Big 4 to negotiate settlement of the cold war.

In March '53 the 1,350,000 member CIO United Auto Workers Convention resolved that "lasting peace has never been and will not be won for the people of the world by war, but some day an enduring peace may be achieved through the long and patient process of negotiating settlements of international differences." Late in September Adlai Stevenson declared that "the door to the conference room is the door to peace. Let it never be said that America was reluctant to enter". The General Council of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States, in a letter to its 8,000 congregations, said "Let us always be ready to meet around a conference table with the rulers of Communist countries. There should be, therefore, no reluctance to employ the conference method to the full in the settling of disputes with our country's enemies."

The above are typical of new powerful and important groupings who today see a policy of negotiations as thesolution to the problems of the world and as a prerequisite for the solution of the growing economic and social problems of our own nation. They are only an index of the breadth of reactions calling for negotiations. A rough tabulation of the number of people in the United States, who through their organizations or leaders have spoken out for a policy of negotiations comes to tens of millions.

Important as this fact is in itself, there are even deeper conclusions which can be drawn from these new expressions. First of all, the growing number of expressions in the UnitedStates for peaceful negotiations indicate that a growing number of American people have begun to accept the fact that it is possible and even necessary for nations of different economic and social systems to live in the same world in peace and in friendship. By the same token, it is logical to conclude that an increasing number of Americans is beginning to accept the fact that war is not inevitable. The American people, like the people of the world, are tired and war weary.

Certainly the casualties suffered in Korea and the heartbreak to which many mothers and families were exposed as a result of these casualties, together with the growing domestic impact of an armaments race have helped to produce this situation.

These factors have all led to a greater search on the part of many Americans for a peaceful alternative to war. Allen Drury, writing for the Palo Alto Times in August, 1953, puts it thus: "It is much easier to build armaments and drift into conflict and slaughter human beings by the millions. This has always been the easy way out, and it is the method humanity has always followed. Now that the ultimate of weapons have been placed in the hands of two great powers, however, it is really the way out -- right out of existence. If anybody is s till interested in existence some other method will have to be found."

It is logical, then to ask why there has been no meeting between the heads of the governments of the major powers of the world to negotiate differences. It will be recalled that during the past 8 months the new heads of the governments in the United States and in the Soviet Union have indicated in one way or another that none of the issues are insoluble. Moreover, from Prime Minister Churchill have come repeated requests that the major nations of the world, including the United States and the Soviet Union, meet to resolve their differences. Such a request has been supported by Prime Minister Nehru of India and President Auriol of France. Mr. Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, in October 1953 indicated the belief of his government that international disputes should be settled through mutual discussions and negotiations.

In spite of these declarations, there has not yet been a meeting of the major powers. Why has the policy of negotiations not become the practice of the day?

It is our belief that an essential part of the answer may be found in the fact that the peoples involved have not yet imposed their will for peace on their governments. For us, here in the United States, this requires serious examination, particularly in view of the fact that last week it w as announced that the heads of governments from the United States, Great Britain and theRepublic of France would meet in Bermuda in early December.

Mr. Churchill's persistent e ffort to bring about a meeting between the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and the othe r major powers flows directly from the great concern of the British people for an opportunity to solve their problems in an atmosphere of world peace. He has had repeated mandates from all sections of the British people for an end to the cold war. Mr. Auriol has also been receiving from major sections of the French population mandate after mandate for the ending of the cold war. The French peop le do not want a remilitarized Germany on their border s.

During and since the last Presidential election, President Eisenhower has also received mandates from different representative sections of the American people on the question of peace and the consequences of the cold war. He himself has indicated that the issues confronting the nations of the world are not insoluble.

At one time he stated that he would go anywhere and talk to anybody if it would help assure peace and if it was the will of the American people. He himself has told of the heavy cost of the armaments race and has given a graphic picture of the blessings which would come to the American people in an era of peace.

Eisenhower, Churchill, Auriol -- these, then, are the heads of government who will go to Bermuda in December. Should we expect anything less than an announcement from Bermuda that there will be a meeting of the major powers of the world to negotiate differences and to end the cold war? Such expectations would seem logical, except for one or two factors.

While President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles have expressed on occasion a willingness to negotiate, some of their actions seem to contradict these statements. For instance, a majority of the governments of the world feel that a round table conference, including neutral nations such as India, will be necessary for the fruitful negotiations of a Korean peace, but our government has opposed this concept. Instead of beginning negotiations, there seems to be a search for excuses to delay them. In view of this situation, one can well ask will there come from Bermuda new plans and new actions which discard the possibility of negotiations and lead us closer to incidents which can set off World War III?

If this is to be prevented, all of us in the United States who yearn for a secure and peaceful world must make known to our representatives at Bermuda our belief that the traditional American approach towards negotiations is one which must be followed by them and put forth as an offer to those with whom we intend to negotiate.

Throughout the history of this country the practice of horse trading and bargaining has been a characteristic of our pattern of life. How do the farmers approach the trading of a horse at the county fair? They don't say before they begin to talk that the horse must have five legs and two heads, or that the buyer must have a steam heated stable. Instead, both buyer and seller approach the trade on the simple assumption that the buyer is seeking a horse and the seller wishes to sell a horse. With that approach they then settle down into an exchange of offers, which usually results, after a period of compromises, on an agreement in price. This has been the approach between Americans towards reaching agreement on differences. Would it not seem that the same approach is possible in the broader arena of international relations? Would it not seem that our own representatives would be the first to respond to this sort of thinking in relation to the settlement of international differences?

Secretary Dulles has said that our government does not want to enter into any negotiations on the German question which might jeopardize German remilitarization. The Soviet Union has stated that she feels that the rearming of Germany constitutes a threat to the security of Europe and that she wants negotiations to remove that

threat. It is about time that the people of the United States examined those positions, without blindly rushing to say that one is right and the other wrong simply because our diplomats may be supporting one stand. What would be the position of the American people if Mexico had been the source for the ignition of two world wars which devastated North America. Let us say that the Soviet Union, this time, was insisting on rearming Mexico over our most fervent objections and refused to negotiate this issue with us. Would we then think that the Soviet Union was seeking negotiations in good faith?

So the very approach to negotiations requires a live-and-let-live attitude. It requires an end to inflexible attitudes in the conducting of foreign relations. If an inflexible approach is maintained, then certainly negotiations to end the cold war are doomed to failure if, indeed, they ever get under way.

What then is the responsibility of the peace loving peoples of the United States? It is incumbent upon us, all of us, to deliver again to the President and to our other governmental leaders, a mandate which says in no unmistakable terms that we want an end to international tensions through a policy of negotiations which can only come about if there is a demonstrated and non-provocative approach on the part of all who are to enter into such negotiations. We call for a flexible, human approach towards the question of peace talks. We echo the recent letter of the Presbyterians which quotes the words of God to Israel through the prophet Isaiah, "Come now and let us reason together".

It is clear that the people of the United States have as yet failed to impose their will for peace and security upon the leaders of our government, even though the talk about negotiations has increased. It is necessary at least to try to discover why the people have not been successful. It is clear that the leaders of our government, pressed from all sides by special interest groups, will listen only to the most resounding cries from the people.

If this is the case, then let us find the way for the people to be heard. The answer can be found again in the history and the traditions of these United States. When the people of the newly-born American Republic decided that the Constitution did not fully protect their hard-won liberties, they acted with imagination and determination to win the Bill of Rights. When we believed that the women of this nation were entitled to suffrage, we found a way to insert the guarantee of that right into the Constitution. When the labor movement fought for the 8 hour day and for other demands in the interest of its members, it did so with ingenuity and courage. It took initiative and persistance to win our system of free public schools.

If the characteristics of any of these popular movements in our history were applied to our desire for a peaceful world and a secure United States, our leaders would listen. If we brought to our movement for peace the imagination, courage and determination, yes, and sacrifice made by Americans in other periods of our history, we would be taking a giant step on the road to a future of happiness and security for all mankind.

If is clear that the American people, in their search for peaceful negotiations and for domestic security and liberties must move from positions of mere utterances and statements to action. Can we not consider several possibilitie s to achieve this?

If each of the 1,350,000 members of the CIO auto workers simply wrote a post-card to the President supporting their Union's convention resolution for peace through negotiations, Mr. Eisenhower would be aware that the auto workers were not content to permit their resolution to remain on paper. If the over 30 million people who voted for Adlai Stevenson in the last presidential elections could, through letters, post cards, wires and delegations express themselves in support of Mr. Stevenson's position on negotiations, would not that indicate to our government the desire of a substantial grouping for peace? If the supporters of Mr. Eisenhower in the past presidential elections, called upon him through delegations, telephone calls, wires, letters and resolutions, to act now in carrying out the promises for peace that he made during and since the elections, would that not change the position of our national leaders and speed the m towards a conference with the major powers of the world?

In considering these possibilities we realize that there is a major phenomenon which stands as a barrier to the sort of free and full expression described above. We refer to the existence of McCarthyism in our land. As great as its impact has been on the denial of civil liberties to the people of the United States, the impact of this phenomenon on our foreign policy has been even greater. McCarthyism is a philosophy which seeks to impose the views of a minority by denying the right of free expression of opinion, the right of individuals and groupings to disagree with official doctrine. The philosophy of McCarthyism by its very nature rules out the concept of free and full discussion and exchange of ideas. The philosophy of McCarthyism rules out the words of God to Israel -- "Come now and let us reason together".

The inflexibility of McCarthyism is a characteristic of our position in international relations. The philosophy of McCarthyism derives its power from the tensions and hatreds inherent in a policy of force. Until all of us see that McCarthyism has been the virulent expression of these characteristics in our international relations, the source of McCarthyism will not be eliminated and we will face the

growing danger of world war and the drowning out of the constitutional liberties of the people of our own country.

Should a policy of negotiations become the order of the day for the nations of the world, in the spirit of give-and-take and of reasoning together, the well from which McCarthyism draws its substance would dry out.

When we talk about negotiations we are not only referring to the end-product of real negotiations which would result in a peace agreement -- we are not only talking of a specific act in the form of a confe rence of the major powers, or even only of a specific 4 power conference on Germany. We are talking of a new international atmosphere in which all disagreements between nations will be settled around the conference table rather than on the battlefield. We are talking about an atmosphere in which trade between nations will grow . We are talking about an atmosphere in which ~~cultural exchange will~~ be a great factor. We are talking about an atmosphere where there will be between the young people of the world friendship instead of the bitterness and enmity of the of the battlefield.

Even though we do not talk of a specific conference here in detail, we must say, however, that world peace cannot be achieved without a sitting down and reasoning together on the part of at least five of the great powers of the world -- the United States, the Soviet Union, England, France and the People's Republic of China. It would be for this conference and any other conference called to settle differences between nations to meet and reason until agreement has been achieved, no matter how long that may take. The time of diplomats and negotiators can not be compared with mankind's most precious blessing -- the lives and the future of the youth of the world. The longest negotiations are shorter than the shortest atomic or Hydrogen war.

There are those in our government who argue that the government of the People's Republic of China does not represent that nation. Therefore, they have constantly fought against the inclusion of that government into the United Nations. The most logical answer to such an argument has been supplied by a group of teenagers, who in the New York Times Youth Forum discussion, televised recently, stated among other things, that the People's Government of China should be represented in the United Nations because it has the support of the Chinese people and Chiang Kai-shek does not. Speakers on the forum also stated that all countries should be able to meet in the United Nations and talk out their differences instead of killing. Dag Hammarskjold, who was a guest on thesame program, said that the aim of the United Nations must be to get China into that organization.

One thing is clear and that is that the People's Government of China represents the five hundred million Chinese people and is supported by them. No relaxation

of international tensions will occur without the People's Republic of China having full and equal representation in the halls of the United Nations and in any conference between the major powers of the world.

The attitude expressed against the admission of China in the United Nations reveals a dangerous kind of thinking, which would place our nation in a position of refusing to seek the way to live peacefully with all other nations. It would place our nation in a position of trying to tell other nations who should and who should not be their leaders; how they should or should not conduct their affairs and govern themselves. Such thinking leads to a conclusion which would penalize those nations whose governments were unpopular with us. Thus they would be subjected to discriminatory and unequal treatment which could only contribute to the increase of tensions rather than their relaxation.

This point is important because indications of such an attitude on the part of our diplomats has led us into a position of refusing to recognize the rights of nations to determine their own destiny. With the great upsurge of independence movements among the colonial peoples in Asia and in Africa, in the Carribean and in Latin America, such an attitude can not help but bring us into direct and sharp conflict with peoples who are in the year of 1953 seeking to determine their own future, as the 13 colonies successfully determined the future of the United States in 1776. The Colonial peoples, comprising the majority of the world's population, are now moving for independence and for freedom to determine their own future. This fact serves to underscore the danger of any policy which attempts to interfere with such independence movements.

We are becoming more and more the objects of dislike in the eyes of the people of Europe and Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Carribean. They have a distorted picture of the United States because they have been able to see only our armed strength and they have been able to feel only the impact of our inflexible foreign policy which has stood on the side of their oppressors in Tunisia, South Africa, British Guiana and elsewhere.

Protestations of our diplomats that we are on the side of freedom become hollow when we have representing us in the United Nations today an individual who refuses to understand the yearnings and aspirations of colored peoples at home and throughout the world, for full freedom and human dignity. I refer to Governor James Byrnes of South Carolina. As long as Mr. Byrnes represents our government at the United Nations, we will present to the world a symbol of neither tolerance, reason, or compassion -- all so essential for the achievement of understanding and peace.

The American Peace Crusade, composed of men and women of different backgrounds, was formed in 1951 on the simple proposition that there is an alternative to war; namely, a policy of peaceful negotiations which, if successfully applied, will serve to strengthen the United Nations as a peace force in the world.

During the past year or more, individuals who are part of the American Peace Crusade have been engaged in a process of consultations with many different persons and organizations, most of whom are not a part of the American Peace Crusade. These discussions have revealed that in every section of our national life the consequences of the cold war and international tensions are being felt more sharply.

Among the pacifist groupings there is a strong feeling that the inflexibility of our nation's foreign policy is a block which prevents the carrying out of reconciliation and negotiations between nations. Among the religious groupings in our nation there is a growing concern over the moral degradation into which we are being forced because of this inflexible foreign policy. Religious people are concerned over the fact that such a policy carries us away from the day when our swords will be beaten into plowshares.

Among the working men and women of the nation there is a growing concern over the high taxes, high prices and the mounting unemployment. They are expressing a desire to see the nation's purchasing power rise to meet the nation's production power through an unfolding program of social services which would provide badly needed schools, highways, hospitals, houses and other needed services. This would also provide jobs for those who have begun to enter into the market place of the unemployed. They are preoccupied now with the question whether peace will bring unemployment. They are taking steps to see that this does not come to pass. The forthcoming CIO auto workers conference on unemployment in Washington in December is one indication. The Farm Equipment workers of the midwest, who are now experiencing large lay-offs, recently sent numerous delegations to Washington, calling for East-West trade. The resolution of the AFL convention recently stated that labor "does not fear peace...The country can prosper internally in a peacetime economy." Labor is also concerned with issues related to peace, such as a shorter work week and a shorter work day.

The farmers of the nation are angry at the lack of adequate federal drought control. They are concerned with the threat of UMT, which would take from them their sons who help them on the farms. They are desirous that the new techniques of atomic energy be utilized not for war, but for the development of cheap electrical power and other peace time needs. Many of them located in the rich middle west farm lands, the bread basket of our nation, see that the expansion of trade with the nations of the East would contribute to an increased income for the farmers. In this respect they are in agreement with the growing number of industrial workers who be-

lieve that East-West trade can also help to solve the problem of unemployment.

The Negro people are pressing, as they have never pressed before, for full citizenship and freedom. They are concerned with the denial of freedom to the African people. They are feeling more sharply than any other section of our population the rising unemployment, the lack of schools, houses, hospitals and playgrounds because of a system of jim-crow. Through their principal civil rights organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples, they are raising a demand for freedom by '63. Numerous important Negro organizations and leaders have expressed themselves for a policy of conciliation, negotiation and understanding among nations so that the world may have peace. These include the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World. The 6 million member National Baptist Convention recently established a Commission on International Affairs.

The CIO United Packinghouse Workers, at their recent national Anti-Discrimination Conference, pointed out that a peaceful world is a world without discrimination. We can agree with such an expression, but it is necessary that we add one comment -- that the end of discrimination can only come in a world at peace.

Among the youth there is a restless stirring. They are no longer content to be the voiceless generation. They are no longer content to be the ones who spill their rich life blood thousands of miles from home, on some lonely hillside without ever having had the chance to really know what a full life can be. They are desirous of jobs, educational opportunities, opportunities for happy marriage and decent home life, opportunities for the realization of their highest aspirations. They are concerned with the exchange of friendship and experiences with youth of all other lands. This concern was indicated by the response of U.S. students to the college editors who recently returned from a visit to the Soviet Union. Youth wants peace and friendship instead of theexchange of bullets and bombs across some ravaged battlefield.

The women of the nation - mothers, wives, sweethearts and sisters, those who exercise upon our young people the greatest influence as they move towards adult life- are unwilling to see the product of their labor pains and of their years of sacrifice and care snatched away, put into a uniform, shipped away, often never to be seen again - or returned to them as strangers, changed unalterably by the brutal experiences of war.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, conducting campaign after campaign for an end to the war in Korea, for world disarmament, for support of the United Nations, is one of the examples of organized expression of the concern which women of our country feel about wars.

Among the nationality groups there is a great concern over the world situation today. Those with European backgrounds are alarmed at the prospect of the remilitarization of Germany which would impede the achievement of a unified peaceful Germany. Those of Asian-Pacific backgrounds are concerned over the remilitarization of Japan. Those of Latin-American, West Indian and African origin are troubled by the outside interference hindering the full and free development of these nations. The Jewish people are greatly disturbed by the new developments in the Middle East, involving Israel. All these questions must be solved if peace is to be assured. None can be solved outside of a policy of negotiations. They are of importance to the entire peace movement.

We are sure there are many here from labor, religion, Negro and youth organizations who will give additional examples which point to the rising desires of the people of the United States for a peaceful world. We hope that the representatives here from the American Women from Peace and the American Youth Peace Crusade, which have carried on their own consultations, will also give us their experiences.

One of the most heartening developments which has occurred during the process of consultation with the r groups is the unanimous concern expressed by all of them over the efforts of Attorney General Brownell to have the APC listed as a subversive organization.

One thing is made clear -- that the attack which has been directed against APC is also beginning to be directed against various other peace organizations and individuals who have spoken out for sanity in international affairs.

We all recall the case of the British pacifist Stewart Morris, who came to this country at the invitation of the American Friends Service Committee and who was detained at Ellis Island for some time. Only recently a meeting place was denied in California to Bishop Oxnam of the Methodist Church. Several leading daily newspapers have already opened an attack on the Presbytarian Church of the United States for its recent statement on peaceful negotiations. World Peace Workshop, scheduled for this week-end in Wooster, Ohio, was at first canceled and then postponed because two of the featured speakers were accused of being left-wingers. The two speakers were Prof. Kermit Eby of the University of Chicago and Sherman L. Witman, Executive Director of the Cleveland Council on World Affairs. The principal address was to have been delivered by Ernest Gross, former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. under the Truman Administration. And now we have the spectacle of a former President of the United States being subpoenaed.

It is logical to conclude from these few experiences, and we are sure that you here have many additional ones, that to speak out and work for a policy of negotiations and reason is to put oneself into direct conflict with those who support positions of inflexibility and solutions by force.

We in the American Peace Crusade have given our answer to the Attorney General's proposal to list us as a subversive organization. We take the occasion of this National Committee Meeting to ask Mr. Brownell if it is subversive and treasonable to have pressed for an end to the war in Korea; to have pressed for a return of our boys to their homes? Is it subversive to have worked for a policy of negotiations between the major powers of the world, to have called for a foreign policy which recognizes the rights of the colonial peoples to determine their own destiny? Is it subversive to have presented to the American people, on several different occasions, instruments and methods by which they could express more effectively their mandate in regard to the need for a foreign policy of peace?

We are proud of our record. On it we stand and on it we wish to be judged!

Perhaps it would be valuable here to indicate some of the developments for which the American Peace Crusade has been responsible, either through its National Committee or through local councils in various sections of the country.

Immediately after the achievement of a truce in Korea an American Peace Crusade delegation called upon the leaders of the various nations in the United Nations and urged that the principle of negotiations, which had been so successfully used in the ending of the killing in Korea, be utilized to end the cold war and to resolve differences between nations.

The various councils of the American Peace Crusade conducted intensive campaigns throughout the country, urging that the example achieved in Korea be applied to the question of world peace. In Chicago, Illinois, American Peace Crusade Sponsors and leaders, including Dr. Carlson, Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, Rev. Evans, Mrs. Idell Umbles and Ernest DeMaio, united with other individuals and groupings concerned with peace to hold on October 16th a city-wide conference for world peace through negotiations. The experiences of that conference indicate that similar events should be duplicated in many other sections of the country with good and effective results.

In Los Angeles and San Francisco, long-term campaigns for peace through negotiations are being conducted, involving the use of post cards, fact sheets, leaflets, visits and consultations with churches, labor unions and community organizations.

In Connecticut plans have been completed for the unfolding of a state-wide campaign around the issue of world peace through negotiations. From Philadelphia, just last week, came a full bus-load of men and women to confer with leaders at the United Nations on the question of peaceful negotiations. The New York Council of the American Peace Crusade is at present engaged in the preliminary steps of a campaign which will be launched shortly around the question of negotiations.

Perhaps the most exciting activity comes from the Atlanta, Georgia Peace Council which has delegates here today. This Council, starting small, against almost insurmountable odds of threats of violence and ridicule has now reached the stage

where its repres entatives are appearing as speakers before many of the principal community organizations of that city. Of all of the councils of the country, the Atlanta, Georgia, Council stands first in utilizing our new American Peace Crusade newspaper, The Peace Reporter, as an instrument of peace education and peace organizations.

These examples, which are only a few of the developments taking place around the country, combined with the consultations mentioned earlier, make us conclude that there is a deep desire in this land as never before, a deep-running desire and determination that we have peace and security.

Growing numbers of people realize that the only way to achieve this is through the negotiated settlement of international problems.

But neither the end of the cold war nor the necessary negotiations to accomplish this will happen automatically. It will require a greater effort by the people to translate their desire for peace into concrete policies of the government. Without such an effort, these policies will reflect the pressures of those who are opposed to negotiations for peaceful existence with the socialist part of the world.

In making this effort, the Amo rican people will not be alone. In other countries of the world, the people are calling upon their governments to pursue a policy of negotiation of differences between nations. In some countries, as in Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, the Soviet Union, India, China, Indonesia, Burma, Japan, Brazil, Chile, Canada and Mexico, this movement of the people on behalf of great power negotiations is so strong that a government which wants their support must give expression in its policies to their demand for negotiations. It is this growing movement of the people in the various nations of the world on behalf of peace through negotiations which is the surest guarantee for the securing of world peace.

As the people in other countries meet their responsibility to ensure that their governments support a policy of negotiation, the American people too must make the effort requires to mee t this responsibility if world peace is to be guaranteed. To do this, it is necessary for the American people to move beyond the passive support for a policy of negotiation to end the cold war and to prevent world w ar. It is necessary for the people to find the ways to give active support for this policy.

We would recommend that from this National Committee meeting of the American Peace Crusade be issued an Appeal to the Americ an people to speak out and act for a policy of world peace through negotiations. Such an Appeal might be brief and to the point. It would see k to state in simple language why a policy of negotiations is required in order to meet the needs of the Amo rican people. It would seek to challenge all sections of our nation to find the ways to make effective their desire that negotiat ions to end the cold war take place.

We would also recommend that this meeting of the National Committee of the American Peace Crusade make its own contribution in offering the people an instrument through which some of them can act for peace by recording their will for negotiations. We would propose that the American Peace Crusade take the initiative in launching a National Referendum through which a sampling of opinion in favor of negotiations can be made. The use of the vote and the ballot box by the people in order to obtain from the government what they desire is the heart of American democratic process. Since the American people most fervently want peace, the opportunity to vote on this single question of war or peace is most certainly appropriate. At the same time, a vote for peace is an act for peace - an act for peace which can have telling effect on statesmen and politicians, as proven by the results of the Crusade's referendum for a Cease-fire in Korea last year. Where this Referendum was conducted wisely and where its results were used effectively, the Referendum played a real role in forcing into the forefront of the presidential election campaign the question of ending the war in Korea. A National Referendum on the question of peace through negotiations can have even greater results if properly conducted.

In recommending the launching by this meeting of a major, long-term campaign in this form on behalf of peace through negotiations, we are proposing that all our other work in the Crusade be related to, or spring from, our efforts to make such a National Referendum as effective as possible in bringing the question of international negotiations to the forefront of public discussions on the problems facing the American people. Through the National Referendum, we would bring into every section of American life the proposition that the only way to meet the needs of the people is by achieving an end of the cold war through negotiations.

An integral part of such a campaign, along with the balloting for the Referendum, would be greatly increased activities for peace education and for peace action. As the people begin to turn more and more towards peace as the answer to their problems, we must be prepared to answer their questions about peace issues. At the same time, we must help them express, in a continuous way, their concern for peace over and beyond the simple act of voting for peace. Even before the National Referendum begins, as well as during it, we should encourage the widest expression of public concern for peace to members of Congress and to President Eisenhower. The Christmas and New Years season is an appropriate time for the people to express to the President their desire for peace by sending greeting cards. We would hope that in every part of the country delegations of all sorts can be organized to call on local Congressmen, now that they are in their home districts, so that when Congress reconvenes in January the Congressmen will return to Washington with a clear mandate from their constituents to act for peace. It would also be very desirable if

there could be organized a representative lobby of the people at the time of the reconvencing of Congress in order to make this mandate even more strongly felt.

While the National Referendum on peace through negotiations would be the central instrument through which the Crusade would press the issue of the need for peace talks between the nations, certainly we would seek to find every means to encourage other forms of expression of public opinion in support of a policy of peace. We would seek to continue our work of consultation and stimulation in circles outside of the Crusade movement.

While this meeting of the National Committee cannot concern itself with the details of the internal problems of the American Peace Crusade, it would be in order for us to reaffirm the general principles which have guided our work in building the Crusade movement. These principles were clearly defined at our last National Committee meeting last March in Chicago. Without the application of these principles in the life of the Crusade movement across the country, it will be impossible for the Crusade to meet the great responsibilities now before it.

Since the National Committee meeting in Chicago, certain steps recommended there to strengthen the Crusade have been carried out. A Resident Board of the Crusade has been established and is functioning with increasing effectiveness. This Board has set up under its direction a number of sub-committees to enable it to work more effectively.

Since the Chicago meeting, the regular newspaper of the Crusade, the Peace Reporter, has been launched. The experience of the Atlanta Peace Council proves that the Peace Reporter can be a most effective means for building the Crusade movement and for increasing peace education and action. This Council has already obtained over one hundred subscriptions by taking the Peace Reporter to the people through door to door canvassing. They report a warm response to their efforts. We shall hear more about this from them in the course of our meeting.

In addition to the Peace Reporter, we are beginning a bi-monthly service - Facts for Peace - in order to meet the need for well-documented reports on various peace issues.

All of this is a good beginning toward carrying out the perspectives for a national American Peace Crusade movement adopted by the Chicago meeting. But much more must be done.

We would propose that, in the course of the major campaign on negotiations, we seek to build APC committees and councils across the country - or to revitalize such committees and councils where they have become inactive. We would propose that where there are persons having contacts with other individuals concerned with peace, every effort be made to make peace committees out of these groupings of individuals. We would propose that the Crusade provide the educational and organizational services

necessary to guarantee such developments in our movement.

In order to permit the full use of our financial resources for this end, we are recommending that the budget of the national office of the Crusade be cut to a minimum, and steps have already been taken in this direction. But even with the taking of stern measures of economy in the operation of the national office, it will not be possible for the Crusade to make progress in the realization of the perspective outlined above unless local peace groups share the financial burden of this work. This burden can no longer be born by the National Office alone. The Chicago meeting of the National Committee of the Crusade correctly emphasized the need for local peace groups to include support of the national office in their budgets. We are sorry to report that this part of the decisions of the Chicago meeting has not been carried out anywhere in the country.

Another step which must be taken in order to strengthen the organization of the American Peace Crusade movement is to add new officers who will help the National Co-Director and share with him the responsibilities of the national leadership. We would recommend that the Resident Board be authorized to look into this situation and to take action on it.

We shall hear later in this meeting from representatives of the American Women for Peace. We would report to you now that the American Women for Peace have indicated the desire to merge with the American Peace Crusade and to find with us the best way to develop organizational forms which will help to assure that the work for peace among the women in America will go on ever more effectively.

The American Youth Peace Crusade likewise has been giving thought as to the best organizational forms to help assure the youth's great contribution in the work for peace. The representatives of the Youth Peace Crusade may wish to make some recommendations along these lines later in our meeting.

As our work unfolds in the months ahead, we may find that special organizational forms within the Crusade will be required to deal with the special problems of the work for peace in other parts of American life - such as in labor or among farmers or among the Negro people.

As can be seen from the above and from the over-all picture in the work for peace outlined in the first part of this report, our movement is entering into a significant period. The American Peace Crusade movement is reaching a stage in its development when it will be challenged as never before to carry out great tasks to assure victory in the battle for peace. The nature of these tasks will be defined not only by threats of war or failures of governments to pursue a policy of negotiation. It will be defined also by the great new currents of opinion now beginning to stir in American life. If we do our work with vision, imagination and determination in the months ahead, these powerful currents can become part of the movement of the

FROM: THE AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
125 West 72nd Street
New York 23, N.Y.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
PLEASE

85-56-22

DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS IS HONORED

The award of the International Peace Prize of the World Council of Peace to Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois was a highlight of the National Committee Meeting of the American Peace Crusade held on Sunday, November 15th, at the Hotel Cornish Arms in New York City.

Dr. Du Bois, Honorary Co-Chairman of the American Peace Crusade, was one of six international prize winners who were honored by the World Council of Peace for their creative work in the letters, arts or sciences making an outstanding contribution to world peace and friendship between the peoples. Each prize consists of a gold medal, a diploma and a cash award of about $6500.

The presentation of the gold medal and the diploma was made by Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, Professor Emeritus of Chicago University and former Secretary of the Virgin Islands. In receiving the award for her husband, Mrs. Shirley Graham Du Bois, noted author, said: "This honor to my husband honors too his fellow workers for peace in America. The prize expresses the deep appreciation of the peace-loving people of other countries for the efforts for peace being made here."

The National Committee Meeting, attended by 75 delegates from such widely separated areas as Georgia, Massachusetts, Michigan and Maryland, heard a report from Mr. Thomas Richardson, former chairman of the Anti-Discrimination Committee of the United Public Workers, who is National Co-Director of the Crusade.

In his report, Mr. Richardson decried the fact that the United States is being represented today in the United Nations by a person "who refuses to understand the yearnings and aspirations of colored peoples at home and throughout the world for full freedom and human dignity." He went on to say: "As long as Mr. Byrnes represents our government at the United Nations, we will present tp the world a symbol of neither tolerance, reason or compassion - all so essential for the achievement of understanding and peace."

A National Referendum for peace through negotiations was launched at the meeting. An Appeal to the American People was also adopted, calling upon all organizations and individuals "to press in every way for negotiations to assure peace." The Appeal pointed out that America must have peace in order to have jobs, security and a happy future for children and youth.

Further information about the International Peace Prize is attached.

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-5135

December 1, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Please find enclosed a copy of the Appeal To The People Of The United States, which was agreed upon at the National Committee Meeting of the American Peace Crusade on November 15th.

We would like to secure the public endorsement of several hundred prominent Americans for this Appeal. Would you be willing to join with Dr. Lovett, Prof. Morrison, Mr. John Gojack, Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith and Father Forbes in sending a letter of invitation to secure public endorsement?

I am enclosing, for your information, a draft copy of such a letter.

I will call you on Wednesday afternoon.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

TR/im
Encls:

25-48-10

A P P E A L

to the

P E O P L E of the U N I T E D S T A T E S

AMERICA MUST HAVE PEACE.
Peace for jobs. Peace for security.
Peace for the happy future of our children and youth.

War will solve nothing. Atomic war would destroy everything.

The people together can stop war. The truce in Korea proves this.

More and more Americans are urging that our government take the only road to peace: the negotiation of all differences between nations - especially between the Great Powers.

The people together can secure negotiation of the major issues causing international tensions. They can overcome any effort to obstruct agreement between nations.

Negotiations in the spirit of give and take, in the spirit of live and let live, can bring about a world in which trade and friendship will replace fear and force.

The longest negotiations are better than one day of killing.

Let us all press in every way for negotiations to assure peace.

If we insist, peace will prevail.

THE AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

25-48-12

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-5135

December 17, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York City, NY

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Please find enclosed a check for $100, which we are sending as an installment on the debt still owed to you by the American Peace Crusade from the dinner in 1952. Payments will be much more frequent and regular in the future.

May I extend best wishes to you and Mrs. DuBois for a happy holiday.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Encl:

25-53 11

COPY

[Amer. Peace Crusade]

Dear Friend:

Several weeks ago the Gallup Poll reported that 79% of the voters of the United States favored a meeting between the Big Four. In September Adlai Stevenson said that "The door to the conference room is the door to peace. Let it never be said that America was reluctant to enter." In October Jacob Potofsky, President of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers stated that "...there are no international conflicts which cannot be resolved by negotiations..." Only recently the General Council of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States stated that "...talk, unhurried talk, talk which does not rule out in advance the possibility of success...is the only kind of approach which can lead to sanity and fruitful understanding."

People everywhere were heartened by reports on Thanksgiving Day of the new possibilities for talks between the governments of the United States, USSR, Great Britain and France.

We are sure that you join us in welcoming these recent developments for the liberty and well being of the American people can only be assured in a peaceful world.

We are enclosing, for your information, a copy of an Appeal To The People of the United States recently issued by the American Peace Crusade. We believe that this Appeal expresses, in a simple and uncomplicated way, the needs and desires of the people of the United States for a peaceful world. We believe that this Appeal should be brought to the attention of all individuals and organizations concerned with peace as they press for peace negotiations.

25-48-11

We invite you to join us in the public endorsement of this Appeal. Such endorsement carries with it no organizational committments.

We hope that in addition to joining us in the endorsement, you will find the occasion to speak out on this matter in your own organization and community.

Any comments you may care to send us relative to your endorsement of the Appeal will be greatly appreciated.

We are enclosing, for your convenience, a reply form and self-addressed return envelope. Your early reply will be most helpful.

Yours sincerely,

[American-Russian Literary and Music Agency]

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EDWIN S. SMITH, Manager

December 29,1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Ct
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The enclosed review of your play "Haiti" appears in the Soviet magazine NEWS #24 for December 1953.

I thought you would be interested to see it.

Sincerely yours,

Edwin S. Smith

ESS:ls
~~encl.~~

filed in Biographical folder

25-49-27

[Amos]

3 Ashby St., S.W.
Atlanta, Ga.
January 4, 1953

Dear Mrs. DuBois,

Enclosed is a check for $25.00, a token representing my respect and admiration for Dr. DuBois.

42-IC-9

You are more than kind to insist on adding my name to the Committee for the DuBois Foundation, but I must ask you not to do so. I have refused to help in other causes. One particular friend would never forgive me were she to learn that I had helped in this case. I could never explain to her why your appeal merited my support and hers did not.

The de luxe copy of In Battle for Peace is a beautiful thing. I am proud to have it with both yours and Dr. DuBois autographs.

You have my sincere
wish for a successful lecture
tour and a very good New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Sadie D. Cuneo

(Mrs. Miles G. Cuneo)

42-1c-10

Africa

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER AND ABORIGINES' FRIEND

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The Anti-Slavery Society
49-50 Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1

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The Anti-Slavery Society

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MEMORANDUM ON KENYA

By C. W. W. Greenidge

"Kenya now connotes to most colonial minds a challenging Empire policy rather than a semi-tropical colony." Those were the opening words of an article entitled "The Challenge of Kenya", by Sir John Harris, published by the *Contemporary Review* in November 1930, and they are as true today as they were then.

British interests in East Africa were not at the beginning territorial, but were merely concerned with the suppression of the slave trade. For centuries the Arabs and Persians had traded along the East African coast and acquired African slaves by purchase or capture, and carried them off to slavery in Arabia and other countries of the Middle East. It was to check this traffic that British humanitarians first went to East Africa. It was not until German explorers began to establish spheres of influence for Germany in East Africa, about 1885, that the British Government became prepared to intervene. In 1887 the Sultan of Zanzibar, who had possessions on the mainland, granted a concession to the British East Africa Association, which later obtained a Royal Charter and became the British East Africa Company.

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In 1895 the British Government established a protectorate under the responsibility of the Foreign Office over the Company's territory from the coast to Uganda, and in 1895 began the construction of a railway line from the coast through Kenya towards Uganda, which reached Kisumu in Kenya in 1901. This remained the port for Uganda until the line reached Kampala in Uganda in 1926. In 1897 Lord Delamere, the pioneer of "white" settlement in Kenya, made his way to the East African highlands through Somaliland and Abyssinia, and was impressed by the agricultural possibilities of the land. He left, but soon returned and commenced extensive farming operations.

A large incursion of English and South African settlers came in 1905, and simultaneously there was a considerable influx of Indians who were required to build the railway. In 1905 the Protectorate was transferred from the responsibility of the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office, and in 1906 Executive and Legislative Councils were established. During the years preceding the First World War the Protectorate developed steadily, but exports were mainly products of African areas. During the war European settlement was at a standstill, and the Europeans in the country volunteered for service and took part in the campaign under the leadership of General Smuts, which led to the defeat of the Germans and the conquest of Tanganyika. When peace came new farmers arrived from England and South Africa, and special schemes of settlement were launched for ex-soldiers. In 1919 the European population was 9,000.

In 1920 the Kenya Annexation Order-in-Council changed the status of Kenya outside the coastal strip from that of a protectorate to a colony. The coastal strip is still part of the territories of the Sultan of Zanzibar, to whom Britain pays an annual rent for it, and that is still a protectorate.

About the same time the franchise was granted to Europeans. This called forth a demand from the more numerous Indian community for the vote on a common roll with educational qualifications. This demand was opposed by the Europeans who threatened armed resistance. The matter was resolved by introducing communal representation in 1923. The Europeans were granted eleven elected members, the Indian five elected members and the Arabs one, and one unofficial European member was nominated to represent African interests. The document announcing these changes is known as the Devonshire White Paper of 1923, and it

stated, among other things, that Kenya is primarily an African territory and that where there is a conflict between the interests of one race in it and another, the interests of the indigenous Africans must be paramount. This caused dismay among the European population and there has ever since been a ceaseless struggle of Europeans in Kenya and other African territories to get the doctrine of paramountcy of African interests repudiated.

An important step forward was made in 1944 in the history of Kenya when Mr. E. W. Mathu was nominated as the first African to represent his people on the Legislative Council. The Legislative Council now consists of sixteen official members, of whom seven are ex-officio and nine are nominated, and of twenty-two unofficial members, of whom eleven are Europeans, five Asians and one Arab are elected, and four Africans and one Arab are nominated. Executive power is vested in the Governor, who is advised by an Executive Council, consisting of seven ex-officio members and five nominated unofficial members, of whom three are Europeans, one Asian, and one European nominated to represent African interests. The Governor has reserved powers to overrule a majority vote of the Legislative Council on a point deemed by him necessary in the interests of peace, order and good government.

Further constitutional reforms were under consideration when the recent Mau Mau disturbances broke out in Kenya. These will no doubt delay further action.

Land Policy in Kenya

Kenya is one of the few British territories in the tropics which has an extensive area of elevated fertile land (known as the Highlands) with an invigorating climate suitable for permanent residence by Europeans. To that may be traced many of the troubles which have overtaken its African population since it passed under European control. It has been said earlier that as soon as Britain established a protectorate over Kenya, a railway was built from the coast through Kenya towards Uganda. It was then assumed that freight for the railway could not be produced unless Europeans were encouraged to settle in the Highlands and produce crops for export.

Experience gained in the Gold Coast and in Nigeria, where there are no European settlers, that Africans could produce export crops and provide sufficient freight for railways, was ignored. From the early years of this century a policy has been pursued of encouraging European settlement in the Highlands. This has been the keystone of the policy of the Government of Kenya ever since. An area of 16,700 square miles in the Highlands was set aside for alienation to Europeans and to Europeans alone, either on individual ownership, or on long term leases. The area of Kenya is 225,100 square miles, and it might be said that 16,700 square miles is a small proportion of the whole, but competent observers maintain that so much of Kenya is dry, infertile land, that only one-third of the total area is suitable for cultivation, without irrigation. That leaves about 75,000 square miles of potentially usable land.

In 1932 an attempt was made by the British Government to unravel all the difficulties which had arisen over land laws. A Royal Commission was appointed, of which Sir Morris Carter was the Chairman, to report on the needs and further requirements of the native population in respect of land. The report, issued in 1933, raised two important issues—how native reserve lands could be adjusted to the needs of a growing or diminishing population, and how far a tribe, because of some agreement in the past, had the right to take over more land than it required.

The Carter Commission pointed out that it was the Government's duty to promote land development. If a tribe, person, or class had large tracts of undeveloped land, and this was considered prejudicial to the interests of the country as a whole, it would be right for the Government to intervene. The Commission recommended that lands in Kenya should be divided into the following categories:

1. The Highlands to be reserved for European settlement.
2. Crown lands, comprising (a) Crown Lands proper, including townships, forests, agricultural and other Government reserves, plus a large area of "unsurveyed"

Crown Land; and (b) certain large areas which, though classified as Crown Lands, are actually occupied by natives, and in which natives have "priority of right of occupation".

3. Native Lands—the old native reserves with additions recommended by the Land Commission on economic and other grounds, and the temporary native reserves and native leasehold areas.

Safeguards Introduced

In 1938 and 1939 certain legislation was enacted to implement the recommendations of the Commission. The Kenya (Highlands) Order in Council, 1939, said that there should be a Board whose purpose would be to look after European interests in the Highlands. The Kenya (Native areas) Order in Council, 1939, made provision for setting up a Native Lands Trust Board, to protect the interests of natives in the colony and in the various native areas.

The Order in Council made the important point that "Native lands shall be subject at all times to all such rights in respect of land as are or may be enjoyed by native tribes, groups, families or individuals by virtue of existing native law and custom, or any subsequent modification thereof, in so far as such rights are not repugnant to any law from time to time in the colony".

In 1942 the Native Lands Trust Ordnance (No. 28) was amended and six years later similar action was taken regarding the Kenya (Native Areas) Order in Council of 1939.

39-9-52

Distribution of Land

It has been said above that 16,700 square miles of land or 10,688,000 acres in the Highlands have been allocated exclusively for European occupation and 43,000 square miles or 30,800,000 acres have been declared to be Native Reserves in unalienable communal ownership for the use of the African population exclusively. In the rest of the country there is no racial discrimination in the distribution of land.

Of the 16,700 square miles allocated for Europeans, 4,000 square miles or 2,528,000 acres are Forest Reserves. A letter from the Colonial Office to the Society, dated 8th June 1944, stated that the area alienated to Europeans is approximately 7 million acres and that the balance of unalienated land reserved for Europeans is 704,000 acres, of which 650,000 acres are said to be "arid, pastoral land". Therefore, nearly all the Crown Land reserved for Europeans has been alienated to them.

The total European population of Kenya at the time of the last census in 1948 was 29,660. Of these the number of European farmers in the Highlands was of the order of 2,000. Therefore, the average European holding of land is five square miles, or about 2,500 acres, or if it is calculated per head of the European population it is 333 acres. The census of 1948 shows that the African population was 5,218,232, the Indians and Pakistanis were 90,528, and the Arabs 24,174. The average African holding of land per head of the population is therefore six acres. This is a strong contrast to the European land holding. On the 1st February 1944, the Duke of Devonshire, Under Secretary for the Colonies, stated in the House of Lords, that only about 1,300,000 acres of the 7 million acres alienated to Europeans was suitable for cultivation and that the rest was only fit for pasturage. But that makes no difference, because it is equally true that a very high proportion of the Native Reserves is only fit for pasturage.

The Carter Commission found that for Africa, Kenya was densely populated, and that the most densely populated territory is that of the Kikuyu, (para. 1427 of Cmd. 4556). The density of the Kikuyu was found to be 283 to the square mile. On the other hand the density of the Masai, a pastoral tribe, was found to be three to the square mile. The Carter Commission also found (para. 1425) "that the density (in the Native Reserves) over all is by no means in excess of the capacity of the land; and there should be ample room for future expansion for many years, provided that the people are instructed in a more economic use of the land and that a better

distribution of the population is secured. At present a notable degree of maldistribution exists. While the population over all is sparse, a majority of the natives are living in areas which are heavily populated. The population should learn to make a correct use of the land it has".

The Kikuyu and their Land

It is sometimes said that the high density of the Kikuyu in their Reserves is due to the fact that the area reserved for Europeans encroached more heavily on Kikuyu lands than on the lands of any other tribe. Dr. L. S. B. Leakey in his book, "Mau Mau", p. 66 says, "It must here be stated clearly that only a very small proportion of Kikuyu lands relative to the whole was alienated to the white settlers and that hundreds of thousands of Kikuyu families in Nyeri, Fort Hall, and even in the Kiambu division (where most of the alienation took place) never lost one square inch of their land. Unfortunately, however, the relatively small area that was alienated was all private property and it was sufficiently large to have not inconsiderable number of Kikuyu families landless". The Carter Commission found that only 104 square miles of Kikuyu land was taken for "white" settlement, whereas 1,519 square miles remained in Kikuyu possession. Against this 265 square miles was added by the Government to the Kikuyu Reserve or more than 2½ times the area taken. The 265 square miles is admitted to be less fertile than the 104 square miles taken, and is estimated to contain only 79 square miles of fertile land, so the nett loss to the Kikuyu by white settlement was about 30 square miles.

Miss M. Perham points out in "Race and Politics in Kenya" (p. 48) that "They (the Kikuyu) lost some very valuable land to settlers for coffee farms". The Commission made out a Profit and Loss Account showing that with the pieces added in compensation, they (the Kikuyu) had a profit of about 21,000 acres, a trifling addition for about 300,000 (in 1933) congested people. But, as Government Officials have since publicly pointed out, much of this land was already occupied when it was "given" and "much of it was of very inferior quality to what they had lost"...."It is small wonder, then, that one of the main objects the Carter Report sent out to achieve, the removal of the deep sense of grievance among the Kikuyu, and was not attained". It is little likely that the European and African (Kikuyu) viewpoint on this issue will ever be reconciled. Mrs. Elspeth Huxley, for the Europeans, and Miss Perham, for the African, argued it by protracted correspondence, published in "Race and Politics in Kenya" and eventually agreed to change the subject, without either of them convincing the other. The European regards it as a land transaction in which the Kikuyu lost little, if any, of land and gained the opportunity of employment of about 250,000 Africans on farms of Europeans, on conditions which the European believes are better than the African enjoys in his Reserve. The African regards it as an unwarranted ejectment of the Kikuyu without their consent from their traditional lands, and substitution therefor of land distant from their traditional land, which is not acceptable by the Kikuyu. The African does not concede that conditions of living on an European farm are better than in a Reserve. The subject is presented from both angles very fully in "Race and Politics in Kenya" (pp. 35-75).

Individual Tenure

Before we leave the subject of land there is another aspect of land tenure in Kenya which merits consideration. The Carter Commission found that there were two classes of African who would prefer to occupy land held in individual tenure than in the traditional communal tenure of African tribal life and suggested a third who should be encouraged to accept that form of land tenure. They were:

(a) "advanced Africans in the Reserves who might be desirous of leasing land which they could develop as a private holding, and

(b) returned labour-tenants from alienated (to Europeans) acres, who having lived for several years away from the control of tribalism, may find it difficult to be re-accommodated in their own Reserve, either through lack of

room for themselves or their stock, or because a tribal life is no longer congenial".

(c) "Detribalized" Africans who are loosely attached to towns and who should be removed and offered the alternative of going to live in the Reserve with which they have the most affinity, or of taking up land in these blocks if they can afford to do so. (Para. 1461 of Cmd. 4556). And they added (para. 1463) "It cannot be supposed that native life in Kenya can always be conducted on tribal lines and gradual progress towards private tenure in the Reserves, which is eminently desirable, will probably be facilitated by allowing some of the more advanced Africans to gain experience in this way".

The Commission recommended that Native Leasehold Areas should be established to meet the needs of this class of agriculturist. I am unable to find that the Commission recommended similar provision for Indians and Arabs, who in 1948, numbered 90,528 and 24,174 respectively, but presumably provision would be made for them to acquire land on lease either inside Native Leasehold Areas or elsewhere.

One of the barriers of the improvement of African cultivation lies in the haphazard distribution of land under traditional systems of land tenure and efforts should be made gradually to replace the old system of group farms on a co-operative basis, the land of which would be cultivated more scientifically. There is a group-farm in the Kericko district of Kenya already, as well as elsewhere, and the System should be extended. It is described on p. 73 of Cmd. 7987. Small as is the area of fertile land in the Highlands unalienated, part of it should be devoted to a group-farm for all races, which care to acquire holdings on it.

39-9-53

The Squatters

There is yet another class of Africans who merit consideration. They are the "squatters"—officially styled "resident native labourers"— employed on farms of Europeans. They are also referred to as labour tenants.

It is estimated that there are between 220,000 and 250,000 Africans who have left the Reserves and work as voluntary labourers on farms of Europeans in the Highlands. The Carter Report (para. 1860) says: "The contract on which these natives work ensures them a right to land on which to build a dwelling and to cultivate and also lays down the number of stock which may be brought on to the farm and implies a right to pasturage for them. There is also an obligation to work for a period of not less than 180 days for a specific wage. No charge or deduction from wages is made in respect of the lands," and (in para. 1864) "On expiry of the period specified in the contract, unless the contract is renewed, the tenancy expires with it. This might be held to give insufficient security to tenants in cases where an employer cuts down his labour force by way of retrenchment and through no fault of the labourers themselves."

In the case of a squatter family, which has been absent from the native reserve for several years, the disturbance might be serious. It would therefore be possible to argue that when the tenant had performed the items of his contract faithfully and is willing to renew it, he should not be evicted without compensation. The Commission, however, recommended "that Government should accept the obligation of finding land to which time expired squatters can go, either in their own Reserve or if they prefer it C (i.e. Native Leasehold Areas)". They pointed out that in the case of the Kikuyu, who are by far the majority of the squatters, a squatter family has difficulty in re-establishing itself in the Reserve because there is no room left for it. They thought, however, that the additions recommended by them to Kikuyu Reserves, should enable this difficulty to be met.

It is claimed that by and large the squatter system in Kenya works satisfactorily for the welfare of the squatter and his family. Most European farmers adopt a paternal attitude to their squatters, presumably, as long as the latter are submissive. But it embodies the principle of the "tied cottage" which has been so adversely criticized in the United Kingdom and the squatter's "tied land-holding" must make

him submissive as the English labourer's "tied cottage" made him submissive. The ideal would be for holdings independent of the farmer to be established in proximity to the European farms, which the labourer could rent, but that could only be achieved by acquisition, probably compulsory, of land from Europeans, and it would no doubt be resisted with might and main by the whole European community in Kenya. It is too much to hope that any British Government would take that step. The most that one can hope for is that steps might be taken to regulate the wages of the squatter at a reasonable level while he is employed and to provide land for settling him outside the Highlands when his contract expires and is not renewed and that he be compensated for any improvements he may have made on the holding he had during his contract.

It seems that all of the land in Kenya which is usable without irrigation is being used and that it would not be possible to relieve the land hunger of Africans in the Reserves by assigning to them land elsewhere. It may be possible to bring under cultivation about 2,000 square miles of land in the Tana River Valley by irrigating it, but it is remote from African settlement at the present time and Africans may not wish to go there. Failing that, the remedies seem to be in raising the level of cultivation in the Reserves by extending co-operative agriculture by the group-farm system and by establishing secondary industries to absorb intermittently employed Africans living in the towns and part of the contract expired squatters.

Some Conclusions

The administration of Kenya has been such a chapter of blunders extending over fifty years, that is difficult to suggest remedies. In justice to those who originated white settlement in Kenya, it should be said that the blunder was made in ignorance of the effects it would have. At that time Europeans knew little of the customs of African tribes, and especially of their systems of land tenure and methods of cultivation, or other means of subsistence, and it was not recognized at the time that the Africans were dispossessed of land, which, if not in their actual occupation, was in their potential occupation. The mistake made was the assumption that only lands in actual cultivation were in African occupation. It was not until later that Europeans learned that the African system of shifting cultivation requires large areas of land to maintain even the low standard of living they have, and that the land in their potential occupation is, therefore, far more than in their actual occupation. It has some slight resemblance to the system of fallow land in European systems of cultivation. Where they live by stock raising they require even larger areas. Seizure of land for occupation by immigrant people is, therefore, not justified unless the land is really uninhabited, or very sparsely peopled.

But the blunder has been made, and it would be impossible now to reverse the position, eject the European settlers and restore the Highlands to the Africans. Kenya-Europeans are now in the third generation. The only roots they have are in Kenya, and it would be an injustice to them to eject them from Kenya, especially after their parents or grandparents were encouraged to go there. In principle it is wrong to carve out a big block of land for Europeans and forbid the Africans to go there, except as contract labour at the will of the landlords. It is racial discrimination in land tenure. Reason dictates that the Government should re-acquire from Europeans some of the land alienated to them, of which they make no use (which is considerable), and lease it to members of all races, including Africans. The Carter Commission, however, which spent a year examining this question, and examined hundreds of witnesses, including nearly 500 Africans, did not recommend that course.

In a letter addressed to this Society, dated 8th June 1944, one of the most liberal-minded Ministers who has ever been responsible for Colonial policy, Mr. Oliver Stanley, defended the existing distribution of land, and said, "In those circumstances I do not feel able to propose to Parliament that the policy which has been confirmed by successive British Governments for nearly forty years, culminating in the settlement reached a few years ago by the Land (Carter) Commission, should now be

reversed". The Labour Government which came into office in 1945 issued a White Paper on Land Policy in Kenya, endorsing the recommendations of the Carter Commission. The present Conservative Government has appointed a Commission to study East African problems, and has excluded from its terms of reference Land Policy. It must, therefore, be accepted, however reluctant one is to do so, that Land Policy in Kenya is a closed chapter, and it is a policy of segregation of races.

European Dominance

Sir John Harris has shown in his "The Challenge of Kenya" that Europeans in Kenya demand, and have got, European dominance in the policies of the country. He said that the claim of a minority of Europeans to dominate millions of British Africans had been advanced in scores of speeches in Kenya, and he cited the most authoritative expression of it from a speech by Lord Delamere, reported in the East African Standard of 12th July 1930. He said, "As to the political future of the natives, there was ample scope for such development within the boundaries of the reserves, without bringing the native within the field of the white man's politics. If that last safeguard is undermined there will go with it in its fall the right of British people to claim that with their race, and their race alone, whether as settlers or as officials, must lie the responsibility for the government of primitive peoples and the development of the Empire in Africa."

That was said twenty-three years ago, but it is still the opinion of the overwhelming majority of Europeans in Kenya today. However, much Her Majesty's Goverment may pay lip service to lofty principles, in fact, Europeans in Kenya get their way. One is therefore driven back on a policy of despair to find a way out of this difficulty.

That is Lord Lugard's plan of "Administrative Separation", described by him (in 1944) in the introduction to "Race and Politics in Kenya", page 10. It is that "Kenya should be divided into two areas, one for occupation for Europeans and such non-Europeans as desired to accept the Parliamentary system of government, or were employed as labourers or domestic servants; the other, exclusive of small sites for missions or trading purposes, would be mainly for occupation by the African population. The area occupied by each section would be proportionate to its present and prospective economic and social requirements."

The Governor would function in a separate capacity over each section. The laws passed "by and with the consent of the Legislative Council" of the English-speaking section would be applied by the Governor wholly or in part, or a separate law would be enacted by him, for the native section, pending their progressive ability to advise on legislation affecting their interests. A Joint Advisory Council, on which the Native Councils and every section would be represented would be summoned when required for the discussion of common interests, or the determination of matters in which the separate interests appeared to be divergent or in conflict. The technical departments would generally be common to both. Each section would frame its own budget, and expend its own contribution to the public revenue, and bear an equitable share of the cost of common services. The progress of each towards self-government would be limited only by its competence. The Kenya-Uganda railway would be managed by a public utility "Controlled Company".

Parallel Institutions

Only by such a plan did it seem possible to meet the natural wish of the European minority for progress towards self-government on the British model, and at the same time to govern with the willing consent and understanding of the great majority to whom the model is quite unsuited, or to fulfil the pledge to train them for eventual "self-government", which would conflict with the self-government (viz. universal control) desired by the Europeans.

"We should consider," says Lord Hailey, "while opportunity still serves, whether it is possible to devise for the African some other system . . . . while allowing him the

largest possible share in the management of his own affairs". (Address on Indian and African Analogies. Royal Empire Society. 14th December 1938.)

The proposal, in principle, had been suggested to Parliament some years ago by Sir Robert Hamilton, former Chief Justice of Kenya. The Hilton-Young Commission, to whom I had shown it, recommended, "Such a measure of territorial segregation as will facilitate the creation of homogeneous native and non-native areas", and General Smuts, whose problem in South Africa presents much greater difficulties, writes: "Wherever Europeans and natives live in the same country it will mean parallel institutions for the two elements of the population living in their own separate areas . . . . Residential separation and parallel institutions alone can do justice to the ideals of both sections". ("Africa and Some World Problems," pp. 92-93.)

When submitted by me to the Joint Select Committee and Parliament in 1930 it was supported, among others, by Sir Donald Cameron, Governor of Tanganyika, Sir H. Leggett, a former member of the Legislative Council and head of a commercial company in Kenya, and by Miss Perham. The Joint Committee and Parliament decided to recommend the retention at present of the existing form of any Government, but, subject to radical changes approximating to "Administrative Separation" —e.g. the status and powers of the Chief Native Commissioner would be very greatly increased, and he would prepare a separate budget for his administration, with such funds as the Government considered necessary. They added that if this machinery should prove insufficient for the development of the African communities, "it lends itself to evolution along the lines of separate administration".

Mrs. Elspeth Huxley, though "sure that this idea ought to be considered", is doubtful whether the settlers would accept it for administrative and economic reasons, and Miss Perham points out that "they have indeed always opposed it". She thinks that "the difficulties are not so much bound up with administrative machinery as (with) the drawing of boundaries". But the real insurmountable obstacle lies in the "Highlands" and the "Native Lands" Ordnances and Orders in Council, 1939.

With a rapidly increasing native population confined by law to reserves already terribly congested, and with the cultivable area greatly reduced by erosion and threatened from time to time by drought and locust invasion, the spectre of famine, which takes no heed of Orders in Council, stands in the background.

OBITUARY

Sir T. Drummond Shiels, M.C.

Since the last issue of the ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER the Society has lost a valued member of long-standing and the Committee an active colleague in Sir T. Drummond Shiels.

He died almost suddenly on the 1st January at the age of 71. Born in Edinburgh, he began life as a photographer. Later he became a chemist. He served in the First World War in France and was awarded the Military Cross. When he was demobolized he studied medicine and soon after began his political career. He was first elected a member of Edinburgh Town Council, and five years later M.P. for East Edinburgh. When the Labour Party came to Office in 1929 he was appointed Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India. Later he was transferred in a similar capacity to the Colonial Office, the work of which strongly appealed to him. From that time onwards he identified himself with colonial causes and never faltered in working for the welfare of the colonial peoples. In 1931 he lost his seat in Parliament and did not succeed in being re-elected at any subsequent election. He, however, became an active member of the executive of several voluntary organizations working in the colonial field. Later he became Secretary of the Empire Parliamentary Association

and Secretary of the British Branch of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, an office he held until his death.

He was a member of the Royal Commission on Constitutional Reform in Ceylon of 1927 and it was largely owing to him that universal suffrage was given in Ceylon—for the first time in any British colony inhabited mainly by non-Europeans. He was the protagonist for women's suffrage in Ceylon.

To him also was due the introduction of the Committee of the Legislature in administrative affairs, an idea which was borrowed from the constitution of the London County Council.

Shortly after the end of the last War he was appointed to the Colonial Economic and Development Council and for a while he served as the Public Relations Officer at the General Post Office when the Labour Party came to Office in 1945.

He was a man of charming personality, a good speaker with a ready sense of humour and balanced judgment. He was on terms of personal friendship with men and women of views diametrically opposed to his own, a quality which stood him in good stead during his term of Office as Secretary of the Empire Parliamentary Association. His death has made a gap in the ranks of the older generation of Colonial workers which will be hard to fill.

In 1948 he married Miss Gladys Buhler, M.B.E., with whom he had worked for many years on the Imperial Studies Staff of the Royal Empire Society.

The Society deplores his loss and offers its sympathy to Lady Shiels.

CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION

The following is the text of a letter addressed to the Prime Minister on 12th March, 1953, by the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society on behalf of the Committee

I am directed by the Committee of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society to submit to you the following representations against federating Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and to ask your favourable consideration of them.

2. My Committee realize that the constitution formulated for the proposed federation approximates closely to self-government and that it has been the policy of successive Governments of the United Kingdom for many years past to grant self-government to British dependencies as soon as possible. Nevertheless, my Committee are of the opinion that the Trusteeship of Africans, too backward to take part in governing themselves should remain the function of Her Majesty's Government.

While the assistance of non-African communities living in a country in Africa should be encouraged to an increasing extent, association in the responsibility of trusteeship should not be made synonymous with political control of African affairs. The legislature proposed in which three-quarters of the members would be Europeans, would give Europeans who are a minority control of African affairs. In a plural society where communities exist side by side at different levels of cultural advancement, maintenance of an effective power of intervention by the Crown in all matters is necessary until the least developed community in the country is able to take an effective part in public affairs. Then and not until then should self-government be given. The control of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom should remain unimpaired and responsibility for the well-being of the African majority should not be handed over to a more mature European minority living among them.

3. That was the advice given by the Joint Committee of Parliament on Closer Union in East Africa in 1931, which included colonial experts of the eminence of Lord Lugard, Sir Robert Hamilton, M.P., Sir Drummond Shiels, M.P., and Mr. Charles Roden Buxton, M.P. Their advice applies with equal force today to the countries of Central Africa which it is proposed to federate, for the conditions in those countries are identical with those on which their advice was based. My

Committee in drawing attention to the Joint Committee's Report refer in particular to paragraph 75 of it.

4. Whatever view may be held on the principle of federation, my Committee feel that federation should not be imposed in opposition to the desire of the overwhelming majority of the African population in those territories.

The Bledisloe Commission found in 1938 (Cmd. 5949–paras. 485–6) "the striking unanimity in the northern territories (i.e. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland) of the Native opposition to amalgamation, based mainly on dislike of some features of the Native policy in Southern Rhodesia, and the anxiety of the Natives in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland lest there should be any change in the system under which they regard themselves as enjoying the direct protection of Your Majesty, are factors which cannot in our judgment be ignored.

If so large a proportion of the population of the combined Territory were brought unwillingly under an enforced Government, it would prejudice the prospect of co-operation in ordered development under such a Government."

This Society has kept for many years in close touch with the territories concerned. My Committee is of opinion that opposition to federation today is no less strong than the opposition to amalgamation reported by the Bledisloe Commission fifteen years ago. The reasons for postponing federation are no less cogent today than were the reasons for postponing amalgamation at that time.

5. Some supporters of federation claim firstly, that opposition to federation is the opinion of only a very small minority of Africans who form the African Congress in each territory and, secondly, that the vast majority of Africans are incapable of understanding what federation is and of forming an intelligent opinion about it. My Committee do not share opinion on the first point, but if it is conceded, it cannot be denied that large numbers of the male population of each of the two northern territories have worked in Southern Rhodesia and have seen the Native policy of Southern Rhodesia in operation and have been able to contrast it with Native policy in their homeland. As a result they are capable of having an opinion as to whether they wish to enter into political association with a country which has the discriminatory racial policy of Southern Rhodesia. They fear that such political association would result in the racial policy of Southern Rhodesia spreading to the two northern territories. History has shown that that has happened in the Union of South Africa where the racial ideas of the two northern provinces have spread and have almost driven out the more liberal policy which existed in Cape Colony and Natal at that time of the Union. Moreover, what has happened in South Africa in regard to entrenched clauses in the constitution would itself be a sufficient reason for creating distrust.

Our information confirms that while all Africans may not understand the details of federation, opposition to it is widespread, profound and persistent and that it is not irrational.

6. The Committee fails to understand why the wishes of a minority (less than 10 per cent of the whole) of the population of Southern Rhodesia are to be sought by referendum on the issue of federation, whereas no attempt is to be made to ascertain the wishes of the people of the two northern territories. There are constitutionally established representative bodies in those territories, competent to express an opinion. Machinery has been devised in West African territories for ascertaining the wishes of the people on political issues, as well as in India, and it is difficult to believe that similar efforts could not be made in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

7. My Committee also feel that in the study of closer association in the three territories, too little attention has been given to the study of alternative structures in Central Africa to Federation. It is, moreover, regretted that membership of the committees and conferences concerned with the formulation of schemes was confined to one race.

That was the race, members of which in the territories concerned, desire federation.

My Committee accordingly feel that a decision to impose federation should be postponed and in the meanwhile a Commission composed of people of acknowledged competence in colonial affairs and of impartiality, should be sent to Central Africa to examine the whole problem of economic and political co-operation.

8. My Committee venture to urge on you that hasty imposition of federation sponsored by politicians biased in its favour will result in alienating the goodwill, not only of the overwhelming majority of Africans in the territories concerned, but also in all British dependencies inhabited by a non-European people. This Society has noted from the newspapers it receives from a large number of British territories that the progress of the issue is a matter of considerable interest and is regularly commented on. It is being treated as a racial issue.

If federation is imposed regardless of African opposition to it, it will be interpreted as "Imperialism." The setting up of a legislature in which less than a quarter of a million Europeans will be represented by three quarter of the members and six million Africans by one quarter of the members would be said to entrench European dominance for no changes in such a constitution could be made except by a two-thirds majority of that legislature, a majority which Africans would never have. Africans would therefore never be in a position to improve their political representation.

9. A copy of this letter has been sent to the Right Honourable the Secretaries of State for the Colonies and for Commonwealth Relations.

At the time of going to press a detailed reply had not been received.

COMMITTEE OF INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

Article 73 (e) of the Charter of the United Nations imposes on member States administering non-self-governing territories the obligation to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social and educational conditions in the territories for which they are responsible, other than "trust" territories. The Charter, is, however, silent on the use to which this information was to be put. Obviously it was not intended to be merely transmitted and filed, but to serve some useful purpose. To achieve that purpose the General Assembly passed a resolution establishing a special Committee for a term of years to examine and report on the information received. The members of the Committee have been appointed to represent Member States, that is, the States administering non-self-governing territories, and an equal number of representatives from Member States not administering non-self-governing territories. The Committee has been accused of being used by some of the Member States not administering non-self-governing territories for attacking the Colonial Powers viciously and some of the latter favoured bringing the Committee to an end when it came up for extension of its life during the General Assembly at the end of last year. It is to be noted, however, that particularly in the last three years, the Committee in the main, has reached harmony and has performed useful functions by concentrating on aspects of economic, social and educational conditions in the territories. As a result, three special reports on these subjects were adopted in 1950, 1951 and 1952 with the general support of the Committee, except for the Soviet Union. This last year a proposal came from the Fourt Committee to the General Assembly proposing that the Committee on Information from the Non-Self-Governing Territories as the Special Committee is now called, should be renewed for a further period of three years and thereafter should be continued on a semi-automatic basis. The British Delegation

warned the General Assembly that the British Government could not collaborate if the Committee was so renewed. As a result of this appeal, the General Assembly contented itself with renewing the Committee for three years without further statement. Two points may be noted with satisfaction. The first is that the British Government, while maintaining its stand against any automatic renewal of the Committee, has not opposed its present continuation. The second point is that those Members of the United Nations who strongly support a permanent Committee, were reasonable enough in the majority to recognize that the Committee can only exist effectively with the collaboration of the British Government.

It is obviously desirable that there should be a Committee to examine and report on the information transmitted to the Secretary-General on non-self-governing territories and extinction of the Committee would give non-self-governing territories and critics of Colonial administration good grounds for saying that the Colonial Powers are afraid of criticism. At the same time it is equally desirable that the character and constitution of the Committee should be changed so that it may cease to be principally a forum of attack on the Colonial Powers. The next three-year period of the Committee may well be a suitable time for contemplating any necessary changes. The Soviet Union is no longer represented on the Committee. The programme of work of the Committee has been definitely laid down as calling chief attention to economic, social and educational conditions. In the light of what has happened it may be expected that these debates, while not avoiding real issues, will be less concerned with political controversies.

It may also be expected that the successful experience followed by Great Britain and some other Powers of sending particular technical experts to the Committee will be expanded (Mr. Ward in 1950 and Mr. Chinn in 1952 were members of the British Delegation as advisors on educational and social welfare questions respectively).

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

Exists to promote the following objects

The total abolition of Slavery in all its forms

The abolition of native labour systems analogous to slavery

The removal of all racial discrimination on the grounds of colour

The maintenance of justice for Aboriginal and Native races

The promotion of the interests and well-being of those people who have not yet attained a full measure of self-government

The Committee invites all those interested in the welfare of native peoples and in racial understanding to become Members of the Society

In these circumstances, attention might be directed to seeking an abandonment of the appointment of national representatives of the Committee. Instead, experts on administration in Colonies and in countries with similar problems might be contemplated so that the constitution of the Committee might approximate to that of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations which was a body of experts which did invaluable work. Support of this suggestion is urged on Her Majesty's Government.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Review of African Education

The first comprehensive review of educational policy and practice in the British African Territories to be made since the Phelps-Stokes reports of the early twenties has been published under the title *African Education*, and produced on behalf of the Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office. (Obtainable from the Crown Agents for the Colonies, price 8s. 6d.)

This publication contains the reports of the two study groups, financed by the Nuffield Foundation, which examined education problems respectively in West and in East and Central Africa in 1951, and a summary of discussions in the light of these by delegations from Africa at the conference held in Cambridge last September.

The African Setting

In an introduction on education in the African setting, it is pointed out that the problems facing the educator are very different from those in a rich and highly developed country like Britain or others in Western Europe. The land is very large and very thinly populated; the territories do not form a compact block; the peoples differ greatly; there is a great variety of African languages. What the peoples of British tropical Africa have in common is that their countries are economically under-developed; their wealth lies in the cocoa, coffee, tin or copper which they produce for world markets, and, under British rule and in touch with Western civilization, all of them are aspiring to self-government which it is the declared object of British policy that they should attain.

The problem of the educator, therefore, is to design and provide an education system which will enable the emergent people to take their full place in the modern world. This has to be done amidst the difficulties caused by the contacts of cultures in which one is politically dominant, by the short time Britain has had to administer the territories, and by the economic disadvantages of poor countries which cannot afford the heavy recurrent costs of far-reaching education.

Fifty Years of Education

Formal education of the Western type began, as in Britain, through the work of the Christian Churches. It was only gradually that Colonial Governments came to assume responsibility for supplementing, co-ordinating, financing and directing missionary educational efforts, and the principles which have helped to guide policy were laid down in 1925 and 1935. The help the United Kingdom has given through the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts has included providing £6 million to build and equip university colleges, a further £1¼ million for higher technical colleges in Africa and the other dependencies, and £8½ million to assist the Governments in Africa and elsewhere to develop their primary and secondary education. Some of the results can be seen in the establishment of the university colleges of the Gold Coast, Ibadan (Nigeria) and East Africa; the creation of colleges for higher technical and vocational education; the fact that today Nigeria has some 9,000 schools with 1 million pupils compared with 336 Government and assisted primary schools in 1920, and that 300,000 children attend school in the Gold Coast compared with 35,000 in 1920. In 1952 there were 2,750 African students studying in the U.K. and

hundreds more elsewhere; about 68,000 children at secondary schools in Africa and 2·5 million attending Government or grant-aided primary schools. In the Gold Coast and Nigeria, in accordance with principles laid down in 1925, responsibility "as trustee for the moral advancement of the native population" has been handed by the United Kingdom to the elected representatives of the African peoples.

Objects of the Study

The main criticisms of African education have been two: that there is too little education; and that it is effective in breaking up the old African life but not in adapting its pupils to the conditions of the new. It was to make an authoritative study of the justification for such criticisms, the causes and the principles, that the missions were appointed and the conference held. The aim was not, however, to make policy, but to record the best views which could be formalized and expressed. As the chairman of the conference, Sir Philip Morris, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bristol, pointed out: "It is in the territories themselves that policies must be framed, their costs calculated and provided for, and the understanding and co-operation of organization and people sought and secured."

Some of the Points Made

The West Africa Study Group made no formal recommendations; the East and Central Africa Group made seventy-six, together with additional ones in respect of Zanzibar and the Somaliland Protectorate. The views of the subsequent conference, which split into five groups, each studying one aspect of African education, are recorded in terms of the general tenor of the discussion, an analysis of the main tendency in the group papers and of the mind of the conference. Any attempt at summary could not, therefore, do justice to the views expressed.

Winding up the conference, however, the chairman pointed out that the discussions had shown a profound realization that, without educational advance, progress towards prosperity and full participation in the modern world for British Africa cannot be achieved. There was also a recognition of the price which must be paid in money and in self-discipline to ensure that expansion is on sound lines, and a reaffirmation by the whole conference on the need for education to be based upon religion.

One of the aspects of education examined by the conference was "Education and the Adult". A call was made for a novel concentration of energy and resources upon the tasks of informal education, and it is suggested that if education departments throughout Africa concentrated for the time being on adult and informal education, the educational problem of Africa would soon look very different and the efficiency of the schools be greatly increased.

The West African study group points out that there is a shortage of voluntary workers in "all branches of informal education". Many educated Africans have still to capture the sense of voluntary service for the community which has done so much to raise the educational level of the peoples in Western Europe. "If leaders in all branches of African thought could come together in a united and public testimony of fundamental human values," says the report, "they would make a lasting contribution to education on the West Coast."

The study group which visited East and Central Africa records that, "We have been told, almost *ad nauseam*, that very few Africans perceive the value of education for its own sake or as a way to a rich life full of service", and goes on to say, "If that is true, part of the blame must rest on those who have not themselves been single-minded about education but have used schools to catch converts or to secure bases for the occupation of sectarian territory". The study group expresses the opinion that "there are no insurmountable practical difficulties in the way of inter-racial education at any stage".

* * *

Colombo Plan Technical Assistance

Since the inauguration of the Colombo Plan Technical Co-operation Scheme in

December 1950, 137 experts and training facilities for 840 trainees have been provided for countries in South and South-East Asia. Of the £8 million pledged by Commonwealth countries for the scheme, £1,300,000 has so far been expended and committed.

Of the experts and places for trainees provided, 5 experts and 57 places have been provided by countries within the region. In addition Ceylon has offered training at the Co-operative Training School and Pakistan at a School for Civil Aviation. India has offered 55 scholarships and Fellowships in Indian universities and specialized institutions.

Increasing emphasis is now being given to the establishment of training institutions and the development of technical skills in the area and the provision of equipment for this purpose. Up till now £30,000 has been spent and a further £300,000 committed for the provision of equipment under the scheme for Technical Co-operation training. Equipment has also been offered under the capital assistance side of the Colombo Plan. A good start has already been made in combining technical with capital assistance in the implementation of specific projects in the area, and greater co-ordination between the Technical Assistance Scheme and other programmes of Technical Assistance in operation has been achieved.

The United Kingdom's Contribution

Aid provided by the United Kingdom under the scheme covers the provision of experts to advise on carrying out development projects; facilities for the training of students, works' foremen, supervisers and technicians in U.K. universities, hospitals, training institutes and industrial concerns; training equipment; and the services of consulting engineers.

Up to 26th February 1953 the United Kingdom had offered the services of 90 experts, of whom 53 were at work or had completed their missions. Among these experts are two senior mechanical engineers engaged on the construction of power-houses and dams, a tool-room foreman, an orthopaedic surgeon, two physio-therapists who are helping to set up an orthopaedic department in a Delhi hospital, and a thoracic surgery unit which is at work in Ceylon.

The United Kingdom has also offered 524 training places. So far, 252 trainees have come to the United Kingdom and 73 more places have been accepted. The trainees include doctors, 19 civil service probationers from Pakistan, engineers from India, Ceylonese studying forestry and oil technology, and 5 Indonesians studying labour welfare methods.

The United Kingdom has also received requests for over £1 million worth of equipment and books for technical training and research, some of which has already been supplied. In some cases, experts have been sent to discuss requests with the authorities on the spot. For example, a U.K. Ministry of Education inspector has recently returned from Pakistan and reported on a plan to establish technical high schools there. As a result the United Kingdom has offered to supply £140,000 worth of books and equipment. The United Kingdom has also agreed to supply £30,000 worth of machine tools for the Indian Institute of Technology at Kharagpur. This Institute is one of four new technical colleges which the Indian Government is establishing to provide four-year courses in civil, mechanical and electrical engineering.

* * *

Trusteeship Territories and the United Nations

During the last three months of 1952 the United Nations General Assembly considered, in the course of its proceedings, matters affecting the United Kingdom Trusteeship Territories of Togoland and Tanganyika.

In the course of 1952 the Trusteeship Council sent a visiting mission to West Africa which, like the similar mission in 1948, examined the problems of the tribe of 800,000 Ewe who live in the southern part of British and French Togoland and in adjoining parts of the Gold Coast, and who have requested unification under a

single administration. The Trusteeship Council, on the basis of the 1952 mission's findings, reported to the General Assembly that, although there is a widespread desire for unification, no single form is accepted by a majority of the population, and no administrative change is at present warranted. The United Kingdom delegation voted for resolutions in the General Assembly which noted this report and which recommended the continuation, after re-organization, of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs established by the United Kingdom and France in 1952 as a solution to the problems arising from the existence of the frontier between British and French Togoland.

The Meru Land Problem

Another question, discussed both by the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly, was the complaint from a small section of the Meru tribe in Tanganyika over its removal from land it had occupied since the late 1920s.

Under a scheme accepted by the Native Authority and published in 1949, the Tanganyika Government proposed to move 350 families by free transport, and with compensation, to land adjoining an area occupied by the rest of the tribe. The new land was made ready by the Government and supplied with piped water, boreholes and cattle dips, and it was proposed to supply the families with free food until they had established themselves. As part of the scheme, extra land, formerly alienated to Europeans, was acquired. It was intended to lease the area vacated for large-scale cattle ranching.

The Trusteeship Agreement grants full powers of administration in Tanganyika to the United Kingdgom Government, and in this particular matter the policy of the Tanganyika Government was debated in the country's Legislative Council and supported by all unofficial speakers, including the senior unofficial African member. The tribesmen concerned, however, opposed the scheme, and by April 1952 only 21 families had settled in the prepared area, the rest having gone elsewhere.

In July 1952 the Trusteeship Council adopted a resolution which, although critical of some of the proceedings of the Tanganyika Government, did not ask the administration to undo acts already done. In the October–December session, however, the Trusteeship Committee adopted a draft resolution urging the restoration of the land in question to the Meru. In the United Kingdom view this draft neither furthered the real interest of the Meru nor took account of the need for more efficient utilization of the land itself in the interests of Tanganyika as a whole. When the resolution came up before the General Assembly, the United Kingdom Minister of State pointed out that Her Majesty's Government were under no obligation to implement resolutions of this kind. However, neither this nor another resolution on the subject gained the necessary majority. The Assembly has, therefore, made no specific recommendations relating to the Meru and their land.

BOOK REVIEWS

Africa is Here. Report of North American Assembly on African Affairs. (The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, 10.)

From 16th to the 25th June 1952 a conference was held at Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio, sponsored by the African Committee of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States, which was attended by 34 Africans from 13 areas of Africa and 23 Europeans with expert knowledge of Africa, including representatives of eight Governments and of the United Nations. The theme of the conference was "The Changing Racial Economic and Political Conditions in Africa south of the Sahara and the Relation of the Christian Church and Mission to them".

There were Americans and Europeans there who had not before participated on any such basis of equality with Africans. There were Africans who had never previously met Africans from some of the areas represented at the conference. There were Africans there who had never before shared discussion as fellow delegates with high colonial officials. Political backgrounds ranged from colonial status through republican and democratic forms of government to totalitarianism. Roman Catholic, Jews, Protestants and Moslems mingled there. Some thirty-eight Protestant denominations were represented. The delegates included colonial governors, an admiral, embassy officials, members of legislatures, university professors, heads of research and philanthropic institutions, African academic and official personalities, priests, pastors and students from several religious bodies, missionary candidates and laity.

A number of papers were read by delegates, of which papers from the following, merit special mention: M. Pierre Rychmans, former Governor-General of the Belgian Congo; Governor Oliveira of Portuguese Africa; Mr. J. K. Thompson of the British Embassy, Washington; M. T. Monod, Director of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire at Dakar; Mr. L. Bruce Greaves, Secretary for Africa, Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland; Gikomyowa Kiano, Graduate Student, Anteock College, Yellow Springs, Ohio; and Mr. Gabriel van Laethim, French Embassy, Washington. The principal conclusion amongst those reached at the conference was that the interests of the inarticulate peoples of Africa should be made the special concern of the world conscience, stirred by Christians the world over.

C.W.W.G.

Problems of Parliamentary Government in the Colonies. (The Hansard Society, 39 Millbank, London, S.W.1. 12s.)

The Hansard Society and the Arthur McDougall Trust are to be congratulated on the publication of this volume. The former for undertaking the work of preparing what is a very useful survey of the problems involved in developing parliamentary institutions in colonial territories; the latter for providing a grant to make the work possible.

The book is the collective work of a team of experts who acted as an Advisory Committee assisted by the criticism of upwards of one hundred persons who acted as consultants. Amongst those were several who are actively associated with the Anti-Slavery Society.

After surveying the ideologies which compete with each other for sway over the minds of the politically conscious people in the colonies and giving an outline of the principles lying behind the policies adopted by the various metropolitan powers, the book analyses in some detail the obstacles to the evolution of parliamentary government. Special consideration is given to the particular difficulties of plural societies in which several races at different stages of development and with different cultural backgrounds live together within the same political unit yet without mingling as a single people. The role of local government and of functional co-operation through agencies like the Caribbean Commission and the East African High Commission are discussed in separate chapters. The concluding chapter sums up the argument of the book and makes some useful suggestions as to how the emergence of parliamentary democracy could be assisted. It is a book which will be of considerable value to all serious students of colonial affairs. E.G.F.

Akan Traditions of Origin. By Eva L. R. Meyerowitz. (Faber & Faber. 30s.)

This second book by Mrs. Meyerowitz on the History of the Akan States is an exhaustive research into the traditions of these ancient African peoples. As in the *Sacred State of the Akan*, Mrs. Meyerowitz preserves for the modern student much that might otherwise be by-passed by the eager present. A people proud of their past may well create an even greater future. D.H.B.

Africa: Which Way Now? By Patrick O'Donovan. (Africa Bureau. 1s.)

The author begins his pamphlet by saying, "It is hard not to feel sick at heart over what is happening in British Africa today" He goes on to say that, "doubtless the vast majority of Africans are still untroubled, still accept their poverty and the domination of the whites as fixed and natural," but, "at least a minority has learnt to think in terms of change and development."

They find some jobs closed to them because of their colour and hotels, bars and shopping centres reserved for Europeans and they feel that the interests of the two racial groups are in conflict. Europeans are paternal and protective towards the primitive Africans, but they are hostile towards the semi-educated and politically conscious Africans. The sort of co-operation between the two races which would be recognized in England as co-operation is not attempted.

"What can be done to bridge the chasm?" the author asks. He points to the efforts of the mission dedicated to St. Faith in Southern Rhodesia which has developed co-operation between the two races on a farming scheme. The farm is run by 25 full time workers, European and African, and last year, after feeding the mission, there was a surplus of produce for sale. He says that this one co-operative farm cannot change fundamentally the situation in the plural societies in Africa. It is only a beginning and he appeals to sympathizers to help its expansion by contributing to the African Development Trust, 69 Great Peter Street, S.W.1, which has been organized to extend the work of the St. Faith Missions co-operative farming scheme.

C.W.W.G.

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January 12, 1963

Mr. D. Armattoe
P.O. Box 765
Kumasi, Gold Coast
B.W.A.

Dear Mr. Armattoe:

I was glad to have your letter of November 16th, but I had no opportunity to answer it until now.

The injustices both here and in Africa are most distressing, but unfortunately there seems to be little that I can do on account of the hysteria that is prevalent.

I only hope that this will find you and your family well, and that I shall hear from you again at your convenience. I hope you had the opportunity to see my last book.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-62-14

Dr R.Armattoe ,
P.O.Box 765 ,
Kumasi/Gold Coast

March 30, 1953

Dear Professor Du Bois ,

I have just returned from Europe and found your lett of January 12 awaiting me . I often wonder why a great country like the United States should be so frightened out its wits so as to make itself so ridiculous before the world . All the witch huntings and violent denunciations of men like Denham Burrows of Temple University make us feel that the USA is mentally immature .

25-62-16

However , I wish to take the present opportunity to congratulate you no matter how belatedly on your birthday . I pray God grant you enough days to see the realisation of your dreams : the universal acceptance of men and women of our race as the equals of the white race . It must be satisfying to you when you look back on your life and remember the controversies , the timidities and fears of your opponents among ourselves to know in the evening of your life that events have vindicated your stand and that the world acknowledges your invaluable contribution to the cause of human freedom .

I often take your books and feel immensely proud that a master of English prose and a first-rate thinker has come through you from our race . I who see the follies and stupidities of my own people daily am saved from despair by contemplating your life and great achievements . No tribute to you can be more succinct than the one offered you when you left the Crisis in 1933 .

Very Sincerely yours ,

R. Armattoe

P.T.O.

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

Prof. W.E.B.Du Bois,
23 West 26th Street,
New York 10,
N.Y.

To open cut here →

← Second fold here →

Sender's name and address:-

A. Hammond
P.O. Box 245
Kumasi, Gold Coast

← To open cut here

← First fold here →

The last book of yours I have is the World & Africa. If there is a newer one, I would be much obliged if the publishers can send me a copy and send me the price by air-card and I can send them a cheque on the Amalgamated Bank of New York.

Yours ever,

Kam.

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

Prof. W.E.B. Du Bois,
23 West 26th Street,
New York 10,
N.Y.

To open cut here

Second fold here

Sender's name and address:-

First fold here

To open cut here

The last book of yours I have is the World & Africa. If there is a newer one, I would be much obliged if the publishers can send me a copy and send me the price by air-card and I can send them a cheque on the Amalgamated Bank of New York.

Yours ever,

Padmore

April 9, 1953

Dr. R. Armattoe
P.O. Box 765
Kumasi, Gold Coast
Africa

Dear Dr. Armattoe:

Thank you for your letter of March 30. I appreciate your kind words.

I am sending you my last book by air mail. There will be no charge.

There are today signs that the United States is recovering its common sense. I hope this will prove true.

My best regards to you and your family.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-62-17

R.Armattoe ,
P.O.Box 765,
Kumasi
May 11, 1953

Dear Professor Du Bois ,

I thank you most sincerely for sending me your latest delightful book In Battle For Peace . I say delightful although the story told therein is tragic enough for our age and our vaunted civilisation . The delight comes then from the hard won triumph and the belief that in the end it is the poor people everywhere who, having suffered so much, would mould a better world . That at least is the only hope left us .

25-62-15

I was amazed at the pusilanimity of the Talented Tenth of the Nation and how they deserted you at the last moment . There was a vile propaganda out here in West Africa from USIS and I was shocked how our Press picked it up till we protested vigorously here . After that the Press refused to publish the propaganda being delivered gratis to it .

I met John Rogge at the Waldorf Meeting and he then impressed me with his sincerity . His subsequent defection and treachery are unpardonable and altogether incomprehensible till your analysis of the underlying motives and ambitions makes the situation quite logical . I pity him . Wallace also astonished by his weakness and he has lost any respect he ever had .

I have been forced to your conclusion about the ultimate conduct of the Negro intelligentsia . They will echo white ideas and manners and sad though it is it seems to me they have nothing new to say to the world . We must expect India or China to give us new moral ideas

a new approach to social relationships .

In the Gold Coast we shall need decades of fresh educational ideals and a more honest group of leaders than we have so far produced . Our national will has been shunted by the crafty and wily British that our people cry for the yellow in the skies are given green and they shout that green is yellow .

I made a great blunder in returning to Africa to try to help . Africa as I see it is the whiteman's heaven and the blackman has made it easy for him .

Nkrumah today occupies more newsprint space than any other coloured political leader because he has made Africa safer for the Englishman. However, every country gets the Government it deserves and we who are sinking in corruption can hardly hold the light to others on this Continent . Greetings from us all . R [illegible]

First fold here

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

Prof. Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois ,

23 West 26th St.,

New York 10,

N.Y.

Second fold here

To open cut here

Sender's name and address :-

To open cut here

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← First fold here →

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

Prof. Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois ,
23 West 26th St.,
New York 10,
N.Y.

GOLD COAST

Sender's name and address :-

.....

.....

.....

← To open cut here

← Second fold here →

← Gummed here

[Atlanta Univ. - Library]

TREVOR ARNETT LIBRARY
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
273 CHESTNUT STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

April 13, 1953

Dear Du Bois:

We have read short accounts of a memorial mass meeting for Stalin that was held in Harlem a few weeks ago. By chance I found your eulogy printed in the Armenian Tribune on Saturday, March 28, 1953. This may not have been your whole speech. I understand that Robeson and others also spoke.

Would you please have some one send us copies of all speeches that were made and a couple of copies of the souvenir program if there was such?

Regards to all.

Sincerely yours,

L. D. Reddick
Chief

LDR/m

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

25-64-9

[Atlanta Univ. - Library]

April 21, 1953

Dr. L.D. Reddick
Trevor Arnett Library
Atlanta University
273 Chestnut St., S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Reddick:

In answer to your letter of April 13th I am enclosing the full text of the speech which I made at the Stalin Memorial mass meeting.

There were some 1500 persons present at the Rockland Palace, 155 Street and Eighth Avenue. Rockwell Kent, the artist, presided, and among the other speakers were: John Howard Lawson, Albert Kahn, Paul Robeson, Jessica Smith, who edits the New World Review, Leon Strauss, fur union leader, and myself.

It was a very successful and inspiring meeting. I think there was a printed program and I am asking the secretary of the Soviet-Friendship Council to send you a copy if he can find one. I am afraid I cannot furnish you the text of any of the other speeches.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh
enc.

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Atlanta Univ. - Library]

April 28, 1953

Dr. L. D. Reddick
Trevor Arnett Library
Atlanta University
273 Chestnut Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Reddick:

At the suggestion of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, we are sending you, herewith, a copy of the speech of Miss Jessica Smith, editor of New World Review, which she made at the Stalin Memorial Meeting. We understand that you have a copy of the speech made by Dr. Du Bois on this occasion. Unfortunately, the other speakers did not have their speeches written nor even an outline so we cannot send these to you.

We are enclosing the program of the meeting. The only person listed on the program whom you may not know is Leon Straus, Vice-president of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union of America.

We are also enclosing a copy of a message by the Deputy Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R., Andrea Gromyko, a resolution adopted by the meeting and a letter of acknowledgement by Mr. Rockwell Kent to Mr. Gromyko.

Sincerely yours,

TB:MJ
enc:

Theodore Bayer
Administrative Secretary

c.c. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

25-54, 46

[Atlanta Univ. - Library]

April 22, 1953

35-64.10

Dr. L. D. Reddick
Trevor Arnett Library
Atlanta University
273 Chestnut St. S.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Reddick:

I find I have one copy of the program of the Stalin meeting.

I am sending a copy of that to you.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
enc.

[Atlanta Univ. - Library]

TREVOR ARNETT LIBRARY
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
273 CHESTNUT STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

May 4, 1953

Dear Du Bois:

Many thanks for sending me a copy of your own speech and of the program of the March 26 meeting. I have since received a copy of one of the other speeches but had not luck on Robeson's remarks. I understand that he had no script and spoke only from his notes.

Please keep me on the mailing list for everything that you issue from time to time. Keep up the good work.

Sincerely yours,

L. D. Reddick
Chief

LDR/m

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

25-48-2

[Bahamas - Crown Lands Office]

May 26, 1953

Mr. R.E.A. Sweetnam
Lands Office
Nassau N.P.
Bahamas

My dear Mr. Sweetnam:

We have arrived home safely, and remember your courtesy with great pleasure.

Will you please remind the young man who assists you that he promised to make two photostats for us. We will be very glad to have him do this and forward them to us with bill.

25-50-9

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Bahamas - Crown Lands Office]

CROWN LANDS OFFICE,
NASSAU, BAHAMAS

Reference No. -

6th July, 1953.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Enclosed you will find two photostats and one white print from our records of Long Island shewing lands in the vicinity of Doctor DuBois Pond, as requested by you during your stay here in Nassau. I am very sorry that we could not get better prints but the originals are old and tattered (as you know) and badly discoloured.

25-60-21

2. I regret the delay in supplying these prints; it was my wish that I could have given them to you over the counter.

3. The total cost of printing is six dollars ($6.00) which should be mailed to the Crown Lands Officer, Nassau, Bahamas.

4. Please extend my greetings to Mrs. DuBois. I wish you both Good Health and Happiness.

Yours sincerely
Hendrick L Williams
Draughtsman.

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS,
23 West 26th Street,
New York 10, N. Y.,
U. S. A.

[Bahamas - Crown Lands Off.]

July 17, 1953

Mr. Kendrick L. Williams
Crown Lands Office
Nassau, Bahamas

My dear Mr. Williams:

Enclosed is a check made out to the Crown Lands Officer for $6, in payment for the photostats which you sent me.

However, only one of these photostats was really what I wanted and that was the one which showed the Doctor Du Bois pond. There is another map showing the James Du Bois ground of 160 acres which I would especially like to have. This is either on an Eleuthrea Island or Long Island, I don't know which. I wish you could send me that, with bill.

My My best regards to Mr. Sweetnam from Mrs. Du Bois and myself, and also to you.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-60-22

[Bahamas - Crown Lands Off.]

20

25-58

No. 2698

CROWN LANDS OFFICE, NASSAU, N. P., BAHAMAS.

July 23rd. 1953

Received from W. E. B. Du Bois (23 West 26th. street
10 N. Y.)

— Two *Pounds* — Two *Shillings* — One *Pence.*

Being In 2 Photostatic copies of plans showing
"Doctor Du Bois Pond" Long Island

(draft for $6.00 realized £2-2-1 at the
Bank)

Reference:

£ 2 : 2 : 1

D. Arawha
For Crown Lands Officer.

[Bahamas, Crown Lands Off.]

CROWN LANDS OFFICE,
NASSAU, BAHAMAS.
18th September, 1953.

Reference No. 1204.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I have the honour to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of your letter of 17th July, 1953, together with the enclosed draft in the sum of six dollars ($6.00). Herewith please find our official receipt for the sum of £2. 2. 1. which represents the amount realized from the draft.

25-58-16

2. Also enclosed you will find the photostat copy of a grant to Doctor James DuBois of 160 acres of land at Eleuthera as requested by you. The bill is attached.

3. Mr. Sweetnam asks to convey to Mrs. DuBois and yourself his best regards.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
Mary T. Demeritte
Mary T. Demeritte
DRAUGHTSMAN.

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS,
23dd. West, 26th Street,
New York 10, New York,
U. S. A.

/mtd
Encs.

With the compliments

of

The Crown Lands Officer

Nassau, Bahamas.

January 22, 1953

Mr. Carl Murphy
Afro-American
628 N. Eutaw St.
Baltimore, Md.

Dear Mr. Murphy:

I thank you for republishing my short story, "The Comet" taken from my book of essays, "Darkwater". I am glad to have it brought to the attention of your readers.

At the same time, you are, of course, aware that my income these days is not excessive, and probably your accountant has forgotten to forward me a check for the royalty due.

I shall hope to hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-56-25

[Baltimore Afro-American]

October 21, 1953

Mr. Carl Murphy
Baltimore Afro-American
628 N. Eutaw St.
Baltimore, Md.

My dear Mr. Murphy:

Enclosed is a proposed advertisement. If I can afford it I should like to have this inserted in the Afro-American national edition one, two or three times, to occupy a small space but large enough to attract some attention.

Will you kindly let me know what such an insertion would cost? As this is not a commercial venture I can only afford to spend a reasonable sum.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Banks]
Box 2895
"The Bastion"
State College
Prairie View, Texas
5 August 1953

Dear Dr. DuBois:

25-60-21

Just had a dear note from Amy J. Webster her picture included. I spent a month in Hobbs and Albuquerque, New Mexico with one of our graduates who has New Mexico tenure and has taught 7 years, but whose Negro principal is trying to oust. I attended the Hearing. Because of that visit I am about to be able to sell some of the books — so please see that I get "six (6), at present, copies of your In Battle for Peace" autographed. I think to begin with I can sell that number. They go better autographed. Please date them. Mr. Banks is well. Both of us send you both love.

always the same
Virginia - "Independent"

[Banks]

August 17, 1953

Mrs. Virginia Banks
Box 2895
"The Bastion"
Prairie View State College
Prairie View, Texas

My dear Virginia:

Thank you very much for your order of six books. I am a little late in filling it but my secretary was on vacation and I did not write any letters. We will get them off today.

I am glad to see that you keep busy.

My best love to you and your husband.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Had a dear letter from Anny Webster. She thinks of returning to Fairhope, Ala. soon as she will retire.

Hobbs' wife - Negro still teaches at Houston in T. S. U.

[Banks]

"The Bastion"
State College
Prairie View, Texas
24 August 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 W. 26 Street
New York 10, New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you for your letter of August 17. The autographed books came to me all safe and sound on Saturday. When the case was so "new" the folk here were all so scared that I hesitated to try and sell them then. The autographed ones should go quickly and so I hope to have luck in the sales and may be able to sell a few of the more expensive ones later.

25-60-10

I went to Hobbs, New Mexico for a Hearing where a Negro teacher with tenure is losing her job - claim insubordination. When she went on up to Albuquerque to consult her lawyer - I went too in a car. The altitude was too much for me and while I felt no pain, (was in New Mexico a month) when I returned my pressure was 220. I went to bed and rested and am

now cutting down on food. Pressure is down at present. My teeth are being fixed. I think they add to the nervous tension.

While in Hobbs, New Mexico I met a white couple who had never known of you. The wife has lost her job — same charge, but on different grounds — insubordination — and they want a copy.

Mr. Banks is fine having just had another birth-day on August 8. His school at Houston is still in great ferment. He still keeps his interest and is on the Board until 1959. He declined the chairmanship. The white chairman became a judge last week and so another Negro becomes chairman unless the governor sends down a different word. One million, eight hundred thousand dollars worth of dormitories go up there now and the Negroes around the school have lovely homes. Pres. Evans has a new $60,000 state owned and state furnished home there.

Remember you promised to come and see us and bring Mrs. Du Bois.

With love always,

Gloria Virginia Perry Banks

(Mrs. W.R.)

25-60-11

Shall I send the money for a Mass and a Masses and Mainstreams?

September 22, 1953

Mrs. Virginia Banks
Prairie View State College
Prairie View, Texas

My dear Virginia:

I am glad you received the books and hope you will be able to dispose of them. The pay for them comes to me and not to the publishers.

I hope you are keeping hold of your health and not trying to do too much.

My best regards to you and your husband from Shirley and myself.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

B-50-9

2016 Ewing St.
Los Angeles, 39,
California
March 5, 1953

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois,

It is unusual when I ask two people as busy as I know you to be to read a play of mine for the purpose of critically examining its content. The comment that "Grandma" has so far received here in LA, however, does ask that it be judged by those as versed in the history of the Negro people as yourselves.

Knowing how helpful your comments can be, I hope that you will be able to get to it soon.

Yours

Paul Barlin

Paul Barlin

25-60-18

March 23, 1953

Mr. Paul Barlin
2016 Ewing St.
Los Angeles, 39
California

Dear Mr. Barlin:

I am not a dramatist or a good judge of drama although, of course, I enjoy the theater.

I have read your play hastily and it seems to me historically sound, but how far it deserves to be put on the stage I am not in a position to say.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh
enc.

W.E.B. Du Bois

July 29, 1953

Dr. Edward K. Barsky
54 East 61 St.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Barsky:

Enclosed are copies of two letters; one from me to the Life Extension Examiners, and the other from the Director of the Life Extension Examiners to me.

Do you know Dr. C. Ward Crampton mentioned in Johnson's letter? Shirley is suspicious and does not want me to go to any physician who is not vouched for.

I shall be very glad to have your advice. I am not ill, but getting older every day.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

DR. EDWARD K. BARSKY
54 EAST 61ST STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

August 4, 1953

85-31-28

Dr. W. E. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I read your letter to the Life Extension Examiners with great interest, and you have well made a point.

Unfortunately, I do not know of Dr. C. Ward Crampton and therefore can tell you nothing about him. If you wish, I can ask about him and let you know in a few days.

Sincerely yours,

Edward K. Barsky

EKB:ms

Edward K. Barsky, M. D.

August 21, 1953

Publisher of the Beacon
143 Roebuck
Bridgetown
Barbados, B.W.I.

My dear Sir:

Will you please change the address of my copy of your paper from 20 West 40 Street c/o NAACP to:

31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

I enjoy reading it.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

September 24, 1953

Dr. Edward Beasely
3507 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Doctor Beasley:

I am writing to ask you about the health and present condition of Mildred Bryant Jones. Is she well and how are her eyes?

I am going to be in Chicago at the Conrad Hilton Hotel from about the 15th to the 18th of October. I wonder if it would be possible for me to visit Mildred?

As you know, we have been close friends for nearly 50 years. I feel very deeply at knowing so little of her present condition.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-60-7

October 21, 1953

Dr. Edward Beaseley
3507 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. Beaseley:

I want to thank you very much for your kindness in taking me out to see Mildred. I was so glad to find her in good health and reasonably happy, and I can realize from her mental condition how great a care and responsibility she has been, and how well you have performed your trust.

When you see her again give her my love, and if there is at any time anything I can do to help her or you please let me know.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

25-60-8

BERNARD BENDER, D. D. S.
853 BROADWAY, SUITE 1114
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

ALGONQUIN 4-0898

Sept. 29. 1953

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I have enclosed a memorandum on the question of Puerto Rico that I know you would be interested in reading. A number of people are trying to form a committee on this issue in order to influence the U.S. delegation in the United Nations to withdraw its resolution.

If you agree with the memorandum, please sign it on the last page and return it in the enclosed envelope. We welcome your comments on this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Bernard Bender

25-33-38

June 1, 1953

Miss Ida Berman
711 West End Avenue
New York 25, N.Y.

My dear Ida:

Forgive me for neglecting so long my choice of the very excellent photographs which you made of me. Here are four which Shirley and I would be very glad to have reproduced if you can, and Shirley and I would be very much pleased if sometime you would come out and take pictures of our home.

I shall be glad to hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

May11, 1953

Professor J. D. Bernal
21, Torrington Square
London, W.C. 1
England

Dear Professor Bernal:

Enclosed is a message from Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois to the Peace Council.

He has already sent the original to Joliot-Curie in Budapest, but some of his mail is tampered with and he is afraid it may not get through.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

enc.

[Bernal]

21, TORRINGTON SQUARE,
LONDON, W.C.1.

Peace Council

Miss Lillian Hyman,
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois,
23 West 26th Street,
New York 10,
New York,
U.S.A.

21st May, 1953.

15-52 .25

Dear Miss Hyman,

Professor Bernal has asked me to acknowledge the safe receipt of Dr. Du Bois' message.

He will take great care of this matter for Dr. Du Bois. He asks me to send his very cordial greetings to Dr. Du Bois and hopes that he is keeping well.

Yours sincerely,

A. Rimel

(Miss) A. Rimel,
Secretary to Professor Bernal.

My Dear Dr. DuBois:

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois, 1952 recipient of the International Peace Prize of the World Council for Peace - that simple and brief sentence must fill every peace loving American with pride. To that feeling of pride we must, in all honesty, add a feeling of shame and determination.

Shame because many of us have done little for the cause of peace. Shame because we have permitted those who control ou national government and its policies to turn our beloved country into a most powerful and sinister obstacle to world peace.

Let all of us become grimly determined to earn the right to truthfully call ourselves fearless, tireless, militant fighters for peace. That is the most concrete way to prove our love and respect for that intellectual giant, that uncompromising fighter for the dignity of man, that lover and champion of the human race, Dr. W.E.B.DuBois.

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois, may you be with us for many more years. Your country and its people - yes, the world - nedd you now more than ever.

With deep respect, profound admiration and love, I salute you.

John T. Bernard

Former US
Congressman now V.I. organizer

217 Quentin Road
Brooklyn 23, N. Y.
January 30, 1953

Beloved Doctor,

Don't be amazed at the salutation. I am one of the many millions who love and revere you.

Knowing that you are heavily taxed with numerous activities that leave you very little time, I shall come right to the point.

Judge Kaufman's latest action in the Rosenberg case, as reported in the press on January 3, cut into me very deeply, and I gave expression to my reaction in the lines that follow:

CONSCIENCE AND PROPHECY

Contrive, your honor, that inner voice to smother
On the day or night when your servility may kill
a father and a mother.
No prize, judge Irving Kaufman, your life worth living will make;
Shame will be your lot, and the curse of millions will keep you
awake.
Children as a monster of hate upon you will look;
Infamy and Kaufman will be synonymous in many a book.
Entertain no false illusions—your dirty hide you will not save!
No master long preserved the coward who, to live, sent others
to the grave.
Condemned unto eternity have you yourself and kin;
Endless will be your torture, for you've committed the blackest sin.

What, my friend, is your reaction to mine? I am anxious to know.

Sincerely yours,

Israel Bershad.

Israel Bershad.

February 5, 1953

85-60-17

Mr. Israel Bershad
217 Quentin Road
Brooklyn 23, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Bershad:

I thank you for your letter of January 30th.

I agree with you, of course, but I am afraid at this moment there is little that we can do.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

WALNUT 2272

J.B.BLAYTON & COMPANY
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT
AUDITORS ACTUARIES
HOME OFFICE
239 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

RESEARCH
VALUATIONS
TAX SERVICE

AUDITS
SYSTEMS
INVESTIGATIONS

September 18,1953

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

25-60-3

My dear Doctor Dubois:

It was refreshing to have a word from an old colleague. I would have replyed before now but I was in attendance at the National Baptist Convention at Miami. A "wonderful time was had by all".

I, now reply to your questionnaire.

1. The Oddfellows receivership was begun in 1916 as you suspected.
2. The first receiver was Attorney James A. Branch of Atlanta. He was succeeded in that role by Attorney George L. Bell,Jr.
3. In the litigation, the Supreme Court of Georgia ruled in favor of what was called the "Davis-Ingram Faction" of the Order. The Davis was Benjamin J. Davis,Sr. (the old Republican).
4. The amount of the loss which resulted is now difficult to determine (I would place it at around $200,000.00). It fell on the policyholders of the Endowment Department of the Oddfellows.
5. The property is now owned by W.J.(Bill) Shaw, a Negro, who at the time of receivership was secretary to Mr. Davis(supra).
6. The Oddfellows in Georgia today are non-existent.

Again, please accept my apologies for delay in answering your letter,

I am yours most sincerely,

J.B.Blayton

J.B.Blayton
Carnegie Professor of Business Administration
Atlanta University

September 23, 1953

Mr. J.B. Blayton
239 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Blayton:

I thank you so much for your letter of September 18th in answer to my request. I wonder if I can trespass upon your time a moment more.

Were James A. Branch and George L. Bell colored or white?

And finally: when W.J. Shaw got hold of the property was it by purchase with his own funds or was it turned over to him by the receivership. I imagine, of course, that he purchased it himself.

At your convenience, kindly let me know.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

25-60-4

or those of his associates

[BLUE HERON PRESS?]

March 16, 1953

CHANGES IN SOULS OF BLACK FOLK

not done

p. 123, line 14, capitalise "Negroes".

p. 126, ?

p. 132, line 12, change to read "native and foreign, seized it. The returns of the"

not done

p. 170, 6 lines from bottom, change to read, "enterprising capitalist who sold it to him pocketed"

TO BE ADDED TO CHAPTER VII, p. 134:

In the foregoing chapter, "Jews" have been mentioned five times, and the late Jacob Schiff once complained that this gave an impression of anti-Semitism. This at the time I stoutly denied; but as I read the passages again in the light of subsequent history, I see how I laid myself open to this possible misapprehension. What, of course, I meant to condemn was exploitation of black labor and that it was in this country and at that time in part a matter of immigrant Jews, was incidental and not essential. My inner sympathy with the Jewish people was expressed better in the last paragraph of page 227. But this illustrates how easily one slips into unconscious condemnation of a whole group.

[Blue Heron Press]

June 1, 1955

Mr. Howard Fast
43 West 94 St.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Howard:

This is the proposed foreword for the new edition of "The Souls of Black Folk."

Please read it and criticize it.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-64-1

To Howard Fast
for repub. of
Souls of Black Folk
not used

FIFTY YEARS AFTER

My first two books were the "Suppression of the African Slave Trade," my doctor's thesis, which in 1896 became the first volume of the Harvard Historical Studies. Then came three years later "The Philadelphia Negro," published by the University of Pennsylvania. Both of these were attempted scientific studies with no great popular appeal, but they led to some magazine articles and McClure's magazine asked me for a study of the Black Belt. This I made but they did not accept it. Then from Chicago in 1901 came an inquiry for a book.

It was the time when the mid-west was seeking to become a literary and publishing center. The Dial had begun publishing poetry and other literature, and the Brownes, father and son, editors of A.C. McClurg & Co., asked me for a manuscript on some phase of the Negro Problem. I told them that I had nothing but outlined a plan for a major social study of the South along the line of the work I had begun at Atlanta University in 1898.

They intimated that they sought a more popular work along literary lines and inquired if I could not get together a sufficient number of essays to make a book. With some hesitation I assembled several articles I had already published, some unpublished essays and some which I had in mind. Re-writing and adapting these, I sent them to Chicago with some trepidation, being sure they did not measure up to what I wanted to do and could do with time. They were accepted and appeared as "The Souls of Black Folk" in 1903. I presume at least 100,000 copies were sold slowly in the twenty editions of the book issued up to 1940.

Reading them again a half century later, I think they fairly present my thought at the time and I am better satisfied with them on the whole than I was at first. Naturally they do not reflect entirely my present thought;

but they outline a phase of my spiritual development. My social and economic philosophy was then as I now see it immature, and my outlook on race provincial.

One matter illustrates this. At the time when I had made the study for McClure in south Georgia, I came across a considerable number of immigrants from Russia who had settled in the Black Belt and who together with southern and northern whites were exploiting the Negro workers with little mercy. I referred to these Jews and to the poor whites and Yankees several times in what became the fourth chapter of my book. Jacob Schiff, whom I knew slightly, wrote me later pointing out that my words conveyed an impression of anti-Semitism, as I seemed to be blaming religion or race for the deeds which these men were doing. I resented this strongly, denying that any race prejudice could possibly enter my thinking. Later Rabbi Stephen Wise repeated this charge and I promised to review my words and correct them in future editions if they seemed in error.

I never did this because as I re-read the bare facts which I had chronicled, they were true. I could not conscientiously change them. Moreover, I certainly had no conscious desire to malign Jews, knowing only too well myself what race prejudice could do. I therefore continued to let the words stand as I had written them, and did not realise until the horrible massacre of German Jews, how even unconscious repetition of current folklore such as the concept of Jews as more guilty of exploitation than others, had helped the Hitlers of the world.

In planning this reprint, therefore, my first impulse was to eliminate all these references to Jews. But this I finally realised would be historically inaccurate. I have therefore with some regret let the passages

stand as written, believing that other references to Jews in this very book and my evident personal indebtedness to Jewish culture will absolve me from blame of ~~intentional~~ unfairness. If it does not, the case but illustrates how easy it is, especially in race relations, inadvertently to give a totally wrong impression.

W.E.B. Du Bois
New York, June 1953

1/30/17

Howard Fast for Souls — not used Book

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blame of unfairness. If it does not, the case but illustrates how easy it is inadvertently to give a totally wrong impression.

W.E.B. Du Bois
New York, May 1953

1130 14

THE BLUE HERON PRESS, Inc.
47 West 63 Street, New York 23, N. Y. SUsquehanna 7-4084

Sept. 15, 1953

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Please call me as soon as you have read this over so I can tell the printer to go ahead with it if everything is all right.

Thank you.

Sincerely
Janet Ross
Janet Ross

1/29/63

[Blue Heron Press]

September 22, 1953

September 22, 1953

Mr. Howard Fast
Blue Heron Press
47 West 63 Street
New York 23, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Fast:

I have been looking through my files and papers and I do not find any contract concerning the publication of SOULS OF BLACK FOLK.

If you have sent me such a document will you kindly forward me a copy. If not, will you kindly send me a proposed copy?

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

AGREEMENT made this 24th day of September 1953, by and between Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois of 23 W. 26 St., New York, N.Y. the "Author, and/or Proprietor (hereinafter in either case called the "Author") and THE BLUE HERON PRESS (INC.), a New York corporation having its place of business in New York, N.Y. (hereinafter called the "Publisher").

WHEREAS the Author warrants that he is the sole proprietor of the work described in this agreement, and also that he is the sole owner of the plates described in this agreement, and that he has full power to make this agreement;

NOW THEREFORE, in consideration of the promises hereinafter set forth and other valuable considerations the receipt of which each party hereto acknowledges, the Author and the Publisher agree together as follows:

1. (a) The Author hereby grants and assigns to the Publisher the right:

To publish or cause to be published in the English language in book form in the United States of America and its dependencies;

To publish or cause to be published in book form in the Dominion of Canada in the English language;

To sell copies in the English language for export to all of the dependencies of the United States of America and to the Dominion of Canada

the work now entitled: THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK

(hereinafter called the "said work").

(b) The Author also grants to the Publisher the use of the plates of the said work which are now in existence, for all printing operations concerned with the said work.

2. (a) The Author specifies that this contract shall remain in force for a period of twenty-four (24) months and that at the termination of that period if neither of the two parties to this contract expresses a written desire to terminate the contract, such desire to be expressed within seven (7) days prior to the conclusion of the twenty-four (24) month period, then the contract shall automatically be extended for another twelve (12) months.

(b) The Author also agrees that the Publisher shall have the right to make any agreements with other publishers in terms of subleasing the use of the plates to the said work, subject to the conditions of this agreement and providing that such contracts are not for reprints to be sold at the same price as this one.

3. The Publisher agrees to publish the said work at its own expense in such style and manner as it shall deem best suited to its sale at a catalogue retail price of not less than ~~one dollar ($1.00) for a paper edition, and~~ three dollars ($3.00) for a cloth bound edition.

3a: The publisher shall have the right to deduct from the author's royalties, the cost of expenses incurred in remaking six plates of this book, where author's changes were indicated, and also in remaking any other plates that may prove to be in too poor condition for the normal printing process.

4. The Publisher further agrees to pay to the Author:

(a) a royalty of five percent (5%) of the retail price up to 2,000 copies of First Edition. On all subsequent editions publisher will pay author 18% on wholesale price.

(b) The Publisher agrees to render annual statements of account and to make settlement in cash within the three (3) month period following such annual statement of account.

5. The Publisher does not specify any date for the publication of the said work, but will place it on the market as soon as circumstances allow.

6. This agreement shall be binding upon and inure to the benefit of executors, administrators, and assigns of the Author and upon and to the successors and assigns of the Publisher.

This agreement shall terminate immediately in case of bankruptcy and all rights shall revert to the Author.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the said parties have hereto and to another instrument of like tenor set their hands the day and year first written.

Martin Greendlinger
Witness sign here

Author sign here

THE BLUE HERON PRESS (INC.)

By J. W. Ross

Both

October 21, 1953

Mr. Howard Fast
1 West 68 St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Howard,

I want to tell you how very much I appreciate the edition of the "Souls of Black Folk" which you have issued.

It is an exceptionally well done job and I am proud of it and thankful to you for your thought and care.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

1/29/02

HOWARD FAST
1 WEST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 23, N. Y.

October 26, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Bu Bois:

Thank you for your very kind note. I cannot tell you what joy it gave us prepare the edition of your book, and I can only hope that the sales will fulfill your own expectations.

Sincerely

Howard Fast

1/29/107

Book

THE BLUE HERON PRESS, Inc.

47 West 63 Street, New York 23, N.Y. *SUsquehanna 7-4084*

November 4, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We have begun to have some inquiries from abroad concerning THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK. We shall be happy to undertake all contracts and negotiations for foreign reprints if you so desire. It is customary among publishers in America to write into the contract a 25 or 30 percent cut on foreign payments. We have refrained from doing this, considering that it is more fair to leave such a clause out. However, if we should handle foreign rights, we would ask the 20 percent fee on all payments from foreign sources, which is customary among literary agents in New York.

Of course you have the right to contract for these rights yourself, or to go to a regular literary agent.

May I look forward to an early reply.

Sincerely

(Mrs.) J. W. Ross
THE BLUE HERON PRESS, INC.

1/29/67

Nov. 18, 1953

Mr. Howard Fast
The Blue Heron Press, Inc.
47 West 63 St.
New York 23, NY

My dear Howard:

I have neglected to answer the letter of November 4th from Mrs. J.W. Ross.

May I say that I shall be very happy to have you undertake all contracts and negotiations for reprints abroad of THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Book

November 24, 1953

Mr. Howard Fast
Blue Heron Press
47 West 63 St.
New York 23, NY

My dear Howard:

Mr. L. N. Rao, of the Servants of India Society called on me last August. Curiously enough, he was sent by the State Department. They had protested guiding him here but he persisted, and came unescorted.

He has written me saying that he wants me to permit the republication of IN BATTLE FOR PEACE. I gave him a copy when he was here.

In writing him I am proposing that he consider the re-publication in India of THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, and have told him that I would send him a copy.

Will you kindly mail a copy to him and charge me? Mr. L. N. Rao, Servants of India Society, Malabar Center, Koshikode-2, India.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Book

Nov. 30, 1953

Mr. Howard Fast
Blue Heron Press
47 West 63 St.
New York 23, NY

My dear Howard:

I am sending you two statements about the new edition of THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK. One was published in the Afro-American, November 24, 1953. The other is an abstract from a convocation address by the president of Fisk University.

I thought they might be of use.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
enc.

[Blue Heron Press]

Dec. 2, 1953

Mr. Howard Fast
Blue Heron Press
47 W. 63 St.
New York 23, NY

My dear Howard:

The Mme. C.J. Walker Manufacturing Company, dealing with hair and toilet preparations is one of the largest Negro businesses in the United States.

I have been writing them concerning data about Mme. Walker, and in replying the assistant manager says, "The re-issue of Souls of Black Folk has created some unusual interest here."

You might communicate with him. The name is:

Mr. Willard B. Ransom, Asst. Mgr.
The Mme. C.J. Walker Manufacturing Co.
Walker Bldg.
Indianapolis 2, Indiana

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

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☐ The Best Untold Edward Biberman	$3.00
☐ Sonnets of Love and Liberty Walter Lowenfels	$1.50

BY HOWARD FAST

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Howard Fast has for twenty years been known as one of the most popular and beloved of all American writers. His novels have sold more than ten million copies in America—and his sales throughout the world are the largest of any living writer. You will want to read SILAS TIMBERMAN.

For fall publication, 1954.

Price: $3.00 320 *pages*

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by **DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS**

First published in 1903, THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK has become in the half century since then, one of the permanent classics of Negro literature in America. Until this current edition was brought out by the Blue Heron Press, THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK was out of print, an eagerly-sought-after collector's item.

We have now brought out a special, beautifully-bound library edition to commemorate the half-century anniversary of this book. The edition is limited, and each copy is autographed by Dr. Du Bois.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, known and beloved the world over as perhaps the greatest of all living American Negroes, has a long and illustrious career as historian, poet, essayist, novelist. scholar and political leader of his people. THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK is the best known of his books.

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[Blume]

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1220

(49)

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NL=Night Letter

LT=Int'l Letter Telegram

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DR W E DU BOIX,CARE DR ROBERT MORSE LOVETT=

166 WEST WASHINGTON ST ROOM 312 CHGO=

B

:NEVER WAS A PRIZE BETTER DESERVED STOP IT IS THE REWARD OF A WHOLE LIFE DEVOTED TO THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN STOP THOSE WHO WERE WITH YOU IN DIFFICULT DAYS ARE CLOSE TO YOU ON THIS JOYFUL DAY STOP WE HOPE TO BRING YOU A STILL BETTER PRIZE THE VICTORY OF PEACE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD YOURS=

ISABELLE BLUME=

member Belgian Parliament

35-60-40

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

THE BOOK PRODUCTION COMPANY, INC.

August 24, 1953

To ~~Mr. Terrell~~ Larry Parody

From M.A. Friedman

Re - pickup of plates

Please arrange to have 6 boxes of platespicked up, Tuesday, Aug. 25th, between 1 o'lock and 4 p.m. at

Dr. Wm. Du Bois - 3rd floor
23 West 26 Street

The 6 boxes will have to be carried from the 4th floor to the elevator on the third floor. Pls arrange with truckman to do so.

Wm. Gustavus

25-6/4/35

#10 Orchard

Stanton, Delaware
Box 14A

April 25, 1953

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Greetings from Wilmington Delaware. We shall always remember the kindness shown by you and your wonderful wife, as we visited in the home of our friends.

This winter term I have been taking an extremely interesting course at the University of Delaware, titled "Frontier Problems", given by Prof. Earl Hanson. The course deals chiefly about new developments in Puerto Rico, but Puerto Rico is used merely as an example of similar situations elsewhere in the world. The past, present and future of Puerto Rico are indeed interesting; let us hope the Puerto Ricans will be able to retain and develop further a better standard of living.

My assignment is to write a paper dealing with another underdeveloped country, describing the geography, history, present conditions and future plans and problems. Using this material, I must formulate a plan by which this country could obtain a high standard of living, and a happy population.

This is an ambitious project and I want to do it as much justice as my abilities will allow. It is so hard to find reliable information in libraries and press, that I haven't felt much like writing the paper at all. Most sources contain either tourist information, or tedious tales of missionaries etc.. I s'pose if a paper were written on the basis of valid facts, certain people would term it "mischievous".

Well if this isn't always, exactly the land of the free, it's at least the home of the brave, so it would be wonderful if you could send me materials and references dealing with Kenya, which as yet I know litte of. Ghana would be easier, but I'm taking this course to acquire knowledge, so now is as good a time as any to brush up on Kenya.

I can visit Lincoln University, if you recommend books that might be found there. Enclosed is a contribution. Thank you for whatever help you might be able to offer.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor H. Bostwick

Eleanor H. Bostwick

P.S. Greet Mrs. Robeson, her lecture for the Arden Scholars Guild was surperb. Newspapers here still comment on it occasionally. Also this letter was inspired by an ad in that wonderful paper "Freedom".

May 20, 1953

Miss Eleanor H. Bostwick
Box 14A
Stanton, Delaware

My dear Madam:

I have your letter of April 25th and the enclosure of $10. I am not quite clear as to what you want me to do.

With regard to Kenya I would recommend the following books:

Norman Leys, "Kenya", 1924
Huxley & Perhan, "Race and Politics in Kenya", 1951
Huxley, "Africa View", 1931

Also, in current periodicals you will find a great deal lately on the subject of Kenya, for instance in a recent issue of Life magazine, and in the weekly papers and magazines, which they probably would have on file at Lincoln University.

I hope this may give you some help. If not, write me again if you have any specific request.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

April, 22-'53.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois—

Dear Sir.—

95-60-13

Note the enclosed clipping on South Africa as printed on the Editorial Page of this paper.

Sincerely

W. A. Braxton.

830 State St.,

Richmond 23, Va.

May 19, 1953

Mr. W. A. Braxton
830 State St.
Richmond 23, Va.

My dear Mr. Braxton:

I am very glad to read the editorial in the Richmond News Leader of April 20th on Africa.

It does seem to me that there can hardly be a civilised person in America who will not condemn Malan on his present program for the natives of that land. Surely it will be impossible to retreat much further in reaction.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-60-3

Phone Nightingale -6- 9814

BRIGHTON COMMUNITY CENTER
3200 CONEY ISLAND AVENUE
BROOKLYN 24, N. Y.
NIghtingale 6-9814
122

March 25 1953

Dr W.E B. DUOis

Dear friend
We have April 12th 1953
open for our regular Sunday
night Forums

We would like to have
you speak on above mentioned
date in telephone conversation
with your office I was told
that you are free on this
date

Will you place inform
me if you can come and what
you would like to talk about

Fraternally Yours
Nathan Schneider

called 1:30
150 people
will try to arrange on
"Africa"

35-54-4

March 27, 1953

Mr. Nathan Schneider
Brighton Community Center
3200 Coney Island Avenue
Brooklyn 24, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Schneider:

Enclosed is the biographical sketch of Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, as you requested.

Dr. Du Bois lives at 31 Grace Court, Brooklyn, New York. Please telephone him at Maine 4--2929 concerning the arrangments for transportation.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

BNC

March 26, 1953

Mr. Nathan Schneider
Brighton Community Center
3200 Coney Island Avenue
Brooklyn 24, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Schneider:

Answering your letter of March 25th, I beg to say that I could speak for you on April 12th on the following conditions:

1) Fee of $50.
2) Transportation from my home, 31 Grace Court, Brooklyn 2, to the lecture hall and return.

I am not able to deliver many lectures and have to refuse most appeals. I shall quite understand if you are not able to meet these conditions. If you can, please let me hear from you immediately.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

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25-54-35

BROOKLYN HEIGHTS ASSOCIATION

INCORPORATED
32 COURT STREET
BROOKLYN 2, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MAIN 4-5320

April 17, 1953

IMPORTANT

Dear Member:

Next Wednesday, April 22, 1953, the Board of Estimate will pass on a proposed amendment to the City Zoning Regulation which would permit the erection of buildings along the Esplanade to the height of seventy feet in an area within one hundred feet of the bulkhead line. The erection of such buildings would be injurious to the health and welfare of the residents of Brooklyn Heights and would, of course, spoil the view from the Esplanade.

We strongly urge you as a member of the Association to write a personal letter, and to urge your friends to write personal letters at once to our Borough President protesting the adoption of a zoning regulation which would permit the erection of buildings along the Esplanade to a height of more than fifty feet, on the ground that it would threaten the health and welfare of the residents of Brooklyn Heights.

Letters should be addressed to

Honorable John Cashmore,
Borough President,
21 Borough Hall,
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

Very truly yours,

Morrison Pretz
President

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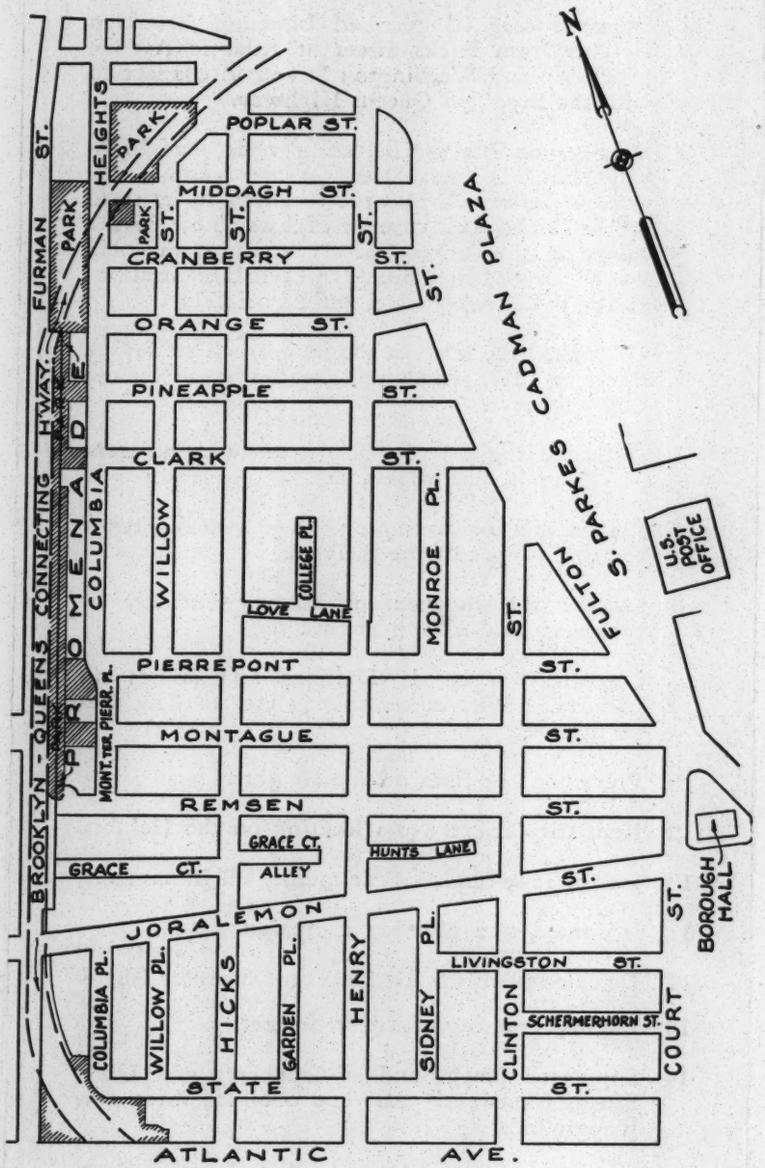
Brevard K. Titter
Francis E. Walton
Mrs. Carl T. Washburn
Dr. Virginia T. Weeks
Travis H. Whitney
George N. Whittlesey

BROOKLYN HEIGHTS



THE BROOKLYN HEIGHTS ASSOCIATION

A Civic Organization

FOUNDED IN 1910

CONTINUOUSLY ACTIVE FOR OVER 42 YEARS
IN THE INTEREST AND WELFARE OF
BROOKLYN HEIGHTS

WHAT IS THE ASSOCIATION?

1 A neighborhood civic organization active in the interest and welfare of Brooklyn Heights. It has been the initiator of the most important public improvements of the area.

2 It is continually on the watch for zoning violations and zoning changes in order that the character of the Heights be maintained.

3 It is continually endeavoring to keep an eye on smoke abatement, cleanliness, traffic, parking, noise, tree planting and care as well as many other matters that come up from time to time concerning the betterment of the Heights.

ITS ORGANIZATION

Its policy forming and working body consists of a Board of Governors of 30 residents of whom 10 are elected each year for a term of three years at the Annual Meeting. The Board elects the officers and the President appoints the several committees.

ITS PURPOSE

To stimulate an interest in the welfare of Brooklyn Heights among its residents and businessmen, and to further such public movements as are directed to the betterment of the Borough and Brooklyn Heights. It aims to assure the safety, cleanliness, quiet and dignity of the neighborhood as well as to preserve and improve the residential character of the Heights to make it a better place in which to live.

ITS NEED

Unless the people of a neighborhood through constant vigilance and concerted action are ever on the alert to prevent its deterioration any neighborhood in any city will gradually slide down hill.

A watchful organization with adequate public support can not only prevent such retrogression, but also secure improvements and services which make the neighborhood a better place in which to live and do business.

It is only through joint effort, properly organized and exerted, that results can be secured. The larger the support or membership, the more effective the organization.

WHAT THE BROOKLYN HEIGHTS ASSOCIATION HAS ACCOMPLISHED

1 Defeated original plan of bisecting Brooklyn Heights from Hicks Street at Atlantic Avenue to Tillary and Washington Streets in connection with the Brooklyn Queens Highway.

2 Was responsible for defeating a six lane highway above Furman Street *at the level of the present promenade* and the adoption in its stead of the doubledeck covered highway now in the course of completion (the six lane highway plan was approved by all Brooklyn Civic Organizations except the Brooklyn Heights Association).

3 Originated the idea for the new Brooklyn Bridge Plaza in 1910, which will be completed by the City this year.

4 Instituted the plan for Esplanade with adjacent playgrounds, rest rooms, etc.

5 Responsible for revamping the 40 year old street lighting system of the Heights.

6 Secured the Independent Subway entrance at Cranberry and Fulton Streets.

7 Constantly reported violations and abuses on parking, traffic, noise, smoke, etc. to City Departments.

8 Prevented bus lines on the Heights.

9 Kept City Courts from locating on the Heights.

10 Helped raise funds for community Christmas trees.

11 Instituted tree planting campaign.

12 Defeated plans for Air Field on Governors Island.

13 Limited granting of liquor licenses.

14 Supported playground at Cranberry and Hicks Streets for twenty years and obtained three new playgrounds.

15 Kept watch on zoning law changes.

16 Held annual meetings for members and neighbors.

WHY YOU SHOULD JOIN?

Large membership is necessary both to finance adequately the association's work and to carry sufficient weight and influence in public affairs.

The association has not accomplished all that it has wanted to do or that it could have done for the benefit of the Heights, primarily because its membership has been too small.

Therefore your support both financially and actively is most earnestly solicited.

The Heights Association needs Y O U .

★ ★ ★

WHAT THE BROOKLYN HEIGHTS ASSOCIATION PLANS TO DO

1 Hire private patrolmen to safeguard Heights residents.

2 Employment of a representative to attend Court Hearings on Traffic and Zoning Violations.

3 The establishment of a new permanent office and secretary to serve the needs of Heights residents.

4 Develop plans to make the Heights more and more attractive. The accomplishment of these plans depends on Y O U .

★ ★ ★

DUES — November 1, 1952 - October 31, 1953

Sustaining Membership . . . . . $10.00 per year

Regular Membership . . . . . $ 3.00 per year

[Burnham]

September 30, 1953

Dr. and Mrs. W.E.B. Du Bois regret that
on account of a previous engagement they
will be unable to attend the birthday party
of Louis E. Burnham.
They send congratulations and good wishes.

Freedom
Where one is enslaved, all are in chains!

53 WEST 125th STREET, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. • ENRIGHT 9-3980

October 19, 1953

25-59-33

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I regret that I could not have been among the peace fighters who gathered in Chicago this past weekend to do you honor in connection with the award of the International Peace Prize.

With thousands of others I take great pride in this recognition of your great advocacy of our common cause.

Sincerely yours,

Louis E. Burnham

BURNS LABOR COMMITTEE
9022 85 Avenue, Edmonton, Alberta
Canada.

January 4, 1953.

Dr. W.E.B.Dubois,
c/o Freedom.Associates.
53 West 125 St.
New York 27. N.Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois,

The above organization will be holding their annual commemorative supper to honor the memory of Scotland's poet on January 24th.

Our patrons numbering around 200 are all associated with the peace movement through the Edmonton Peace Council and have had delegates in attendance at the various World Peace Congresses.

Because of your magnificent work in the cause of world peace, I feel that a brief message of greeting from you to be read out to the gathering on the 24th would would be most happily received. I realise that your time and energies must be fully taken up with duties paramount over all others - the struggle for peace. But if you do not feel it an over-imposition on my part I would be indeed grateful if you can see your way accede to my request.

I may say that on previous Burns celebrations we have been honored by greetings from such fine personalities as the Dean of Canterbury, Mr. D.N.Pritt, Dr. Harry Ward, George B. Shaw, Mr. Palme Dutt, and many others.

You will, I trust, pardon me directing this latter through Freedom, as I do not know your home or office address.

Please accept my sincere wishes for brighter tomorrows for yourself and the plain people everywhere.

Respectfully yours,

A. I. Murdoch (Chairman)

[Burns Labor Comm.]

January 12, 1953

25-10-12

Mr. A. I. Murdoch
Burns Labor Committee
9022 - 85 Avenue
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada

Dear Mr. Murdoch:

Answering your letter of January 4th, may I transmit through you to the Burns Labor Committee my best wishes at their commemorative supper to honor the memory of Robert Burns January 24th.

We would indeed be fortunate if today we had somewhere on this continent a voice for Peace and Freedom comparable to that of your great poet.

I send you warmest greetings.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

education for democracy and peace

california labor school, inc.

321 DIVISADERO ST • SAN FRANCISCO 17, CALIFORNIA • UNderhill 3-3023-3024

FOUNDED 1942
Director
HOLLAND ROBERTS

Oct. 15, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York City

answer given to Shirley

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You will remember that during your last visit to San Francisco we talked about the study you had been leading on Africa at the Jefferson School and the difficulty of providing adequate leadership for similar study here in California.

Would it be possible for you to come West to help us make a start this year during Negro History Week? We would like to explore with you the possibilities of a series of three lectures on the week-end beginning Negro History Week or ending it - possibly Friday, Saturday and Sunday or spacing out the lectures with a day in between, if that seems better to you.

Our thought is that if this plan appeals to you, that we might ask Los Angeles to work out a similar program so that we could share the otherwise very heavy costs.

Could you let us know at your early convenience whether you could consider such an invitation and what our financial responsibilities would be?

I hope the greetings sent to Chicago on the occasion of the award of the World Council Peace prize came in time and that the whole program was adequate to the fine services you have given to the peace movement here and throughout the world.

Cordially yours,

Holland Roberts

Holland Roberts, Director
California Labor School

uopwa-34
HR*sc

25-53-40

$548.03

Learn from the People—Teach the People

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democracy
and peace

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FOUNDED 1942
Director
HOLLAND ROBERTS

December 8, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York, N.Y.

25535-35

Dear Dr. DuBois:

As you surmised, we cannot at this time find the way to raise the necessary funds to invite you to work with us during Negro History Week, and so we must regretfully postpone your coming.

We are very happy to note the many reports of your continuing contribution in many fields of American life. I hope that your novel is nearing completion and that we may soon announce it to our students.

Please remember me to your wife.

All good wishes,

Holland Roberts

Holland Roberts
Director

hr/cd
uepwa 34

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321 DIVISADERO ST • SAN FRANCISCO 17, CALIFORNIA • UNderhill 3-3023-3024

FOUNDED 1942
Director
HOLLAND ROBERTS

December 21, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are now making preparations for Negro History Week and wish to feature in our bookstore any of your books that are available. If you could drop me a line giving me the titles and where they may be secured, we would be appreciative.

All good wishes for the holidays and after.

Cordially,

Holland Roberts

Holland Roberts
Director

hr/cd
uopwa 34

25-49-7

December 31, 1953

Mr. Holland Roberts
California Labor School
321 Divisadero St.
San Francisco, 17, Calif.

Dear Mr. Roberts:

The following books of mine are available:

IN BATTLE FOR PEACE, Masses and Mainstream, 832 Broadway, N.Y. 3, N.Y.

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 383 Madison Avenue, N.Y. 17, N.Y.

SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, (Jubilee Edition), Blue Heron Press, 47 West 63 Street, New York 23, N.Y.

All of these publishers will grant you some reductions for orders in quantity.

Also, I think there is still available a photographic copy of: BLACK RECONSTRUCTION, published in limited edition by Albert Saifer, American Antiquarian Booksellers, 529 S. Melville St., Philadelphia, Pa. 43, priced at $9.

Shirley Graham's latest books are:

The Story of Pocahontas, Grosset & Dunlap, N.Y.
Jean Baptiste Pointe De Sable, Founder of Chicago; Julian Messner Inc., N.Y.

I trust you had the happiest holiday season.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

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321 DIVISADERO ST • SAN FRANCISCO 17, CALIFORNIA • UNderhill 3-3023-3024

FOUNDED 1942
Director
HOLLAND ROBERTS

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS
American Peace Crusade
c/o Dr. Robert Morss Lovett
Room 312
166 W. Washington
Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

We are happy that the great honor of the International Peace Prize of the World Council of Peace has come to America through you.

It is our demonstration to ourselves and to the world that the America of Payne and Jefferson, of Douglass and Lincoln, of Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth is alive in the land that gave them birth.

Warm fraternal greetings to you from the students and faculty of the California Labor School where your visits and teaching are remembered as high points of our teaching and our work.

Long life to you and happiness,

Holland Roberts

HOLLAND ROBERTS, Director

HR/FC
uopwa
1953

Learn from the People—Teach the People

education for
democracy
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321 DIVISADERO ST • SAN FRANCISCO 17, CALIFORNIA • UNderhill 3-3023-3024

FOUNDED 1942
Director
HOLLAND ROBERTS

[1953?]

25-58.7

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Dr. Herbert Shore who brings you this note of introduction is a teacher and research worker with a background of study and work in certain aspects of African affairs. I commend him to you for whatever advice you can give him in the research and writing project in which he is engaged.

I have known Dr. Shore during the period that he was a graduate student and teacher at Stanford University and more recently in the work he has done in our school and in the San Francisco Labor Theatre. I will be appreciative if you can assist him in planning the work which he is undertaking.

Sincerely yours,

Holland Roberts

Holland D. Roberts

Learn from the People—Teach the People

Cameron & Kahn

publishers

109 Greenwich Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. WAtkins 9-6415

FOR RELEASE MONDAY, MAY 4, 1953

Angus Cameron, formerly Vice President and Editor-in-Chief of Little, Brown and Company, Boston book publishers, and Albert E. Kahn, formerly editor of The Hour and author of such best-sellers as The Great Conspiracy and High Treason, announced today the formation of Cameron & Kahn, Inc. a new book publishing company. They will publish inexpensive paper- and hard-backed books on subjects of vital concern to American readers and will operate a book club called Union Book Club. The club will make available newly published books, priced at 50 cents each, to members of trade unions and other organizations who are interested in the uncensored truth about the times we live in and the forces which produced them.

The new publishers stated that they will welcome manuscripts and book projects which most publishers today shy away from because of the atmosphere of intellectual intimidation prevailing in our country, and that they will publish good books turned down by other publishers.

The officers of the new company stated that they believe the American people still want the truth, and that there were, among the leading writers and scholars here, many men and women whose greatest desire was to reach that audience with books which had not been subject to direct or indirect censorship.

Cameron & Kahn will have offices at 109 Greenwich Avenue, New York City, and will announce their first list shortly. Their first two selections for the Union Book Club will be The Untold Story, "the adventure story of the battles, betrayals, and victories of American working men and women", by Herbert Morais, Richard O. Boyer and Len DeCaux, and The Game of Death, a book by Albert E. Kahn revealing the effects of the cold war on American children. The first selection of the Union Book Club will be distributed in September and additional selections every three months thereafter.

156

Cameron & Kahn

publishers

109 Greenwich Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. WAtkins 9-6415

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

(Statement made by Angus Cameron before hearing of the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate of the United States (Jenner Committee) -- Boston, Mass., May 7, 1953)

On Friday morning a subpoena was delivered to me ordering me to appear before the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. I deplore the atmosphere of hysteria which makes it possible for this committee to summon citizens to testify on matters which the Congress has no right to legislate and therefore no right to investigate, namely the rights of free speech and free press. On the other hand, I welcome the chance to make a statement about the committee and its works.

I am a book publisher. I have been a publisher and editor for 16 years; for half of that time as Editor-in-Chief of the Boston publishing house, Little, Brown & Co. I have been active as well in educational and political fields.

For many years I have considered that the various inquisitional committees of the Congress were illegally investigating into the political beliefs, affiliations, and associations of American citizens not in order to search out subversion but actually in order to intimidate and terrify the people, to silence democratic criticism not only of these committees themselves but of the policies and actions of the administrations, harmful to the interest of the people, which these witch hunts cloak.

As a book publisher I consider that I have a special function to oppose these activities since they attack the right of the people to say and print

(more)

what they believe without fear of smear and persecution. I believe that the freedom to explore through books the real world around us -- its natural and social laws, its motions and its changes -- is a freedom which cannot be limited in the slightest degree without opening the dike of liberty to thought control, book burnings, and their concomitants; ignorance, obscurantism, prejudice, and intellectual flummery. I repeat, I believe this committee's purpose is not to seek out subversion but to breed prejudice and ignorance and stifle truth and knowledge so that the undemocratic forces behind these committees may operate without fear that informed critical opinion will be brought to bear against their dangerous policies.

The same Senate which nurtures and harbors this Committee passed on Tuesday the Tidelands Oil bill which provides for the mass theft of public property by private interests. It prepares to reduce further the living standards of the people by crazy expenditures for an unpopular war; it prepares for further attacks through the Rhodes-Goldwater bill (S.1254) on the rights of labor, and it seeks through the peoples' treasure and their sons to maintain an outworn colonial system on other peoples throughout the world.

I welcome the chance to add my voice to the rising tide of opposition to this committee and the thinking in the administration which makes it possible. I am glad to express my confidence that the people of this country will soon discover the true purposes of the witch hunt and sweep it away in a flood of indignation as they have swept away similar practices in the past.

(more)

(Statement by Angus Cameron)

I want to make it clear that I do not intend to cooperate with this committee. I do not intend to assist it to flout the First Amendment to the Constitution. I do not intend to allow it to force me, in violation of the Fifth Amendment to bear witness against myself and my neighbors.

I am proud of the books which I had a part in publishing, of the organizations which I joined or supported, and of the educational ventures in which I participated. I do not concede the right of any bureaucrat, within this committee, or of the Attorney General by private fiat to blacklist these organizations, or to dictate to anyone what he should say, think, or print. I do not intend to assist this committee in its efforts to smear myself or others in this connection. I intend to continue my activities for books, causes and organizations in which I believe, regardless of disapproval of this committee. My own knowledge based on study, my own observations of the real world around me, and my own conscience based on convictions will continue to determine my actions whatever this committee may think or do to the contrary.

(End of statement)

Attached is a release giving supplementary information on the recent formation of the publishing firm of Cameron & Kahn.

September 22, 1953

Dr. Richard M. Carey
147 West 116 Street
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Carey:

Some time during the next week or so I shall be glad to come and have a thorough physical examination. Please choose your own time and let me know by telephone what time would suit you best.

My home phone is: Maine 4--2929

I am usually in my office in New York between 12 and 4 p.m. The phone there is: Murray Hill 4--3457, Extension 6.

I am enclosing correspondence which I had with the Life Extension Institute. I have not done anything concerning the physician recommended. Do you know anything about him?

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh
enc.

W.E.B. Du Bois

2/2 19 53

W. E. B. Du Bois

23 W. 26 St

To New York, 10, NY

TERMS

10511

Jan	20	#5321	2	73		
25-63169						

CENTER BOOK SERVICE
206 WEST 15th STREET
NEW YORK 11, NEW YORK

March 16, 1953

Center Book Service
206 West 15 St.
New York 11, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Will you kindly send me, with discount, the following books:

Selinko: "Dêsirée", published by Morrow

Fowler: "The Intruder" published by Morrow

Van White Mason: "The Golden Admiral" published by Doubleday

De Maurier: "Kiss Me Again Stranger", published by Doubleday

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

April 9, 1953

Center Book Service
206 West 15 St.
New York 11, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Please send me the following books, with bill:

Thomas, Dylan, "Poems", published by New Directions, Norfolk, Conn.

Christie, Agatha, "Funerals are Fatal", Dodd Mead & Co.

Thank you.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

May 21, 1953

Center Book Service
206 West 15 Street
New York City

Gentlemen:

Kindly send the following book, with bill, for Dr Du Bois

Banesh Hoffman: "The Strange Story of the Quantum", 1947

Sincerely,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

July 28, 1953

Center Book Service
206 West 15 St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Please send me the following books:

THE PRIMITIVE CITY OF TIMBUCTOO by Horace Miner,
American Philosophical Society, 1953

The Story of Hiss by Jowett (I do not have exact
title or publisher)

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

July 29, 1953

Center Book Service
206 West 15 St.
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

Recently there was a book published on the Quanto theory, and I think the author was Friede.

If you can locate this please send it to me with bill and discount.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

September 27, 1953

Center Book Service
206 W. 15 St.
New York City

Gentlemen:

Please send the following book to Dr. Du Bois, with bill:

"History of the Years Between the World Wars"
by Quincy Wright
(Published by Simon & Schuster)

Sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

Oct. 21, 1953

Center Book Service
206 W. 15 St.
N.Y.C.

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly buy for me a recent book on the philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead. I do not know the publisher.

Also please send: "The Lying Days" by Nadine Gordimer, Simon & Schuster.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

December 16, 1953

Center Book Service
206 West 15 St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Will you kindly send to me, with bill, the following book, before Christmas if possible?

Shellabarger: Lord Vanity.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

October 21, 1953

Business Manager
Chicago Defender
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is a proposed advertisement. If I can afford it I should like to have this inserted in the Chicago Defender national edition, one, two or three times, to occupy a small space but large enough to attract some attention.

Will you kindly let me know what such an insertion would cost? As this is not a commercial venture I can only afford to spend a reasonable sum.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-49-28

CHINA RECONSTRUCTS

A BIMONTHLY MAGAZINE PUBLISHED BY THE CHINA WELFARE INSTITUTE

157 CHANGSHU LU, SHANGHAI, CHINA

Dear Friend:

During the past year, it has been our pleasure to send you a Complimentary Copy of CHINA RECONSTRUCTS, the illustrated English-language bimonthly, which began publication in January 1952 under the sponsorship of the China Welfare Institute of which Soong Ching Ling (Madame Sun Yat-sen) is chairman.

You were chosen to be one of the recipients on our Complimentary Copy List for one or more reasons — your long-standing interest in China, your recognized leadership in causes for human welfare, your steadfast devotion to world peace. Or perhaps you are the editor of a publication or an officer serving China friendship associations, peace groups, women's organizations, professional associations, trade unions, church or religious groups, cultural or educational institutions.

Whatever your field of activity, we hope you have read with growing interest about China's advance in the social, economic, cultural and welfare fields as told in each issue. We trust you have received the 6 copies mailed to your address.

CHINA RECONSTRUCTS is now embarking on its second year of publication and in order to produce a better magazine, we are inviting you to send us your candid opinion, criticism and suggestions for improvement.

Please write us frankly and freely. If you wish, use the enclosed form for your suggestions and advice.

We count on your cooperation in advising us how to make CHINA RECONSTRUCTS more significant, helpful and readable in 1953.

Sincerely yours,

CHINA RECONSTRUCTS

Dear CHINA RECONSTRUCTS:

Articles and features which have interested me most:

25-58.4

Subjects for articles and features in 1953:

My candid opinion and criticisms re CHINA RECONSTRUCTS are:

My suggestions for improvement in 1953 are:

Ideas about ways in which to promote and increase the circulation of CHINA RECONSTRUCTS in my country and my community:

List names and addresses of distributors, individuals, organizations to receive introductory copies of our magazine:

In 1952, I received Issues No. 1__2__3__4__5__6__.
(Please check copies of CR received. No. 6 was mailed recently.)

NAME_____OCCUPATION_____

ADDRESS _____

Return to: CHINA RECONSTRUCTS, 157 Changshu Lu, Shanghai, China

March 6, 1953

CHINA RECONSTRUCTS
157 Changshu Lu
Shanghai, China

Gentlemen:

I regret to say that I have received no copies of CHINA RECONSTRUCTS.

I am very sorry for this because I am much interested in China and would like to have all the information possible.

The address was wrong, which possibly accounts for my not receiving it. Will you kindly send me such papers as you have on hand and if possible future numbers to:

31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

中 國 建 設 社
CHINA RECONSTRUCTS
A BIMONTHLY MAGAZINE PUBLISHED BY THE CHINA WELFARE INSTITUTE

EDITORIAL OFFICE
16 TA TS'AO CH'ANG
PEKING, CHINA
TEL. (5)5860
CABLES: "CHIRECON" PEKING

BUSINESS OFFICE
157 CHANGSHU LU
SHANGHAI, CHINA
TEL. 64578
CABLES: "CHIRECON" SHANGHAI

O-CR53/314

March 21, 1953

W.E.B.Du-Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

Dear Friend:

We acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 6, 1953 and regret to know that you have received no copies of CHINA RECONSTRUCTS.

Please give us the name and address of one of your friend so that we can send you a complete set of our 1952 issues. We shall space our mailing in such a way that these duplicate copies may reach their destination safely. It is a pleasure to us that we will do our utmost to keep you abreast of the progress in China today.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Lu Ping

Lu Ping
Circulation Manager

25-58-2

April 9, 1953

Lu Ping, Circulation Mgr.
CHINA RECONSTRUCTS
157 Changshu Lu
Shanghai, China

My dear Friend:

Thank you for your letter of March 21. Will you please send copies of the past issues of CHINA RECONSTRUCTS to:

Shirley Graham
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N.Y. U.S.A.

I think they will reach that destination without difficulty.

I am very eager to keep abreast with the progress of China today.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-58-3

CITIZENS EMERGENCY DEFENSE CONFERENCE

401 Broadway • Room 604 • New York 13, N. Y. • COrtlandt 7-4936

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SAM WINN

January 12, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed are copies of a call to a Conference on The Bill of Rights, initiated by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee scheduled to open on Friday evening, January 30th at Carnegie Hall and to continue for an all day session on Saturday, January 31st.

You will note that it is being sponsored by a most distinguished group of prominent citizens - all concerned with the defense of our Constitutional liberties.

While our organization is not involved in sponsoring this conference or issuing the call - we have, of course, the greatest interest in assuring its success. A well attended, truly representative conference, speaking and acting vigorously in defense of civil liberties can be tremendously effective in preserving our sacred Bill of Rights.

May I suggest that you read the call carefully. If you agree with our estimate of its potential, may I strongly urge that you not only arrange to attend as a delegate but that you get others in your organization to support and attend this important conference.

May we further suggest that you make your reservations through our office. We have on hand tickets for all sessions priced in accordance with the call.

Because time is so short - will you please act quickly and send your reservation, plus check, into this office promptly.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Sam Kanter

Sam Kanter

Encls.

[Citizens Emergency Defense Conference]

COPY OF LETTER FROM CLIFFORD T. McAVOY TO WARREN OLNEY, 3RD, ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, WASHINGTON, D.C., NOVEMBER 13, 1953

Dear Sir:

The Citizens Emergency Defense Conference has received the statement of the Attorney General with respect to the proposed designation of our organization "as coming within the purview of executive order #10450."

We categorically reject the grounds upon which it is proposed to designate our organization and insist that you remove the name of our organization from your list.

The Citizens Emergency Defense Conference was not formed under the direction of the Communist Party, nor as "a front organization" of the Communist Party. I initiated the organization by calling to a conference a number of people who were interested solely in the defense of the constitutional rights of the Communist Party leaders under indictment in New York for violation of the Smith Act.

It was specifically stated in the call to the Conference that "such a movement required taking no position on the political program of the defendants. It requires only a defense of the constitutional rights of the defendants."

25-65-2

As one of the grounds for our proposed designation under executive order #10450 you state that "the CEDC under the direction of the Communist Party has long and vociferously demanded the repeal of the Smith Act and the cessation of all prosecutions thereunder."

It is a matter of record that Supreme Court Justices Black and Douglas have termed the Smith Act unconstitutional. Justice Black called it a "virulent form of prior censorship of speech and press." It has been denounced by the CIO, Americans for Democratic Action, The American Civil Liberties Union, the NAACP, the St. Louis Post Dispatch, the New York Post, Madison, Wisconsin Capitol Times and the Daily Compass among many other newspapers. Hundreds of trade unionists, AFL and CIO and independents have demanded the repeal. We have gone a long way in abrogation of freedom of speech when opposition to the Smith Act can be classified as subversive.

I reiterate, the sole purpose and the only purpose of the CEDC, from its inception to the current date, has been organization of the defense of the constitutional right of the defendants in the second Foley Square trial.

We have organized meetings, rallies and other functions, in furtherance of this purpose. We have raised money to pay for the legal defense and other expenses. We have endeavored to inform the general public about the nature of the case and to arouse public opinion in support of the constitutional rights of the defendants.

Unless it is assumed that members of the Communist Party have no constitutional right under our government, it is preposterous to assert that any defense of the constitutional rights of these persons is subversive. We believe, and events have proven our contention, that an attack on the constitutional rights of Communists will inevitably result in attacks on the constitutional rights of other Americans who are not Communists. That is the fundamental reason why we undertook the organization of this conference.

It is wholly false to charge that this conference was organized "to further certain aims and policies of the Communist Party", "to publicize the aims of the Communist Party", "for the purpose of implementing the programs and policies of the Communist Party."

Trusting that you will immediately remove the proposed designation of the CEDC from the Attorney General's list pursuant to executive order #10450.

- - -

February 9, 1953

Miss Alice Citron
1406 Townsend Avenue
Bronx, 52, New York City apt 27

Dear Alice:

Thank you very much for the copy of "New Times" which we read with interest.

We are leaving Thursday for Detroit and the Pacific coast for lectures, to be gone two or three weeks.

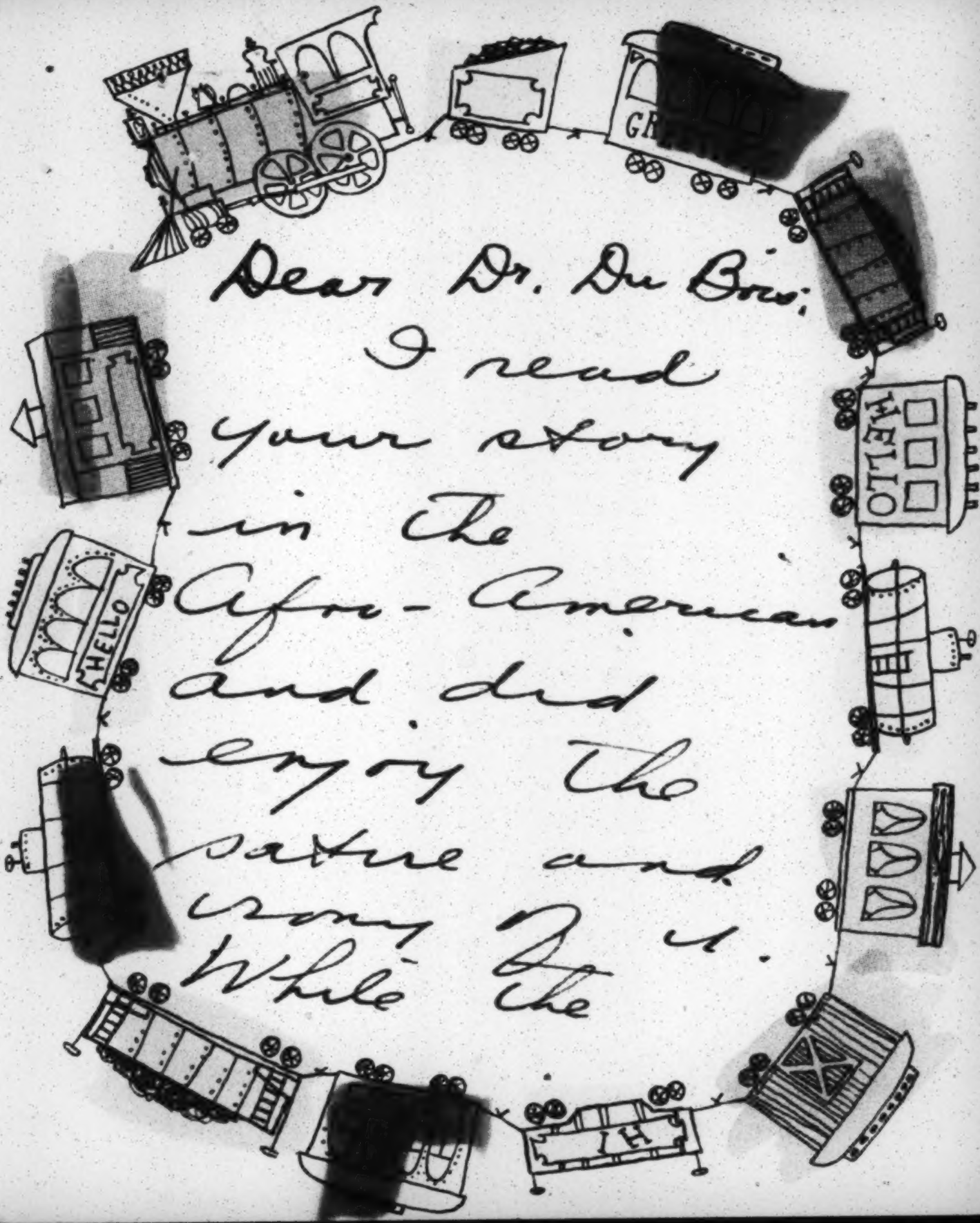
With best regards,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-49-9

NORCROSS



Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I read your story in the Afro-American and did enjoy the nature and story. While the

My love.

Alice Adams

Battle for Peace

was renewed.

Its new time

and d. m.

reading is

in another

envelope.

Afro-American
for yours
by line over
the thriller,
"A Judas"
take much
discernment to
do mentally
but your name
under, "Rough Edge".

April 21, 1953

Alice Citron
1406 Townsend Av.
Bronx 52, N.Y. Apt. 27

My dear Alice:

I have not seen you for some time nor thanked you for the copy of the New Times with its review of my book.

The Afro-American, after being nudged a bit, paid me for the story which they printed.

Shirley and I are going to the Bahamas for three weeks next Saturday to see if we can get a bit of rest.

I hope this will find you in good health.

Yours with love,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-49-6

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

SUITE 200 • 6 EAST 17th STREET • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • WAtkins 4-6856

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
National Executive Sec'y

September 22, 1953

25-62115

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You have perhaps already been reached by those who are responsible for the preparation of one or more of the individual panels to be held at this conference. I am writing in behalf of the conference as a whole to invite you to make a short address to it on the issue of peace and the kindred issues before us. May I know whether this is possible.

Sincerely yours,

William L. Patterson

WLP/s
Enc. 1

September 23, 1953

Mr. William L. Patterson
Civil Rights Congress
Suite 200
6 East 17 Street
New York 3, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Patterson:

I cannot now make any committments for October. I have the Chicago speech, and all of my time and strength is being put upon a book which I am writing.

If later in October I find that I have strength and time to help you, I shall be glad to.

Very sincerely yours,

DB/lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

October 20, 1953

~~Mr. William Patterson~~
~~Civil Rights Congress~~
~~6 E. 23rd St.~~
~~N.Y. 6, NY~~

~~Dear Mr. Patterson:~~ To the Civil Rights Congress:

Senator McCarran who represents in Congress a rotten borough district which casts only 60,000 votes and specializes in divorce and gambling, has managed with his fellow senators to push through Congress legislation which threatens democracy, labor organization and civil rights. The immediate effort to repeal this legislation is a first duty for all patriotic Americans. I trust your conference will help this result.

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Civil Rights Congress]

Call

1953

for

A PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE To Fight the McCarran Law Prosecutions and McCarthyism

to

- Prevent the destruction of democratic organizations, including labor unions and their leaders, under the McCarran Act.
- Develop the fight to repeal the McCarran Act.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1953
YUGOSLAV AMERICAN HOME
405 West 41st Street
New York City
Starting at 10:30 a.m.

To:

1. **All lovers of peace and democracy, regardless of race, creed, color, or political belief and affiliation.**
2. **All trade union organizations, church, fraternal, and cultural organizations.**
3. **The two hundred and fifty-two organizations which the Attorney-General seeks arbitrarily to cite as subversive.**

THE DANGER WE CONFRONT

The people of the U.S. individually and collectively face their gravest danger. It threatens all the democratic institutions and organizations of our country, especially the unions —and thus the cause of peace, justice and constitutional liberties.

The time to end it is now. The alternative is untold misery and disaster.

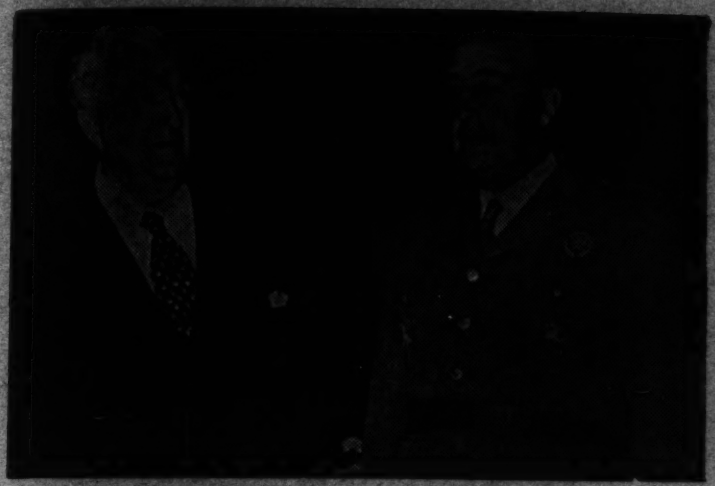
The McCarran Act (Internal Security Act of 1950) is the most restrictive legislation yet passed. Behind a smokescreen of lies, smears and slander, those who seek to destroy the Bill of Rights and the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution have trained it upon the democratic organizations of the people.

The McCarran Act was first invoked by the Attorney-General against the Communist Party. The expectancy was that the wild hysteria, artificially incited against that Party, would conceal from the people the drive of reaction against all progressive individuals and activities. We should not be deluded. We are not concerned here with the philosophy of Communism. The Communist Party under the Constitution remains a bona fide political party which the Attorney-General unconstitutionally seeks to outlaw. Therein lies the danger to all.

The Attorney-General seeks to use the McCarran Act to strangle twelve organizations† whose aims and activities are to defend peace, democracy, human dignity, and to destroy racism and religious hatred. Two hundred and fifty-two other organizations are slated for attack. Herbert Brownell, the Attorney-General, also moves to bring the trade unions under its power. The McCarran-McCarthy groups seek to aid him in this evil purpose through the Goldwater-Rhodes bills to destroy labor unions. No organization is immune.

†American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Civil Rights Congress, Council on African Affairs, National Council for American-Soviet Friendship, Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy,* Jefferson School of Social Science, Labor Youth League, International Workers Order, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, American Slav Congress,* May Day Committee.*

* These organizations are now defunct.



McCarran and his friend Franco

A WEAPON OF LEGAL TERROR

The McCarthyites use every branch of government against the people. Under the Act they have created the Subversive Activities Control Board behind which to hide the conspiratorial character of their program. It is the legal embodiment of the basic evils of McCarthyism, a decisive weapon of those who seek thought control. Those who ignore these facts deal not with reality but with a dangerous and deluding fiction that obscures both the intentions of the bigots and the interests of the people. The major task is therefore an educational one.

DEMOCRACY CAN AND MUST PREVAIL

Thinking people can and must be mobilized for the struggle. They are ready and willing to fight back. The sharpest feature of this period is the scope of the opposition against McCarthyism. Inspired by a vital program of struggle these forces will give valiant aid in the defense of constitutional liberties, human dignity and to defeat the McCarran Act.

Tens of thousands protested the passage of the McCarran Act. President Truman vetoed it after scathingly condemning it. Trade unions and church leaders fought its passage. It was passed over the President's veto. Despite these facts, both former President Truman and President Eisenhower encouraged the Attorney-General to use it as a weapon against the people's interests.

With the McCarran Act, the McCarthyites aim to destroy progressive organizations and to imprison the leaders of the fight for peace and democracy. They are desperate men who fear the people. They create fear and panic. They smear progressives indiscriminately. They confuse. Their weapon is the Big Lie.

THE PEOPLE'S VICTORY CAN BE ORGANIZED: THIS IS THE INSPIRING TRUTH OF THE DAY

The creators of the McCarran Act can be defeated if sufficiently broad actions are developed against it.

This conference is called to rally for joint action those whose defeat singly will insure the destruction of all.

The people have won a truce in Korea. They must be mobilized to win a victory for democracy in the United States.

UNITY IN THE FIGHT CAN WIN FOR DEMOCRACY

We do not ask agreement or acceptance of each other's political or religious views. But the defeat of the McCarran conspirators is imperative.

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS (*Sponsor*)

CREDENTIAL

To the CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS
6 East 17th St., New York 3, N. Y.

I will attend the Conference to Fight the McCarran Law Prosecutions and McCarthyism as

a delegate from .....

as an observer from.....

as a personal observer.....

I am interested in the following panels on the McCarran Act as it affects—

Youth..... Negro Affairs..... Labor..... Civil Rights.....

Education, Arts and Professions..... World Peace.....

Enclosed is my registration fee of $1.00.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

.....

.....

[Civil Rights Congress]

FACTS OF THE CASE [1953]

The courts have so far rejected every effort by our attorneys to get William Patterson out pending appeal. On Saturday, July 10, he was moved from West Street Jail, to the Federal Corrections Institution, Danbury, Conn. Preparations are now being made to go through with an appeal on the original issues involved.

The issues as we see them are as follows: (1) The government, by its actions, has proved that the issue is not taxes but political persecution. (2) The government has a long record of using the tax department to get indictments when it is unable to do so on the charges it originally announces. The government hesitates to take CRC before the SACB, because it knows that a people's defense organization will win the sympathy of the masses of people, and will expose injustice of the government of trying to remove the defender of its political victims. Hence it resorts to the tax department to try to eliminate CRC. (3) If taxes were involved, the government would have taken CRC to the ta court and sued for the entire amount involved in what the government claimed to be the tax deficiency. (4) The government knows, after examining CRC's books for 20 days, that no matter from what sources CRC's income was derived, its expenses so far exceeded the income, that no taxes were payable. (5) Hence the whole issue of taxes is a fraud.

(6) The main issue is the government's demand for names and addresses of contributors as a means of persecuting, intimidating and terrorizing supporters of democratic causes, as well as destroying CRC. (7) By its demand for names, the government sought to turn William Patterson and CRC into informers for the McCarthy-Brownell anti-democratic junta. (8) If it gets away with it, the government will have a very dangerous precedent against all organizations, including trade unions, that might disagree with any point of the McCarthy-Brownell-fascist policy, or that fight in the interests of the people, the Negro people or labor. (9) The government's ability to get names and addresses through the use of the tax department, would endanger every individual American, and would make everyone easy game for paid informers. (10) Neither William Patterson nor CRC will do anything to help the McCarthy-Brownell anti-democratic forces to persecute and hound the American people.

(11) The illegality of the government's and court's action is seen in the fact that the receipt books with names and addresses are not available. This was so stated by Mr. Patterson in an affidavit in court. (12) Since Mr. Patterson is unable to produce the books required, he cannot be in contempt. (13) Hence his imprisonment for contempt is illegal, and is based solely on the prejudice of Judge F.X. McGohey. (14) The refusal to grant a stay pending appeal, which is automatic in such cases, merely reveals the vindictiveness of the government and court. (15) This clearly reveals the main purpose of the government, to harass the democratic forces, and to eliminate William Patterson and CRC, the fighters for constitutional rights, Negro rights and labor's rights.

Issued by: Civil Rights Congress, 6 E. 17 St., N.Y.C. WA-4-6856

763

by WESTERN UNION

LA048 SSB485

1953 FEB 17 PM 12 36

L.LLF286 PD 6 EXTRA=LOSANGELES CALIF 17 1132A=

DR W E B DUBOIS=

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PEACE CRUSADE 326 WEST 3 ST LOSA

MAY YOUR LONG AND SUCCESSFUL FIGHT FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM BE CONTINUED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD=

DR AND MRS P PRICE COBBS 4057 TRINITY ST LOS ANGELES CALIF=

[Cobbs]

LC'd-56

March 6, 1953

Dr. P. Price Cobbs
2624½ So. Central Avenue
Los Angeles, 11, Calif.

Dear Dr. Cobbs:

We arrived home safe and well yesterday, after a marvelous trip. Everything went well in San Francisco, Portland and Seattle.

We rested three days in Chicago and then flew home.

I am under deep obligation to you for your work and sympathy.

Please thank all the others that worked with you.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-58-1

L

319 N. 41 Street
Indianapolis, Indiana
January 24, 1953

Mrs. Lillian Hyman, Secretary
23 West Twenty-sixth Street
New York 10, New York.

23-37.82

Dear Madam:

Please send me full information regarding the DuBois tour through the Mid-West. Enclosed is a stamped, self-addressed envelop.

Thank you.

Yours very truly,
Mary F. Coleman (Miss)

February 2, 1953

Miss Mary Coleman
319 West 41 St.
Indianapolis, Indiana

Dear Miss Coleman:

Your letter of January 24th is here. Shirley Graham and myself are making a lecture trip through the middle west and the Pacific coast in February. We have engagements in Detroit, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and on the way back may possibly stop at Chicago and other places.

We would be glad to come to Indianapolis if a suitable date can be arranged. Our subjects are "Revolt in Africa" and "World Peace", and our fee $150 and expenses. The expenses, if the stopping did not involve extra travel, would be only expenditures for hotel; but extra travel expenses would have to be charged.

At this time we cannot tell you just what date we could offer. Probably it would be some time early in March. But if you are interested please write me again at this address before February 12th.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

25-60-34

(12)

1953 OCT 16 AM 11 17

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

CDU128 98 PD INTL FR 1/50=CD BUCAREST VIA RCA 16 1340=

DR ROBERT MORSE LOVETT=

166 WEST WASHINGTON ST ROOM 312 CHGO=

POUR MONSIEUR LE DOCTEUR EDWARD BURGHARDT DU BOIS AU NOM DES PARTISANS DE LA REPUBLIQUE POPULAIRE ROUMAINE JE VOUS FELICITE DE TOUT MON COEUR A LOCCASION DE LA REMISE DU PRIX INTERNATIONAL DE LA PAIX VOTRE INFATIGABLE ACTIVITE CONSACREE=

END 1=

[COMITÉ PERMANENT ...]

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

CDU 128 2/48 BUCAREST LOVETT CHGO= 1953 OCT 16 AM 11 16

A LA PAIX ET A L'AMITIE ENTRE LES PEUPLES EST CONNUE ET APPRECIEE PAR NOTRE PEUPLE QUI VOUS SOUHAITE DORENAVANT DE NOUVEAUX SUCCES DANS LA NOBLE LUTTE QUE VOUS DEPLOYEZ=

LE PRESIDENT DU COMITE PERMANENT POUR LA DEFENSE DE LA PAIX DE LA REPUBLIQUE POPULAIRE ROUMAINE MIHAIL SADOVEANU=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

25-6-39

Telegram to
Dr. Robert Morse Lovett

For Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois:
In the name of the
Peace Partisans of the
Peoples Republic of
Roumania, I bring you
the most cordial
felicitations on the
occasion of the award
of the International
Peace Prize.

Your tireless and
consecrated activities
for peace and
friendship between
the peoples of the
world is known and

APPRECIATED BY OUR PEOPLE, WHO WISH YOU CONTINUED AND NEW SUCCESSES in the noble struggle in which you are engaged.

President of
the Committee for
defense of Peace of
People Republic
Romania.

Michael
SADOVENU

[COMITE' POUR LA CELEBRATION DU CENTENAIRE DE LA "CASE DE L'ONCLE TOM"]

January 6, 1953

Comm for Celebration of "Uncle Tom's Cabin"

M. Henri-Marcel Bernfeld
8, rue Marguerin
Paris, 14, France

Dear M. Bernfeld:

I regret to say that I cannot furnish you a copy of the "Suppression of the African Slave Trade" for your "Uncle Tom's Cabin" celebration. It has long been out of print.

However, I am enclosing herewith my last book, which may be of some use.

I am enclosing a memorandum of my speech on the same platform with Booker Washington and Lawrence Dunbar in 1899.

I am very glad to hear of your celebration.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
encs.

25-35-10

inserted
Dusk of Dawn pgs 70-74

THE COMMITTEE TO DEFEND ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

80 EAST 11 STREET · ROOM 634 · NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

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Secretary
JAMES S. ALLEN

Treasurer
ROBERT W. DUNN

January 21, 1953

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

You have no doubt heard of the verdict of "guilty" against Alexander Trachtenberg and his 12 co-defendants in the latest Smith Act trial. They have been remanded to jail until January 28, when they will be sentenced.

It is already evident, from the remards of Judge Edward J. Dimock and the government prosecuters, that every effort will be made to deny bail or place it at an impossibly high figure, pending appeal of the case to the higher courts.

At this point we think it appropriate to have public condemnation of this latest book-burning verdict and protest against the denial of bail. We would like to suggest the following:

1. A statement by you directly to the press or through this Committee for release to the press, on the verdict, and urging the right to reasonable bail pending appeal.

2. A letter or wire to Judge Edward J. Dimock, U. S. Court House, Foley Square, New York, and to Herbert Brownell, U. S. Attorney-General, Washington D.C., requesting that present bail be continued pending appeal of the case, and dondemning any move to deny bail.

Please send copies of statement, wire or letter sent independently by yourself, to this Committee.

I would appreciate further suggestions from you on the work of the Committee.

Sincerely yours,

J. S. Allen

James S. Allen, Secretary
Com. To Defend Alexander Trachtenberg

25-85-11

[Comm. to Defend
A. Trachtenberg]

January 26, 1953

Mr. James S. Allen, Secretary
Committee to Defend Alexander Trachtenberg
80 East 11 St. Room 634
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Allen:

I think that the condemnation of Alexander Trachtenberg is one of the worst and most discouraging deeds of which the United States has been guilty.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Comm to Def V.J.J.]

THE COMMITTEE TO DEFEND V. J. JEROME

FOR INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL FREEDOM

799 Broadway • Room 643 • New York 3 • ORegon 4-5425

Chairman
DASHIELL HAMMETT

Honorary Chairmen
DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS
ALFRED KREYMBORG

Treasurer
REV. ELIOT WHITE

Secretary
HUGO GELLERT

January 22, 1953.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
31 Grace Court,
Brooklyn, 1, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Our Committee is seeking the cooperation of men of good will of the most divergent philosophies in the fields of science and letters who are determined to resist any encroachment on intellectual and cultural freedom in America.

We have been convinced from the outset that the main victim of the Smith Act and its progeny, the McCarran Act and McCarthyism, is truth itself. Because we of this Committee, like yourself, work in areas of thought and education, science and art, we perhaps felt most keenly about the prosecution of V.J. Jerome, Marxist scholar and author of the novel, "A Lantern for Jeremy". Our committee was formed to defend him, and by defending him, we felt, to defend all intellectual and all cultural freedoms in our country.

25-54-43

Yesterday we heard the Foley Square jury declare V.J. Jerome and his co-defendants guilty under the Smith Act. Truly, our cherished American tradition of dissent was as much a victim as they.

Because the inescapable logic of this tragic development has undoubtedly struck you as it has us, we are taking the liberty of asking you to be a speaker at a freedom-affirming rally - a militant public meeting on which we hope you will permit us to take counsel with you.

The theme of the evening would be the defense of all creative and scientific freedoms. We would like your thinking on the precise formulation which you deem most appropriate for such a purpose, as well as any other suggestions you might desire to offer.

For the rally, we have reserved a hall at the Hotel Capital with seating capacity for over 1200 people for Thursday evening, March 19th.

We beg you to let us have your response as soon as it is possible. You will surely understand that we wish to submit to you, and to the others whose participation we are seeking to enlist, the available artistic program, possible speakers' list and topics for your consideration and suggestions.

[Comm. to Def V.J.J.]

THE COMMITTEE TO DEFEND V. J. JEROME

FOR INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL FREEDOM

799 Broadway • Room 643 • New York 3 • ORegon 4-5425

Chairman
DASHIELL HAMMETT

Honorary Chairmen
DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS
ALFRED KREYMBORG

Treasurer
REV. ELIOT WHITE

Secretary
HUGO GELLERT

We write you firm in the spirit and the belief that the liberties of other men, particularly of dissidents, are not only their right, but our own vital necessity. We earnestly hope that you are one with us in this faith so fundamental to the survival of a free nation.

With sincere good wishes,

Dashiell Hammett

Dashiell Hammett, Chairman

Hugo Gellert

Hugo Gellert, Secretary

25-54-44

[Comm. re V.J.J.]

January 26, 1953

Mr. Hugo Gellert, Secretary
Committee to Defend V.J. Jerome
799 Broadway, Room 643
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Gellert:

I am going to be absent on the Pacific coast lecturing during February and a part of March.

If I am home by the 19th, and I expect to be, I shall be glad to take part in your proposed meeting in behalf of Mr. Jerome. Please be sure to remind me of this engagement in March.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-54-45

[Comm. to Def. V.J.J.]

THE COMMITTEE TO DEFEND V. J. JEROME

FOR INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL FREEDOM

799 Broadway · Room 643 · New York 3 · ORegon 4-5425

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DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS
ALFRED KREYMBORG

Treasurer
REV. ELIOT WHITE

Secretary
HUGO GELLERT

February 13th, 1953.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street,
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are very hopeful that you will indeed be home in New York from your Pacific trip by the 19th of March, and are looking forward to your participation in our second "Culture Fights Back" rally.

We shall communicate with you early in March both to ascertain your plans and to keep you informed of developments concerning the meeting.

With deepest appreciation for your support, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

Dashiell Hammett

Dashiell Hammett, Chairman

ESB:CL

25-5-4-42

March 9, 1953

Mr. Dashiell Hammett, Chairman
Committee to Defend V.J. Jerome
799 Broadway, Room 643
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Hammett:

I have your reminder of the Jerome dinner.

I have just returned from a trip of about 7000 miles to the Pacific coast where I delivered ten lectures on Peace and Revolt in Africa.

I do not think that I should undertake any further public speaking in the near future, but I have the highest regard for Mr. Jerome and am enclosing a statement which you may use at the dinner if you think it proper.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

46-11-23

[ENC]

March 9, 1953

STATEMENT FOR V.J. JEROME

Of all sins against the Holy Ghost, the stopping of Thought, the silencing of the Thinker is the worst. The Thinker may be wrong and often is; Thought may mislead and has often done so. But with all, in the end, Thought rights itself, and for human kind there is no other way but logical thinking to approach the stars; than this there is no surer salvation.

But too, and here rests the hope of mankind, the Thinker may be right; and on the Truth and Beauty which he has during eternal years revealed, has been built the civilisation of Man. At long last Thought must be right or there is neither Right nor Hope for Mankind.

The vicious and utterly unjustifiable persecution of our greatest Marxist philosopher, V.J. Jerome, is more than unjust, it is obscene; it is sacreligious. It seeks to put back the clock of Progress by crucifying an artist and writer and by punishing his wife and sons in futile effort to keep Truth hidden, and by forbidding a nation to think. This attempt must fail or we, our country and our time fail too.

(signed) W. E. B. Du Bois

DB:lh

HUAC - 11-7-53

THE COMMITTEE TO DEFEND V. J. JEROME

FOR INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL FREEDOM

799 Broadway · Room 643 · New York 3 · ORegon 4-5425

Chairman
DASHIELL HAMMETT

Honorary Chairmen
DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS
ALFRED KREYMBORG

Treasurer
REV. ELIOT WHITE

Secretary
HUGO GELLERT

March 18, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
23 West 26 Street,
New York City

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

You recently received our telegram advising you of the postponement of the Culture Fights Back Rally organized for the defense of V. J. Jerome.

We had, in preparation for this rally, more than our share of headaches, and we found that we had not allowed ourselves sufficient time to organize the type of cultural program which we feel is essential to the meeting. Consequently, we have decided to hold it on Wednesday evening, May 20, in the Carnival Room of the Hotel Capitol. We are fully confident of a successful meeting and a full house at this date.

We are, of course, extremely anxious to have you for a speaker on the new date. Our speakers' list is now closed. It will include Dashiell Hammett, Royal W. France, John Howard Lawson, and V. J. Jerome. May we ask for your re-confirmation?

The program will be divided equally between speakers and entertainment, with approximately 15 minutes allotted to each speaker. The total program will run two hours.

Thank you again for your co-operation.

Yours sincerely,

Hugo Gellert

Hugo Gellert
SECRETARY

dpowa-65

THE COMMITTEE TO DEFEND V. J. JEROME

FOR INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL FREEDOM

799 Broadway · Room 643 · New York 3 · ORegon 4-5425

Chairman
DASHIELL HAMMETT

Honorary Chairmen
DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS
ALFRED KREYMBORG

Treasurer
REV. ELIOT WHITE

Secretary
HUGO GELLERT

March 27th, 1953.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
23 West 26th Street,
New York 10, NY.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 9th, in which you expressed regret at not being able to speak at the meeting in defense of V.J. Jerome which was scheduled for March 9th. Unfortunately, your letter went astray and only recently came to our attention, which explains the telegram and letter recently sent you by our committee.

I wish further to thank you for your continued interest in the work of the committee and for the splendid statement on behalf of Mr. Jerome, which you enclosed. We shall be proud to read that statement to the audience at the rally on May 20th.

Mr. Jerome has asked me to send you and Mrs. DuBois his warmest personal regards, which I send along together with my own.

Cordially yours,

Hugo Gellert

Hugo Gellert, Secretary

[Committee to Secure ...]

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1299

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

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N11D47 7R NL PD

NEWYORK NY JAN 1 1953

DR W E B DUBOIS B

31 GRACE COURT BKLYN

URGENTLY INVITE YOU TO ADDRESS PUBLIC MEETING JANUARY 8 FROM 5 TO 7 P.M., STRAUSS SQUARE, EAST BROADWAY AND RUTGERS FOR FINAL APPEAL PRESIDENTIAL EXECUTIVE CLEMENCY. WOULD WELCOME YOUR SUGGESTIONS AS TO NONPARTISAN STRICTLY CLEMENCY CHARACTER OF MEETING AND OTHER SPEAKERS. YOUR PARTICIPATION OF VITAL IMPORTANCE. PLEASE REPLY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

AARON SCHNEIDER EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NYC COMMITTEE FOR CLEMENCY FOR THE ROSENBERGS
1050 SIXTH AVENUE NY BRYANT 9-9694

827P

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE

[COMMITTEE TO SECURE...

January 5, 1953

Mr. Aaron Schneider, Executive Secy.
NYC Comm. for Clemency for the Rosenbergs
1050 Sixth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

25-64-16

Dear Mr. Schneider:

I will speak for your committee briefly, that is, about ten minutes, at 6 o'clock or thereabouts on January 8th.

It is understood that you will take me and Mrs. Du Bois up by automobile. We will be at:

Book Fair
133 West 44 St. N.Y.C.

between 5:30 and 6P.M.

After the speaking, it is understood that you will take us to 31 Grace Court, Brooklyn Heights.

If this is satisfactory please telephone me any night after 6 P.M. at Maine 4--2929.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Committee To Secure Justice In The Rosenberg Case

JOSEPH BRAININ
Chairman

DAVID ALMAN
Executive Secretary

1050 SIXTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
BRyant 9-9694

January 12, 1953

SPONSORS
(Partial List)

Nelson Algren
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Rev. I. C. Collins
Rabbi Abraham Cronbach
Prof. Ephraim Cross
Marjorie DiSilva
Dr. Katherine Dodd
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Gertrude Evans
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William A. Reuben
Dr. John L. Simon
Leon Straus
Lois Timmins
Elizabeth Todd
Dr. Leonard Tushnet
Dr. Gene Weltfish

25-64-14

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We want to thank you for your splendid cooperation in the cause of clemency for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

Your attendance and talk at the meeting on January 8th is a fine example to all decent and right thinking Americans.

Cordially yours,

Aaron D. Schneider

Aaron D. Schneider
Exec. Sec'y, N. Y. C.
Committee for Clemency for the Rosenbergs

Taruc's Autobiography [Comm. to Sponsor Taruc's Autobiog.]

May 29, 1953.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10, N.Y.

25-59-30

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It is with great pleasure that I am able to inform you that Luis Taruc's Autobiography, "Born of the People," which you joined in sponsoring, has now been printed and will be issued publicly as of June 8. A copy is being sent you under separate cover.

The pre-publication sale, which made the issuance of the book possible, came from over 30 states, plus Alaska and Hawaii. This reponse was so heartening that the publisher decided to print simultaneously a popular-priced edition at $1.75.

Breaking through the wall of misinformation and getting this book into the hands of those who will derive most from it, remains to be accomplished. The pre-publication sale has given an initial impetus which with the continuing interest of all concerned can help assure its further circulation.

The best salesmen for the book will be those who read it. In a few weeks I would like to send a follow-up letter to those who paid for copies in advance of publication, urging them to promote the book and enclosing an order blank.

Luis Taruc's Autobiography is a classic. I do think its publication at this time is an encouraging step forward.

Sincerely yours,

Lawrence Emery

LAWRENCE EMERY, Secretary
Committee to Sponsor Taruc's Autobiography.

June 1953
[Du Bois, W.E.B.]

Dear Friends:

In the course of a people's struggle for freedom it sometimes happens that a man emerges whose life is one with the life and strivings of a whole people. Frederick Douglas not only told his story but wrote an immortal chapter in the history of his people. Recently I read "Born of the People", the autobiography of Luis Taruc. Luis Taruc is a Filipino, the leader of the People's Liberation Army of the Philippine Islands. As with so many manuscripts I was prepared for another pedestrian story of a life.

After a few pages I discovered that I was reading a thrilling, truly great narrative. It is a unique and beautiful document, a book to lift the human spirit. In the story of his life, told by Luis Taruc, and his account of the Hukbalahap (People's Liberation) movement, are mirrored the aspirations of subject colored peoples all over the world struggling for a free and fuller life. I commend it to you as a long needed addition to the true history of American relations with the Philippines. It is must reading for all Americans of good will, for all who want to understand the struggles for colonial liberation today.

Sincerely,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

The Community Church of Boston

[Non-Sectarian]

JOHN HANCOCK HALL

REV. DONALD G. LOTHROP, *Minister*

SUNDAY, JANUARY 4, 1953

10:30 A. M.

The Old Year Has Passed Away	*Bach*
O How Vain, O How Fleeting	*Bach*
Pastorale	*Jongen*
Aria	*Handel*
Adagio from Fantaisie in C	*Franck*

Regina Redmond, soprano
James F. Armstrong, organist

10:45 A. M. ORDER OF SERVICE

INVOCATION	—	
HYMN (1)	—	"Hail we now this happy morn"
READING	—	
* * * *		
INTERLUDE	—	O Sing unto the Lord — *La Forge*
PRAYER	—	
RESPONSE	—	(By people with organ) **Now with our hearts attuned to thine,** **Thy Spirit flows through ours.** **Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done,** **Through our creative powers.**
* * * *		
NOTICES	—	
OFFERTORY	—	Come, ye Blessed — *Scott*
HYMN (2)	—	"Ring out, wild bells"
ADDRESS	—	**JOHN CIARDI** Poet, Editor, former Faculty Harvard College, Author of "Other Skies" and "Live Another Day" **"A Faith for Life in Literature"**
HYMN (3)	—	"All hail, the pageant of the years"
BENEDICTION	—	
POSTLUDE	—	Prelude and Fugue in C — *Bach*

NOTICE—Quiet During Music! Please do not disturb those near you by talking during the music. Please refrain from applause during the address. It is requested that all remain until after the Benediction.

*** * * * At this time those who have arrived late will be seated by the ushers.**

FORUM 12:00 - 12:30 P. M.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The Community Church is a free fellowship of men and women united for the study and practice of universal religion, seeking to apply ethical ideals to individual life and the democratic and co-operative principle to all forms of social and economic life.

FUTURE SPEAKERS ★ John Hancock Hall ★ 10:30 A.M.

Jan. 11—ALAN BURR OVERSTREET

Professor of History and Political Science, Smith College

"Challenges to Democracy"

Jan. 18—OWEN LATTIMORE

Director, The Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, John Hopkins University. Author of "The Situation in Asia", and "Ordeal by Slander"

"Fear, Frustration, and Foreign Policy"

Jan. 25—"The Religious Approach to Life: Humanism vs. Theism?"

Speakers:

DR. J. A. C. FAGGINGER AUER, Prof. of Church History, Harvard Divinty School. Author of "Humanism States Its Case"

DR. EDWIN P. BOOTH, Prof. of Historical Theology, B. U. Theological School. Author of "The Greater Church of the Future"

REV. MR. LOTHROP is available for weddings, funerals and personal consultation on call. He has office hours at The Community Church Center on Wednesday and Saturday mornings from 9 to 12, when he will be able to meet any of the church members or friends who may wish to consult him. Office Phone COm 6-6710. Residence, 46 Williams St., Brookline. Home phone ASpinwall 7-9576.

MARRIAGE CONSULTATION SERVICE by appointment. Call COm 6-6710. All appointments are made for MONDAY evenings.

THIS CHURCH is a free church supported entirely by the voluntary contributions of those who believe in its ideals and work. The Finance Committee is now working on the financial program for the 1952-53 budget. Please make your pledge or contribution TODAY.

Estimated Budget 1952-1953

Estimated Expenses	**$24,815.00**
Estimated Income (Open Sunday Collections and Group Activities	**8,880.00**
Amount to be raised by individual contributions and pledges	**15,935.00**
Amount contributed or pledged to date (255 persons)	**5,653.00**
Amount still needed in individual pledges and contributions to balance the budget	**10,282.00**

Please fill in and sign the pledge card below, tear and leave it at Secretary's Table in the lobby, or mail to The Community Church, 565 Boylston St., Boston 16. Checks should be made payable to The Community Church of Boston.

NAME .....

STREET .....

CITY AND ZONE ..... STATE .....

PHONE ..... DATE .....

Mr. Edward J. Fischel, Treas.

I hereby agree to contribute to the support of THE COMMUNITY CHURCH OF BOSTON for the season (Oct. 1, 1952 to Sept. 30, 1953) subject to my right to cancel if necessary, the total sum of $..... to be paid ( ) now ( ) weekly ( ) monthly or as follows.....

Calendar of Events

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH CENTER — 565 Boylston Street (Copley Sq.) Boston

Jan. 4—(TODAY)—10:30 to 12:30 SUNDAY SCHOOL.

Jan. 4—SUNDAY)—8 P.M. YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIETY. Moving Picture: "NANOOK OF THE NORTH", with Robert Flaherty.

Jan. 5—(MONDAY)—8 P.M. Lecture. "THE ROOTS OF SPANISH DEMOCRACY". Speaker, LAWRENCE FERNSWORTH.

Jan. 8—(THURSDAY)—10 A.M. to 4 P.M. FELLOWSHIP SEWING GROUP.

Jan. 11—(SUNDAY)—8 P.M. YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIETY. Moving Picture: "WITH THESE HANDS".

Jan. 12—(MONDAY)—8 P.M. Lecture. "SPAIN AND WESTERN DEFENSE". Speaker, LAWRENCE FERNSWORTH.

Jan. 16—(FRIDAY)—8 P.M. SOCIAL ACTION NIGHT. All members of the Action Committees and any friend interested in Social Action cordially invited. Discussion of plans and projects. Refreshments will be served.

Jan. 18—(SUNDAY)—3:30 P.M. FELLOWSHIP OPEN HOUSE.

8 P.M. YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIETY. Moving Picture. "THE QUIET ONE".

Jan. 19—(MONDAY)—8 P.M. Lecture. "THE FUTURE OF SPAIN". Speaker, LAWRENCE FERNSWORTH.

Forum Supper

Auspices of SUNDAY SCHOOL COMMITTEE

"WHAT IS THE RESPONSE OF OUR CHILDREN TO LIBERAL RELIGIOUS EDUCATION?"

Participants

Symposium leader, **Donald R. Stout,** Asst. Director, Community Church Sunday School, and the following teachers: **Mrs. Emily Kudish, Miss Harriet Farber, Mrs. Joseph Dennison,** and **Mrs. Mary Grimes.**

WEDNESDAY — JANUARY 21 — 7:30 P.M.

Supper, 6:30 P. M. 95¢. Please make supper reservations on or before Monday, January 19. Call Church Office, COm 6-6710.

Jan. 22—(THURSDAY)—10 A.M. to 4 P.M. FELLOWSHIP SEWING GROUP.

Jan. 25—(SUNDAY)—3:30 P.M. COMMUNITY POETRY GROUP. Original poems and contemporary poets. Chairman of the day. Dr. Myra C. Hole. All interested in poetry are invited.

8 P.M. YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIETY. WINTER WHIRL. Dancing, Refreshments.

Jan. 26—(MONDAY)—8 P.M. Lectures. "WHY I AM A JEW". Speaker, RABBI DUDLEY WEINBERG. "WHY I AM A CHRISTIAN". Speaker, REV. JOHN U. MILLER.

Jan. 27—(TUESDAY)—6:30 P.M. LOYALTY DINNER, HOTEL SHELTON, Bay State Road. Finance Campaign "Kick-Off". Featured speaker, DR. J. RAYMOND WALSH; other speakers will include AL CAPP.. Tickets, $3.00, including tax and gratuities.

Forum Supper

Auspices of COMMUNITY POETRY GROUP

REV. CLIFFORD MILLER

will present readings from his forthcoming book of verse,
"WINGS OVER DARK WATERS"

WEDNESDAY **JANUARY 28** **7:30 P. M.**

Supper, 6:30 P. M. 95¢. Please make supper reservations on or before Monday, Jan. 26. Call Church Office, COm 6-6710.

Jan. 29—(THURSDAY)—Lecture. "THE ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL CHURCH". Speaker, PROF. RALPH LAZZARO.

[1]

Hail we now this happy morn,
With our faith and hope new-born;
Let our voices rise as one,
Greeting this New Year begun.

Grateful for the fruitful past,
May its fairest fruitage last;
But our feet would forward fare
Upward to the clearer air.

So we mount the path ahead;
Let it echo to our tread!
All together: step in time!
Forward, skyward, let us climb!

Tune: Gottschalk

Percival Chubb

[2]

Ring out, wild bells, to the wild sky,
The flying cloud, the frosty light:
The year is dying in the night;
Ring out, wild bells, and let him die.

Ring out the old, ring in the new,
Ring, happy bells, across the snow:
The year is going, let him go;
Ring out the false, ring in the true.

Ring in the valiant man and free,
The larger heart, the kindlier hand;
Ring out the darkness of the land,
Ring in the Day that is to be.

Tune: Truro

Alfred Tennyson, 1849

[3]

All hail, the pageant of the years
That endless come and go,
The brave procession of the spheres
In Time's resistless flow —
Arise, and crown our days with good,
In glad, ex-ultant brotherhood.

Behind us fade the centuries
Of man at war with man,
The fierce and foul futilities
Of battling tribe and clan —
Arise, and crown our day with good,
In glad, ex-ultant brotherhood.

Behold, there looms the mystery
Of love diviner far,
There speaks the steadfast prophecy
Of nations freed from war —
Arise, and crown our days with good,
In glad, ex-ultant brotherhood.

Tune: Coronation

John Haynes Holmes

January 5, 1953

Rev. Donald G. Lothrop
The Community Church of Boston
565 Boylston Street
Boston, 16, Mass.

25-64, 24

Dear Mr. Lothrop:

May I suggest one of the following subjects:

"The Present Outlook for Peace".
"Revolt in Africa".
"Kenya".

I am reminding my publisher of the 100 copies of my book to be sent you on consignment. They will undoubtedly have them there.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH OF BOSTON

REV. DONALD G. LOTHROP
Minister

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH CENTER
565 BOYLSTON STREET
BOSTON, 16, MASSACHUSETTS
TELEPHONE COmmonwealth 6-6710

Jan. 6, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

25-64-19

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you for sending me the subjects. We will take "Revolt in Africa". I think it is very timely and one on which the people need to be informed.

Looking forward to seeing you on February 1st, I am,

Sincerely,

DONALD G. LOTHROP

DGL/DLS

[Community Church of Boston]

January 20, 1953

Rev. Donald G. Lothrop
Community Church of Boston
565 Boylston St.
Boston, Mass.

35-30-89

Dear Mr. Lothrop:

I cannot find that you have yet let me know which of the subjects I suggested you would prefer.

You remember they are:

"The Present Outlook for Peace."
"Revolt in Africa".
"Kenya".

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[1]

Holy, holy, holy! Lord God Almighty
Early in the morning our song shall rise to thee;
Holy, holy, holy! Merciful and Mighty!
Who wert, and art, and evermore shalt be.

Holy, holy, holy! Though the darkness hide thee,
Though the eye of sinful man thy glory may not see,
Only thou art holy, there is none beside thee
Perfect in power, in love and purity!

Holy, holy, holy! Lord God Almighty!
All thy works shall praise thy name in earth, and sky, and sea;
Holy, holy, holy! Merciful and Mighty!
Who wert, and art, and evermore shalt be.

Tune: Nicaea — Reginald Heber, 1826, Arr.

[2]

My country is the world;
My flag with stars impearled,
Fills all the skies.
All the round earth I claim;
Peoples of ev'ry name,
And all inspiring fame,
My heart would prize.

Mine are all lands and seas,
All flowers, shrubs and trees,
All life's design;
My heart within me thrills,
For all uplifted hills,
And for all streams and rills;
The world is mine.

And all men are my kin,
Since ever man has been
Blood of my blood;
I glory in the grace
And strength of every race,
And joy in every trace
Of brotherhood.

Tune: America — Robert Whitaker, 1899

[3]

One holy Church of God appears
Through ev'ry age and race,
Unwasted by the lapse of years,
Unchanged by changing place.

Her priests are all God's faithful sons
To serve the world raised up;
The pure in heart her baptized ones;
Love, her communion cup.

The truth is her prophetic gift,
The soul her sacred page;
And feet on mercy's errands swift
Do make her pilgrimage.

Tune: St. Agnes — Samuel Longfellow, 1860

The Community Church of Boston

[Non-Sectarian]

JOHN HANCOCK HALL

REV. DONALD G. LOTHROP, *Minister*

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1953

10:30 A. M.

Adagio from Violin Sonata in G Minor — *Bach*
Fantaisie in C — *Franck*
Prayer — *Smart*

Gloria Tromara, Soloist
James F. Armstrong, organist

10:45 A. M. ORDER OF SERVICE

INVOCATION —
HYMN (1) — "Holy, holy, holy! Lord God Almighty"
READING —
* * * *
INTERLUDE — I Sought the Lord — *Stevenson*
PRAYER —
RESPONSE — (By people with organ)
Now with our hearts attuned to thine,
Thy Spirit flows through ours.
Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done,
Through our creative powers.
* * * *
NOTICES —
OFFERTORY — The Lord is my Shepherd — *Van de Water*
HYMN (2) — "My country is the world"
ADDRESS — **DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS**
Vice-Chairman, Council on African Affairs, Formerly Director of Research for N.A.A.C.P., Historian, Economist
"Revolt in Africa"
HYMN (3) — "One holy Church of God appears"
BENEDICTION —
POSTLUDE — Pageant — *Offenbach*

NOTICE—Quiet During Music! Please do not disturb those near you by talking during the music. Please refrain from applause during the address. It is requested that all remain until after the Benediction.

*** * * * At this time those who have arrived late will be seated by the ushers.**

FORUM 12:00 - 12:30 P. M.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The Community Church is a free fellowship of men and women united for the study and practice of universal religion, seeking to apply ethical ideals to individual life and the democratic and co-operative principle to all forms of social and economic life.

FUTURE SPEAKERS ★ John Hancock Hall ★ 10:30 A.M.

Feb. 8—JOHN HARRIMAN
Financial Columnist, Boston Globe
"Government by Big Business: Eisenhower's Future?"

Feb. 15—FREDA KIRCHWEY
Editor, "The Nation"
"Foreign Policy: Dulles' Direction?"

Feb. 22—HON. O. JOHN ROGGE
Former Asst. U. S. Attorney General,
Author of "Our Vanishing Civil Liberties"
"Soviet vs. Anglo-Saxon Justice?"

WHO'S WHO

DR. FREDA KIRCHWEY, the Editor of "The Nation", received her doctorate from Rollins College. As a newspaper woman she served as a reporter on the "Morning Telegraph", the staff of "Every Week", and "Sunday Tribune", and since 1937 the publisher of The Nation. She is a Chevalier of the French Legion of Honor.

The HON. O. JOHN ROGGE is a graduate of the University of Illinois and Harvard Law School. In 1931 he received the degree of Doctor of Social Jurisprudence from Harvard. After a few years of private law practice he served successively in government posts which included Counsel Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Counsel Security and Exchange Commission, Asst. to the Atty. General of U. S. in charge of Criminal Division of the Dept. of Justice; and later Special Asst. to the U. S. Atty. General. His legal work led to the down-fall of the Huey Long machine in Louisiana. He is the author, "Our Vanishing Civil Liberties".

REV. MR. LOTHROP is available for weddings, funerals and personal consultation on call. He has office hours at The Community Church Center on Wednesday and Saturday mornings from 9 to 12, when he will be able to meet any of the church members or friends who may wish to consult him. Office Phone COm 6-6710. Residence, 46 Williams St., Brookline. Home phone ASpinwall 7-9576.

MARRIAGE CONSULTATION SERVICE by appointment. Call COm 6-6710. All appointments are made for MONDAY evenings.

THIS CHURCH is a free church supported entirely by the voluntary contributions of those who believe in its ideals and work. The Finance Committee is now working on the financial program for the 1952-53 budget. Please make your pledge or contribution TODAY. Pledge cards may be obtained at Secretary's Table in the lobby.

Church Membership

If you believe in the purpose and work of The Community Church of Boston and are willing to sign the following Bond of Union:

> **"We, the undersigned, accepting the stated purpose of this Church do join ourselves together that we may help one another, may multiply the power of each through mutual fellowship and may thereby promote most effectively the cause of truth, righteousness and love in the world."**

you are cordially invited to become members of this Church. The Church Book may be found at the Secretary's table in the lobby. A convenient time to sign is afforded after the close of the service or after the Forum period.

Calendar of Events

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH CENTER — 565 Boylston Street (Copley Sq.) Boston

Feb. 1—(TODAY)—10:30 to 12:30 SUNDAY SCHOOL.
8 P.M. YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIETY. "WHAT IS SOCIALISM?" Speaker, GEORGE GLOSS.

Feb. 2—(MONDAY)—Lectures. "WHY I AM A PROTESTANT". Speaker, REV. EMORY STEVENS BUCKE, D.D. "WHAT IS LIBERAL CATHOLICISM?" Speaker, LAWRENCE FERNSWORTH.

Forum Supper

Auspices of: SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Motion Picture **"THIS CHARMING COUPLE"**

"MARRIAGE PROBLEMS AND EMOTIONAL HEALTH"

Speaker

DR. DAVID LANDAU

Instructor in Psychiatry, Tufts College Medical School; Clinical Associate B. U. School of Theology; Medical Director, Consultation and Guidance Service, Boston Committee on Alcoholism.

WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 4 7:30 P. M.

Supper, 6:30 P.M. 95¢. Please make supper reservations on or before Monday, February 2. Call Church Office, COm 6-6710.

Feb. 5—(THURSDAY)—8 P.M. "SEEDS OF HERESY" — Discussion, DONALD STOUT.

Feb. 8—(SUNDAY)—8 P.M. YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIETY — FOLK SONG FESTIVAL.

Feb. 9—(MONDAY)—8 P.M. Lectures. "WHY I AM AN HINDU?" Speaker SWAMI AKHILINANDA. "WHY I AM A CHRISTIAN SCIENTIST?" Speaker SAVILLE DAVIS.

Feb. 12—(THURSDAY)—10 to 4 P.M. FELLOWSHIP SEWING GROUP.

Feb. 15—(SUNDAY)—3:30 P.M. FELLOWSHIP OPEN HOUSE.
8 P.M. YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIETY — VALENTINE DANCE.

Feb. 16—(MONDAY)—8 P.M. Lectures. "WHY I AM A UNITARIAN?" Speaker, REV. DANA McLEAN GREELEY. "WHY I AM A SPIRITUALIST?" Speaker, MRS. A. VIOLA BERLIN.

Forum Supper

Auspices of: THE RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEE

"TEEN AGE GANGS: RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS"

Speakers

JOSEPH SHEA, Probation Officer Juvenile Court

JAMES MULLIN, Mass. Youth Service Board

MISS BRASSILLA NEILAND, Leader, Youth Project of the Civic Unity Committee

WEDNESDAY — FEBRUARY 18 — 7:30 P.M.

Supper 95¢. 6:30. Please make your supper reservations on or before Feb. 16. Call COm 6-6710

Feb. 19—(THURSDAY)— 8 P.M. "THE RIGHT TO HERESY". Discussion led by DONALD STOUT.

Feb. 22—(SUNDAY)—3:30 P.M. COMMUNITY POETRY GROUP. Original poems will be read after which the group will read from Western American Poets. MRS. M. L. TARBOX, Chairman of the day.

8 P.M. YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIETY. "WHY PRISONERS RIOT". Speaker GEORGE SLADE, Director of Public Information, The United Prison Association of Mass.

The Community Church of Boston

presents a Course in

Religions *and* Denominations

• 1953 •

Jan. 26—**"WHY I AM A CHRISTIAN"**

Speaker, **REV. JOHN U. MILLER,** Minister of the First Baptist Church in Boston

"WHY I AM A JEW"

Speaker, **RABBI DUDLEY WEINBERG,** Temple Ohabei Shalom

Feb. 2—**"WHY I AM A PROTESTANT"**

Speaker, **REV. EMORY STEVENS BUCKE, D.D.** Editor, Zion's Herald (Methodist Weekly). Member Nat'l Board of the American Christian Palestine Com.

"WHAT IS LIBERAL CATHOLICISM?"

Speaker, **LAWRENCE FERNSWORTH,** Newspaperman; 1929-39 Foreign correspondent in Spain for N. Y. Times and other papers; later Asst. telegraph editor, N. Y. Daily News. Editor and Co-author of, "Dictators and Democrats"

25-64.20

Feb. 9—**"WHY I AM A HINDU"**

Speaker, **SWAMI AKHILANANDA,** Leader, Vedanta Society

"WHY I AM A CHRISTIAN SCIENTIST"

Speaker, **SAVILLE DAVIS,** National News Editor, Christian Science Monitor. formerly in charge of London office of the C. S. Monitor.

Feb. 16—**"WHY I AM A UNITARIAN"**

Speaker, **REV. DANA McLEAN GREELEY,** Minister of Arlington St. Church; Secretary, American Unitarian Association

"WHY I AM A SPIRITUALIST"

Speaker, **MRS. A. VIOLA BERLIN,** Director of the Spiritual Fraternity of Boston, and Trustee of the Spiritual Temple

Mar. 2—**"WHY I AM A HUMANIST"**

Speaker, **HAROLD R. RAFTON,** Chemist. President of the Humanist Fellowship of Boston and Second Vice President of the American Humanist Association

"WHY I AM A MORMON"

Speaker, **J. HOWARD MAUGHAN,** President, New England Mission, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.

Mar. 9—**"WHY I AM A SWEDENBORGIAN"**

Speaker, **REV. ANTONY REGAMEY,** Pastor, Church of the New Jerusalem; Special Lecturer on Liturgics, New Church Theological School

"WHY I AM A SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST"

Speaker, **REV. LESTER O. COON,** Minister, Boston Temple and District Superintendant of the Boston Dist., of the Seventh Day Adventist Church

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This course will be given on MONDAY Evenings at 8 P.M. at

The Community Church Center

565 BOYLSTON ST. [Copley Sq.] BOSTON

COURSE TUITION IS $2.00 **SINGLE MEETING, CONTRIBUTION, 50c**

Registration for the course may be made at The Community Church Center (Tel. COm 6-6710) in person or by mail.

74

Discussion and questions will follow the presentations of the lectures at each meeting.

February 9, 1953

Rev. Donald G. Lothrop
Community Church of Boston
565 Boylston Street
Boston, 16, Mass.

Dear Mr. Lothrop:

I have your check for my address of February 1st of $75.

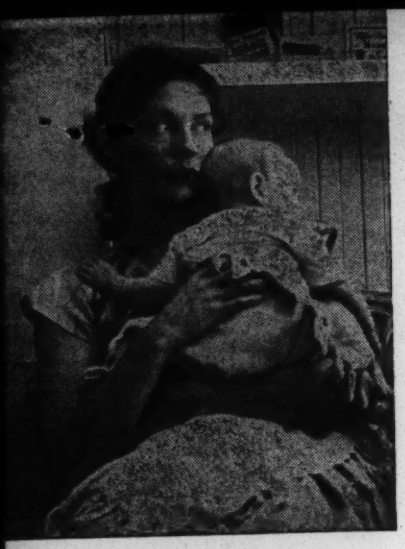
I think you have forgotten that the understanding was that I would receive $100.

I know this has slipped your mind.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois



Community Medical Foundation

A NON-PROFIT CALIFORNIA CORPORATION

1236 SOUTH LAKE STREET • LOS ANGELES 6, CALIFORNIA

Telephone DUnkirk 9-3171 • 9-1137

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN
President

KEN HARTFORD
Executive Director

Jan 16 1953

Dr. W. E. B Du Bois,
31 Grace Court,
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

Dear Sir;

Our organization is planning a ~~program~~ around the "Role of the Negro Medical Scientist" for our annual observance of Negro History Week.

We would like to have an exhibit of pictures, etc showing the contributions made to medicine and science by Negroes. We are also planning a meeting with speakers on the subject.

This ~~program~~ and meeting will in all probability take place during your forthcoming stay in Los Angeles. I am writing to see if you could assist us in either or both of the following ways:

1. Advise where materials and if possible photographs in relation to this subject and Negro medical scientists can be obtained.

2. Agree to make an appearance at our meeting. We understand that your schedule is already full in relation to speaking engagements; however your appearance as guest of honor at this meeting would be very appropriate.

Very truly yours

Ken Hartford

Ken Hartford

[Community Medical Foundation]

January 22, 1953

Mr. Ken Hartford, Executive Director
Community Medical Foundation
1236 South Lake St.
Los Angeles, 6, California

25-58-13

Dear Mr. Hartford:

Dr. Montague Cobb of Howard University will be glad to guide you on exhibits for your program on Negro Medicine. For the "Negro in Science" consult the Negro Handbook by Florence Murray, published by McMillan, 1949.

All requests for speaking or appearances while I and Mrs. Du Bois are in Los Angeles should be directed to Mr. Peter Hyun, Southern California Peace Crusade, Room 310, 326 West 3rd Street, Los Angeles, 13, California.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

September 10, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

A Conference to Further World Peace through Negotiation will be held in Chicago on October 16th and 17th. The sponsors will include many who have worked actively for peace as well as those who are taking part in such a conference for the first time. The delegates and observors will include individuals and members of organizations representing the trade unions, the Negro people, the clergy, women's organizations, the arts, sciences and professions, and many other groups.

The following panels have been suggested:

1. Peace and jobs.
2. Strengthening the United Nations as an instrument for peace.
3. Problems affecting peace in Europe, Asia and the Middle East.
4. Africa and colonialism
5. Universal Military Training, militarization, and guaranteeing the right to speak for peace.
6. Information and education for peace.

A seventh panel dealing with the churches in the fight for peace has been suggested and may also be organized.

25-54-37

The panel discussions will be held on Saturday, October 17th, and we hope to open the conference on Friday evening, October 16th. We are most eager to have you deliver the keynote address at this opening session, since we feel that you would bring to the delegates a clarity of vision and strength of purpose that would indeed set a high note of enthusiasm for the work of the conference.

I am enclosing a copy of the draft call to the conference which includes a partial list of sponsors. If you are able to accept our invitation we would, of course, hope that you could also take part in the panel discussion of Africa and colonialism.

Dr. Lovett, co-chairman of the conference, is in Minnesota at the present time and asked that I convey his warmest greetings to you and his personal wish that you will find it possible to attend the conference. We shall, of course, be happy to make whatever financial arrangements required for your trip and your stay here.

We feel that the conditions in Chicago at the present time indicate real possibilities for an enthusiastic and successful conference which could lay the foundation for a broad and unified peace organization. There is no question but that your participation in the conference would be a major contribution to this end.

Let me, therefore, join with Dr. Lovett, Dr. Evans, Dr. Carlson and many others in urging that you give our request every possible consideration.

If it is possible for you to check your schedule and notify us immediately, we will appreciate it very much.

We plan to mail the printed call on Monday and would like to include an announcement of the keynote address.

May we hope, therefore, to hear from you by return mail?

Sincerely,

Marjorie Milton

(Mrs.) Marjorie Milton
Executive Secretary
Conference to Further
World Peace through
Negotiation

25-54-38

MM:mm

166
W. Washington St
Chicago

[Conference to Further World Peace...]

COPY

Sept. 15, 1953

Mrs. Marjorie Hilton:

Dear Madam:

Your letter of September 10 reached me September 14. I can speak for you October 16, if you think you can and ought to stand the expense. On account of my age and the work I am trying to finish, I am making few engagements and when I do, must be sure to have comfortable accommodations.

The expenses from New York to Chicago and return, by plane, will include plane fare, hotel room and board for three days, taxi fare, tips and incidentals. These items will amount to $200. I know how difficult it is to raise money for causes such as this and will not be surprised if the cost is more than you can afford.

If not, I will speak for 15 minutes on the night of October 16, on "Socialism and Peace", or some such subject.

Very sincerely,

(signed) W.E.B. DU Bois

25-54-70

Sept 22, 1953

Mrs. Marjorie Milton
166 West Washington St.
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Mrs. Milton:

You have perhaps already received from the Peace Crusade in New York, through Mr. Thomas Richardson, some information concerning the International Peace Prize which has been granted me, and which I am proposing be given me at your meeting in Chicago.

May I explain the circumstances. On account of activities in which I have been engaged this prize was awarded me, but I heard of it only through the press. And so at last, to clear up some doubts, I wrote to the Secretary of the World Peace Congress in Prague. He answered me saying that the Prize has been awarded, and that he had written the Peace Crusade in New York July 27, asking them to arrange for its public award. No notice had been given me by the New York Peace Crusade so I wrote to Mr. John W. Darr and sent him a copy of this letter. He wrote apologetically saying that they would take the matter up.

My relations with the Peace Crusade in New York City have not been pleasant on account of actions which I need not go into; which has led me to copperate with them as I am, of course, in full accord with their general object and there are many persons whom I esteem highly connected with them. On the other hand, in my opinion their office is poorly run and I am not going to be connected with it any more than is absolutely necessary without absolutely severing my connection.

I do not want them associated with this award of the Peace Prize. On the other hand it has occurred to me that perhaps it might be awarded at Chicago by some person like my friend, Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, who is connected as I am with the New York organization. I would be very glad, therefore, if at some time during your meeting, unostentaticusly and taking but a short time, this prize could be awarded, and awarded by somebody not actually connected at present with the New York office. If this can be done without stirring up any controversy I shall be very much obliged.

Will you kindly let me hear from you concerning this?

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Thursday, Sept. 24, 1953
Chicago, Ill.

[Conf. to Further World Peace]

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
23 West 26th St.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

As you know, Dr. Lovett will be in New York on Friday and is looking forward to the opportunity of having a thorough discussion with you of the perspectives for the Chicago conference.

I'm sure that he plans to explore with you the possibilities of developing the major theme of peace through negotiation in every phase of the conference activities. I would suggest that your address at the opening session of the conference on Friday evening, October 16th, might deal in some manner with the possibilities for the settlement of world peace questions through negotiations.

We here in Chicago deeply appreciate your gracious suggestion that we might use the occasion of the conference to make a public presentation of the award given to you by the World Council for Peace . The American people are honored by the Council's selection of you as a leading fighter in the struggle for peace. Those of us here in Chicago who have had the privilege of being asspciated with you in our common endeavor feel twice honored in the recognition of you as a world leader for peace and in our great privilege in being associated with your work and aims. May we, therefore, take this opportunity to thank you for your generous suggestion that the conference may be used as an occasion for the presentation of the award?

25-54-34

Dr. Lovett will, I believe, discuss with you the form which the presentation might take.

We can, I believe, say with some pride that a small advance has been made in drawing in to the conference preparations, new forces for the struggle for peace. I do not mean to indicate that these forces will represent more than a tiny fraction of the composition of the conference. Nevertheless, they are playing an important role in terms of official representation and, evem more, in unofficial participation in discussions and preparations.

The conference committee has not endorsed the program of the World Council for Peace, nor do I think it should be asked to do so. We propose, therefore, that the presentation of your award might take the form of an individual presentation by a member of the World Council for Peace. Mr. Ernest DeMaio, of UERMWA, is a sponsor of the conference, a member of the World Council for Peace and could make the presentation during the course of the Friday night opening session as an individual and member of the World Council and not as the official representative of the conference.

We feel at any rate, that it is wise and only fair to present this proposal to our sponsors and general conference committee at their next meeting on October 1st.

Perhaps you, Dr. Lovett, Mr. Richardson and others will have an opportunity to discuss this and we shall report to you immediately about the recommendations of our conference committee at the October 1st meeting.

25-54-346

Room 312 - 166 W. Washington
Chicago, Ill.

We further propose that you plan to participate in the panel on Africa and colonialism in whatever manner you suggest. We should, of course, hope that you might give the leading report in this panel, but do not wish to overburden you. May we hope, however, that you will take part in the panel discussion within the framework of whatever limits you wish to propose?

I am mindful of your request to limit your commitments, aside from the conference itself, to not more than two additional engagements. Our tentative proposals are that we make a selection of the following: a radio or television appearance, preferably on some program such as the Northwestern University Reviewing Stand or the University of Chicago Round Table. We are exploring this possibility. A campus meeting at Northwestern University or the University of Chicago. A House meeting with individuals and representatives of organizations who will not be able to play a public role in the conference but who may be expected to respond to the general conference aims, particularly after a discussion with you such as a private house meeting could provide.

25-54-35

If such a house meeting is arranged, some of the persons we should like to invite include such figures as: Dr. Preston Bradley, Mrs. Rebecca Stiles Taylor of the Chicago Defender, Mr. Sidney Williams of the Urban League, Mr. Ralph Helstein of the Packinghouse Workers, Dean Thompson of the University of Chicago, the Reverend E.T Buehrer, chairman of the Western Unitarian Conference and president of the Chicago Liberal Ministers Club, Dr. Homer Jack of Evanston, Rabbi Weinstein of the KAM Temple and a number of others.

We shall report to you on the progress of the conference plans and mail a check for your expenses very ~~shortly~~ soon.

Thank you again for your many excellent suggestions and generous offer to the conference committee.

Sincerely,

Marjorie Milton

(Mrs.) Marjorie Milton
Executive Secretary
Conference to Further World
Peace through Negotiation

In Battle for Peace

September 30, 1953

Mrs. Marjorie Milton
Conference to Further World Peace Through Negotiation
Room 312
166 West Washington
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Mrs. Milton:

25-54-33

The letter which I wrote you did not reach you because the number of the room was not put on and it was returned. I sent it back and hope you have it by this time.

I did not have the chance to talk very much with Dr. Lovett. We had only a brief telephone conversation.

I must be in New York for a lecture on October 14 and on October 21. I can leave the morning of the 15th in order to fill an engagement in Chicago, and I could stay over if necessary until Tuesday, the 20th.

I would, of course, be glad to fill any of the appearances that you indicate, although you would probably have difficulty in securing engagements.

With regard to the subject: "Peace Through Negotiation" is vague and so obvious that it would hardly seem necessary to make a speech on it. My interpretation of the subject is that you want an argument of the possibilities of negotiation and the reasons for it. I am therefore sending a copy of the speech which I propose to deliver, and would be glad to have the judgment of your committee.

It would, of course, be perfectly agreeable to me to have Mr. DeMaio present the Peace Prize, and of course this should only be done if the general conference committee is willing. If it is not, we can forget the matter.

As you know, my latest book is "In Battle for Peace." I should like very much to have copies of it on sale at the Conference. Would this be in accord with your plans or not? If it is, who could take charge of the sale? I am sending you a copy of the paper bound edition which sells at $1.

Very sincerely yours,

x or hold it privately or separately

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Arrangements Committee

CONFERENCE FOR WORLD PEACE THROUGH NEGOTIATION
~~P.O. Box 511~~ Rm. 312 - 166 W. Washington
Chicago ~~60~~, Illinois

October9, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

This is in reply to your inquiry regarding the sale of your books at the Conference. We have, of course, planned to have them, and thought we could get them on consignment from the local book store. We now find that not enough copies are available locally.

We have no way of estimating in advance how many copies of what we can sell. We would therefore appreciate it if you could arrange to have the number of copies indicated below sent to us on consignment. If we have additional requests, we plan to take orders and send them on to you later. On the other hand, if we have any left over, we would like the privilege of returning them.

We would also like to have some of Mrs. DuBois' books on the same basis. She would probably be the best judge of what might be most suitable for our conference in what quantities.

IN BATTLE FOR PEACE: Paper bound copies 30
Deluxe 10

THE WORLD AND AFRICA: Cloth.....15
Deluxe.....10

The books should be sent to the above address at the earliest possible date, as they would have to be here by the 15th of October to be available for the Conference.

Sincerely yours,

Marjorie Milton

Marjorie Milton

MM/cdc

Arrangements Committee

CONFERENCE FOR WORLD PEACE THROUGH NEGOTIATION

P.O. Box 514
Chicago 90, Illinois

October 9, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 23rd Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Burghardt:

Your speech is truthful and eloquent. I am with you on your main issues, that permanent peace in the world can come only through the adoption of social justice that we call Socialism. Personally I agree that the problems of colonialism will be settled through Communism.

25-54-30

We want to ask you if it will be possible for you to add a conclusion on the immediate necessity of negotiation between the powers committed to the two systems, which you have well defined, to eliminate the causes of war, which will be destructive of both. This will put your opening address in line with the chief object of the conference - PEACE THROUGH NEGOTIATION.

It is needless to say that I make this suggestion tentatively and with full appreciation, shared by all, of your generous sacrifice of time and effort to make our conference a success.

With best regards to Mrs. DuBois,

Yours sincerely,

Robert Morss Lovett

Robert Morss Lovett

I am delighted that you have chosen me to make the presentation of the award by the World Peace Council.

RML/cdc

Chicago, Ill.
October 10, 1953

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I have delayed answering your letters in order to give you as full and detailed a report of your proposed schedule as possible.

At the meeting of our sponsors and general conference committee on October 1st, the suggestion that the World Peace Council award be presented to you by Dr. Lovett was entusiastically and unanimously adopted.

In accord with your request, we plan a simple ceremony during the proceedings of our opehing meeting on Friday evening, October 16th.

1 25-54-31

Further engagements which we propose for you are as follows:
1. A campus meeting at the University of Chicago on Thursday evening, October 15th, from eight to ten p.m. This meeting will be held in Judd Hall, an auditorium seating two hundred and ninety people. The University committee requests that you speak on the general topic of colonialism in relation to problems of world peace. We shall either provide private transportation for you or arrange for taxi service, as you prefer.

X- 200

2. A television appearance on WGN-TV, Channel 9, at 11:45 a.m. on Friday, October 16th. This program is directed by Mr. Earl Nightingale and appeals chiefly to educators, professional and academic circles and other intellectuals. Its format is the interview and it is an informal, unrehearsed program designed to give television viewers the impression of an impromptu chat between Mr. Nightingale and his guest.

X - 5 million listeners

He asks that you come to his office in the studio at 11:15 a.m. on Friday in order to have a preliminary discussion of the program.. He told me that he would write you directly in New York confirming the engagement. I would appreciate knowing if he has done so and what further arrangements, if any, we are to make here in Chicago.

3. Participation in the conference panel on Africa and colonialism from one to four p.m. on Saturday, October 17th. I will send further details of this panel.

4. A private house meeting on Sunday evening, October 18th, such as I outlined in another letter to you.

We regret that our very limited budget does not permit us to extend an invitation to Mrs. DuBois as our guest at the conference. We hope very much, however, that it will be possible for her to accompany you. I have made a tentaive reservation for you for a single room with bath at the Congress Hotel on Michigan Avenue. Will

you let me know if Mrs. DuBois is able to join you and what accomodations you wish me to make? A check for your expenses will be forwarded to you on Tuesday, the 13th, which you will receive on Wednesday, the 14th.

Will you also let me know if you wish to have private transportation from the airport or if you prefer the airlines limousine service or a taxi? Also the flight number, the airline, and the time of arrival?

Thank you for your invaluable cooperation. We look forward to your participation in the conference and know it will be a memorable occasion for all of us.

Sincerely,

Marjorie Milton

(Mrs.) Marjorie Milton
Executive Director
CONFERENCE TO FURTHER WORLD
PEACE THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS

25-54-32

Carson Pirie Scott - Messner

Pocahontas, Published by Grosset + Dunlap

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(57)..

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT = Int'l Victory Ltr.

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1953 OCT 12 PM 12 59

DR W E B DUBOIS=

23 WEST 26 ST=

PLEASE ADVISE FORM OF AWARD OF WORLD PEACE COUNCIL WHETHER CERTIFICATE MEDAL AND OR CASH SUM WILL YOUR OFFICE FORWARD TO DR LOVETT FOR PRESENTATION TO YOU OR WILL YOU TURN OVER TO HIM ON YOUR ARRIVAL IN CHICAGO=

MARJORIE MILTON EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR CONFERENCE FOR WORLD PEACE ROOM 312 166 WEST WASHINGTON ST=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Room 312 - 166 W. Washington
Chicago, Ill.
October 13, 1953

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois:
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed herewith is a check for two hundred dollars to cover the expenses for your trip and your stay in Chicago.

Please have your office give us the following information by return mail:
1. Will Mrs. DuBois accompany you and what hotel accomodations do you wish us to make?
2. Has Mr. Earl Nightingale communicated with you about the television program on which you are to appear? May we have a copy of his letter?
3. Please let us know what arrangements you wish us to make about the World Peace Council award - as I requested in my telegram to your office.
4. Do You wish us to take orders for your books or will they be forwarded to us?
5. Please let us know your time of arrival, the air line and flight number.

Thank you for your cooperation and effort.

We look forward to your participation in a successful and enthusiastic conference.

Sincerely,

Marjorie Milton

(Mrs.) Marjorie Milton
Exectuive Director
CONFERENCE TO FURTHER WORLD
PEACE THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS

MM:mm

85-54-67

Conf. 1/2 Nov 15 - 2 1 2

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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED 3:45 p.m.

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

October 13, 1953

Mrs. Marjorie Milton, Executive Director
Conference to Further World Peace Through Negotiations
Room 312
166 West Washington St.
Chicago, Illinois

Carson Pirie Scott

LEAVE THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15 NOON VIA AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT 205. HAVE MADE RESERVATION CONRAD HILTON HOTEL. HAVE RECEIVED PRIZE MONEY DIRECT FROM PEACE COUNCIL. DO NOT KNOW WHAT NEW YORK PEACE CRUSADE PLANS TO DO. WILL ACCEPT MEETINGS AT UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, TELEVISION AND PRIVATE HOUSE PROVIDED THESE PARTIES PAY FEE IN ADDITION TO EXPENSES WHICH YOU PAY. WILL TAKE LIMOSINE FROM AIRPORT. HAVE HAD NO WORD AS YET FROM NIGHTINGALE. MRS. DU BOIS WILL NOT ACCOMPANY ME.

35-54-72

W E B Du Bois
23 W. 26 St

TELEGRAMS SENT TO W.E.B. DU BOIS ON PRESENTATION OF PEACE PRICE
AT CHICAGO, October 16, 1953

42/11/5

TO THE TESTIMONY BORNE IN OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES I WOULD ADD TODAY MY PERSONAL TRIBUTE OF FRIENDSHIP AND ADMIRATION FOR YOUR ACHIEVEMENT, YOUR ACTIVITY AND YOUR LIFE'S WORK SO RIGHTLY HELD UP TO THE ADMIRATION OF THE PEOPLES. FRIENDLY GREETING.

Jean Laffitte, General Secretary, World Peace Council
Prague, Czechoslovakia

NEVER WAS A PRIZE BETTER DESERVED. IT IS THE REWARD OF A WHOLE LIFE DEVOTED TO THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN. THOSE WHO WERE WITH YOU IN DIFFICULT DAYS ARE CLOSE TO YOU ON THIS JOYFUL DAY. WE HOPE TO BRING YOU A STILL BETTER PRIZE, THE VICTORY OF PEACE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. YOURS,

Isabelle Blume, Member Belgian Parliament

POUR MONSIEUR LE DOCTEUR EDWARD BURGHARDT DU BOIS AU NOM DES PARTISANS DE LA REPUBLIQUE POPULAIRE ROUMAINE. JE FOUS FELICITE DE TOUT MON COEUR A L'OCCASION DE LA REMISE DU PRIX INTERNATIONAL DE LA PAIX VOTRE INFATIGABLE ACTIVITE CONSACREE. A LA PAIX ET A LAMITIE ENTRE LES PEUPLES EST CONNUE ET APPRECIEE PAR NOTRE PEUPLE QUI VOUS SOUHAITE DORENAVANT DE NOUVEAUX SUCCES DANS LA NOBLE LUTTE QUE VOUS DEPLOYEZ.

President of the Committee for the Defense
of Peace of the People's Republic of Roumania,
Michael Sadovenu

MANY GOOD WISHES TO DR. DU BOIS PEACE PRIZE CELEBRATION IN HEART WITH HIM.

Professor Hromadka, Prominent Catholic -
Member of World Peace Council, Prague, Chechoslovakia

Telegrams on Peace Prize Oct. 16, 1953

42/10/6

CONGRATULATIONS ON RECEIVING THE WELL DESERVED PEACE PRIZE. YOUR UNFLINCHING WORK FOR THE CAUSE OF PEACE IS AN INSPIRATION TO MILLIONS ALL OVER THE WORLD.

Leopold Infeld, Leading scientist and author now in Poland. Formerly Professor at Toronto

CONGRATULIS AMOD I VIVAMENTE CONCESSIONE PREMIO PACE PROFESSOR DU BOIS.

Italian Peace Committee, Rome

OURS IS A MIGHTY TRADITION, ONE TO BE FOREVER TREASURED, EVER TO BE FOUGHT FOR, NEVER TO BE SURRENDERED. TODAY EVIL MEN, SUPPORTED BY THOSE OF WEALTH AND POWER DARE TO VAINLY HOPE THAT THE PEOPLE OF OUR NATION WILL AT LAST BE TERRORIZED AND BLUDGEONED INTO SUBMISSION. AS AT OTHER TIMES IN OUR GLORIOUS HISTORY MEN AND WOMEN OF VALOR, OF ENDLESS COURAGE, OF DEEPEST WISDOM ARISE TO DEFEND US AND OURS. WE ARE PRIVILEGED TO STAND SIDE BY SIDE WITH SUCH A HUMAN BEING ENDOWED WITH ALL THE FOREGOING AND MORE, A MATCHLESS POET, A PROUD SON OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE FROM WHOM HE HAS SPRUNG, INDEED, OF ALL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND OF ALL THE PROGRESSIVE WORLD. WE THROUGH HIM ARE DEEPLY HONORED AND MOST IMPORTANT ARE MOVED TO A HIGHER AWARENESS OF OUR SACRED RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE. ALL MY BEST, DEAR DR. DU BOIS TO YOU AND MRS. SHIRLEY GRAHAM DU BOIS ON THIS HISTORIC OCCASION. WITH YOU WE HOLD OUR HEADS HIGH, CERTAIN OF FINAL VICTORY FOR A PEACEFUL AND ABUNDANT WORLD. SINCERELY,

Paul Robeson

42/10/7

HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS FROM THE STAFF OF THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE ON YOUR RECEIPT OF THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE PRIZE. THIS RICHLY DESERVED AWARD SYMBOLIZES THE WHOLE WORLD'S RECOGNITION OF THE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS YOU CONTINUE TO MAKE TO THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM AND PEACE FOR ALL PEOPLES.

Howard Selsam, Director Jefferson School
New York

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, 1952 recipient of the International Peace Prize of the World Council for Peace -- that simple and brief sentence must fill every peace-loving American with pride. To that feeling of pride we must, in all honesty, add a feeling of shame and determination.

Shame because many of us have done little for the cause of peace. Shame because we have permitted those who control our national government and its policies to turn our beloved country into a most powerful and sinister obstacle to world peace.

Let all of us become grimly determined to earn the right to truthfully call ourselves fearless, tireless, militant fighters for peace. That is the most concrete way to prove our love and respect for that intellectual giant, that uncompromising fighter for the dignity of man, that lover and champion of the human race, Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois.

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, may you be with us for many more years. Your country and its people - yes, the world - need you now more than ever.

With deep respect, profound admiration and love, I salute you.

John T. Bernard, Foremer U.S. Congressman,
Now U.E. organizer.

42/1C/8

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

On the occasion of your receiving the International Peace Prize, may I add my felicitations to those of the millions of peaceworkers the world over, who because of your eloquent efforts see the humanitarian objective of negotiated peaceful coexistence coming into acceptance.

Dr. Du Bois, you have contributed so greatly to the stopping of World War II that every peace prize, including the Stalin, Nobel, etc., in addition to the World Peace Council's Peace Prize should be awarded to you by grateful humanity.

Heartily yours,

(signed) John Marsalka
Dr. J. M. Marsalka, New Haven, Conn.
(State Director of Progressive Party
of Conn. Formerly Professor at Yale.)

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY PROUDLY SALUTES OUR HONORARY CO-CHAIRMAN FOR YOUR BRILLIANT AND TIRELESS EFFORTS FOR PEACE AND BROTHERHOOD. YOUR CONTINUED LEADERSHIP IN THE FIGHT FOR PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL ACTION AT HOME WILL HELP THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ACHIEVE THESE GOALS. OUR WARMEST GREETINGS TO YOU.

C. B. Baldwin & Thelma Dale, New York

PROUD TO ADD OUR WORD OF GREETING AND CONGRATULATIONS TO THE EMINENT AND COURAGEOUS DOCTOR DU BOIS, THIS MOMENTOUS OCCASION. HIS PERSISTENT AND UNCOMPROMISING EFFORTS BEHALF WORLD PEACE AND FREEDOM FOR COLONIAL PEOPLES IS A GREAT FORCE OF STRENGTH AND GUIDE FOR ALL TO EMULATE. WORLD PEACE IS NECESSARY FOR SUCCESSFUL FIGHT FOR EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGROES AND ABUNDANT EMPLOYMENT FOR ALL AMERICAN WORKERS.

Greater N.Y. Negro Labor Council

421/1019

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

We are happy that the great honor of the International Peace Prize of the World Council of Peace has come to America through you.

It is our demonstration to ourselves and to the world that the America of Payne and Jefferson, of Douglass and Lincoln, of Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth is alive in the land that gave them birth.

Warm fraternal greetings to you from the students and faculty of the California Labor School where your visits and teaching are remembered as high points of our teaching and our work.

Long life to you and happiness,

Holland Roberts, Director, San Francisco

I OFFER NOT ONLY MY CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU AS GREAT MAN AND INDOMITABLE FIGHTER FOR PEACE BUT MY RESPECT AND ADMIRATION FOR YOUR COURAGE AND GALLANTRY IN THIS FIGHT FAR BEYOND THE CALL OF DUTY.

Howard Fast, New York

Dear Brother Du Bois:

Our country is indeed fortunate to have a determined, unselfish fighter for peace like Dr. Du Bois.

It is because of fighters like Dr. Du Bois that our struggle for peace, security and full freedom will be won much sooner, and the evil monsters of darkness will be destroyed by the brilliant torch of peace and freedom, carried by leaders such as Dr. Du Bois.

This night we are also commending Brother Hugh Bryson, who is today persecuted by these haters of peace, but we are confident of victory and we all join in a special commendation.

Sincerely and fraternally,

(signed) Joe Johnson, Secretary-Treasurer
Nat'l. Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards
San Francisco, California

42/16/10

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

On the occasion of the awarding to you of the International Peace Prize of the World Council of Peace, may I extend to you the warmest congratulations on behalf of the American Peace Crusade.

This award is one of the highest honors that a man or woman can receive today, embodying as it does, the appreciation and respect of peoples all over the world for the contribution of an individual to the cause of peace.

This appreciation and respect for your great contribution to world Peace and Friendship between all nations are deeply shared by your associates in the American Peace Crusade. As Honorary Co-Chairman of the Crusade, you have been a constant inspiration to us all in our common work to serve the cause of peace.

We are donfident that this honor which has been bestowed on you will challenge all peace workers in our country to redouble their efforts for world peace.

Very truly yours,

(signed) Thomas Richardson
National Co-Director, American Peace Crusade
New York

October 20, 1953

Mrs. Marjorie Milton, Executive Director
Conference to Further World Peace Through Negotiations
Room 312
166 West Washington
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mrs. Milton:

Enclosed you will find copies of the speeches which Dr. Lovett and myself made at the presentation of the prize.

Also, copies of the messages received.

I am enclosing two telegrams which belong to Dr. Lovett or to the conference rather than to me.

May I say that your check for $200 was received and a check for $10.75 on the books.

May I thank you and Dr. Stamler very much for your kindness during my most interesting visit.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
enc.

October 30, 1953

Mrs. Marjorie Milton
Conference on Peace Through Negotiations
166 W. Washington St.
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Milton:

I am writing to be sure as to whether my accounts with the Conference for Peace Through Negotiations have been settled.

You remember that our understanding was that I was to be paid $200 to cover my expenses for travel and so forth, and to cover also the cost of my main talk to the Conference and a shorter talk with the panel on Africa.

Also, you suggested that perhaps I would be willing to take some other talks, and I told you that I would be willing to take two or three, provided the persons arranging for these talks paid for them.

I spoke, as you know, for the television center, at Chicago University, and at Mrs. Ormes'. I received no compensation for these three talks and I do not know that you did, although I hope you did as that was my understanding and as that is necessary for me to arrange if I am to carry on my lecturing. If you have not received any compensation and wish me to send them bills I will do so. If, however, the matter is closed, I will say no more about it.

However, you still owe me for $30 worth of books at wholesale price. They can be paid for in cash, or returned.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

October 20, 1953

Dr. Robert Morss Lovett
Conference to Further World Peace Through Negotiations
Room 312
166 West Washington
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Dr. Lovett:

Thank you very much for your hospitality and kindness while I was in Chicago. I had a very pleasant visit and I thought the Conference was unusually successful.

I have sent copies of the messages received to Mrs. Milton.

I hope when you come to New York again you will let me know.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-54-1

October 27, 1953

Mrs. Marjorie Milton
Conference on Peace Through Negotiations
166 West Washington Street.
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Milton:

If there were any pictures made of the Peace Conference and especially of the presentation of the prize, will you please rush copies to:

M. Jean Laffitte
World Peace Council
Palais, S.I.A.
Janska 100
Prague, Czechoslovakia

by AIRMAIL.

Also please send me some copies.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Peace Through Negotiations Conf.
Chicago Orphan Oct/53

(The following draft resolution is made available to you so that you may introduce it, or a similar resolution, in your organization, with the suggestion that copies be sent to the United States delegation at the United Nations, to President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles.)

DRAFT RESOLUTION

The United Nations Organization still remains man's best hope for world peace. We reaffirm our faith in the strength and endurance of negotiations as the medium for lasting world peace and the elimination of armed conflict against colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

The right of self-determination, the right to the fruits of one's labor, the right of association with one's fellow man for mutual group progress are basic human rights recognized and respected by all human beings of good will.

The denial of one group, often a minority, of the basic human rights of another group, often a disadvantaged majority, today constitutes a major threat to world peace.

It is imperative, if world peace is to be attained and maintained, that the oppressed peoples of Africa and other colonial areas shall have their basic human rights respected. Thus the efforts of all human beings are earnestly solicited to the end that segregation, discrimination, political and economic oppression, and infliction of gross indignities upon the peoples of dark Africa shall end promptly.

We commend the struggles of the people of the Gold Coast that have successfully resulted in the selection of Prime Minister NKrumah and his government and look forward to the extension of this achievement to other areas on the African continent.

We deplore the fact that the Union of South Africa constitutes a bastion of race hate and we strongly urge that the other governments of the world, through the United Nations, shall exercise their unquestioned power to sharply delimit the area of South Africa's authority and enforce such sanctions designed to correct said evils before they thrust the world into the conflagration of World War III.

We specifically remind our fellow Americans that the aims, aspirations and hopes of millions of Africans must be the concern of all of us, and we emphatically call upon the American delegation to the United Nations to give expression to this concern and thus bring into line American action with America

words.

We particularly call upon the government of the United States to reverse its policy of extending financial, military and moral support to those colonial powers practicing racial violence, suppressing freedom and otherwise proscribing the natural aspirations of native populations.

We condemn colonialism in its every aspect and repeat our adherence to the living truth that it as as wrong for one nation to own another nation as it is wrong for one man to own another man. We express our oneness with the aspirations of the peoples of Tunisia, Morocco, Kenya, the colored peoples of South Africa, also with the peoples of Porto Rico and British Guiana, as well as colonial peoples everywhere, for self-determination and local self government, unhampered by financial strangulation, private as well as public, from without and from governmental interference by more advantaged nations. We believe that we in the United States cannot successfully demonstrate our belief in the principles of individual liberty and freedom unless we live by these principles.

No greater contribution to world peace can be made than by the adherence of our government to individual liberties and freedom for colonial peoples as well as for all other peoples.

We respectfully remind the United Nations Organization that in the interest of peace, aggrieved colonial peoples should have the right of audience before that powerful body. We adhere to the principle that no people should, as a matter of policy, be required to present their grievances through an outside spokesman - aggrieved peoples can best express their grievances themselves.

Finally, we call attention to the fact that domestic tranquillity and international amity can be achieved only if the basic human rights of mankind everywhere are respected. Peace at home and abroad can only obtain when men and nations observe the Golden Rule.

35-555, 74

call

to a

Chicago Area

CONFERENCE

for

WORLD PEACE

through

NEGOTIATIONS

CURTISS HALL
(FINE ARTS BUILDING)
410 SOUTH MICHIGAN BOULEVARD

FRIDAY AND SATURDAY
OCTOBER 16 - 17, 1953

32-33-16

HEAR...

DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS

of New York
Noted Historian, World Peace Leader

deliver the Keynote Address

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 8 P.M.

at

CURTISS HALL
(Fine Arts Building)
410 South Michigan Blvd.

Admission Free

PAGEANT for PEACE

- an evening of song, dance, music and drama for Peace!
- Colorful Folk songs and dances!
- Outstanding performers!

SATURDAY, OCT. 17, 8:45 P.M.

CURTISS HALL
(Fine Arts Building)
410 South Michigan Boulevard

Admission $1.00

Reserve tickets now from P.O. Box 514, Chicago 90, Ill.

REGISTRATION FORM

MAIL TO:
POST OFFICE BOX 514
CHICAGO 90, ILLINOIS

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... Zone..... State .....

Occupation ..... Union ..... Age ..... Sex .....

ATTENDING AS: (Check Two)

- ☐ Individual
- ☐ Representing group or organization
- ☐ Delegate
- ☐ Observer

WHO CAN ATTEND this Conference: Any individual person or representative of any organization interested in World Peace, or in any aspect of World Peace problems; no limitation on number of delegates or observers from any organization. Registration fee for delegates, observers and visitors, $1.00.

Name of Organization .....

Office Held in Organization .....

I am interested in the Panel on .....

(Registration fee of $1.00 should accompany this form)

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, call all lovers of peace in the Chicago area, individuals and organizations, including trade unions, church groups, women's and youth organizations, and other civic groups, to meet in a **CONFERENCE FOR WORLD PEACE THROUGH NEGOTIATION,** to take place in Chicago on Oct. 17, 1953.

OCTOBER 1953 will be a month of great decisions. The peace conference on Korea will be convening; the problem of the threatening recession and consequent unemployment will have greater urgency than ever; the question of unification of Germany will confront the world with new emphasis; the proposal for a meeting of the Four Great Powers will have reached maximum urgency; the United Nations General Assembly will be in the midst of a crucial session. The influence of the great mass of Americans for world peace must be exerted **then** if it is to be effective in determining government policy.

THE TRUCE IN KOREA, ending the bloodshed and destruction, has been warmly welcomed by millions of Americans and peoples of other countries as positive proof that despite all difficulties, differences between nations can be resolved by peaceful negotiation.

SIMILARLY, peaceful negotiation among the major powers could solve most of the great problems confronting the world; the problem of strengthening the United Nations as an instrument of negotiation and arbitration of international issues; the problem of maintaining wages and full employment in a peace-time economy, including the restoration of trade between East and West; the problem of a just and stable peace in Asia; the problem of German unification; the problem of assuring freedom and self-determination for the peoples of Africa and of aid to the industrially undeveloped nations; the problems of world disarmament and the outlawing of weapons of mass destruction; the problems of militarization, Universal Military Training and conscription. The Conference will include panels on these and other problems.

WE DEDICATE this Conference to the patriotic task of combating the dangerous idea that war is inevitable. For this Conference we will work for and welcome the participation of all individuals, regardless of affiliation, and of all organizations working for peace or interested in any aspect of world peace problems. We base ourselves on a firm belief that the fullest cooperation and interchange of ideas among peacelovers is essential, and that the assurance of a lasting world peace can come only with the united effort of all believers in peace.

MARY AIKEN
Council of Older Adult Groups of Greater Chicago
ANNIE ALEXANDER
REV. WILLIAM T. BAIRD
Essex Community Church
MRS. MARY BAUMGARTNER
MRS. GERTRUDE BAXTER
FE-UE Local 108
JOHN T. BERNARD
Former Congressman, UERMWA
LEON BEVERLY
AARON BINDMAN
Local 208, ILWU
MILDRED BLOCK
BARNEY BRAAKMAN
Carpenters Union, Local No. 1
REV. W. C. BROWN
PROF. ANTON J. CARLSON
Scientist, Educator
STEPHEN CHULAY
Sec'y, Hungarian-American I.W.O.
MRS. EDWARD CLARKSTON
JASON COHEN
LORRAINE COHEN
MRS. M. A. COLEMAN
LEE DANZY
ERNEST DeMAIO
President, District 11, UERMWA
REV. JOSEPH M. EVANS
Metropolitan Community Church
ABE FEINGLASS
Midwest Dis't. IFLWU
ELEANOR FRANKLIN
Chicago Women for Peace; Delegate to World Peace Congress, Vienna
ADOLPH GRENKE
REV. T. J. GRIFFIN
St. Matthews Methodist Church
REV. LASZLO A. GROSS
RUDOLPH GUDERNAK
Pres. Hungarian-American Cutural Club
MAVIS GUY
JOSEPH HABSCHMIDT
UERMWA, [redacted]
PEARL HART
Attorney
DOROTHY HAYES
Chicago Women for Peace
BISHOP H. M. HOOPER
Church of the Risen Holy Nazarene
REV. REYNOLD N. HOOVER
LORETTA HOPKE
SARAH HUBBARD
[redacted]
H. C. HVALE
CHIZU IIYAMA
SEYMOUR C. JORDAN
Cmdr-in-Chief, United Pioneers of America, Inc.
WARREN LAMSON
Council of Older Adult Groups of Greater Chicago
MILDRED La TOUCHE
South Side Christian Church
MRS. MINNIE A. LEE
HELEN LEWIS
NORMAN LILLY
ROBERT MORSS LOVETT
Educator, Former Governor Virgin Islands
BERNARD LUCAS
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UERMWA, Steward
MRS. WALTER P. NATHANIEL
PEARLINE NOLAN
C. D. O'QUINN
MARION PERKINS
Sculptor
DELORES PINTA
Polish-American Peace Committee of Chicago
P. W. PROCTOR
H. B. RITMAN
Attorney
EARNESTINE ROSS
MRS. LULA SAFFOLD
Chicago Women for Peace; Delegate Int'l Women's Conference, Copenhagen
WALTER SCHUTH
ADA SHAW
Chicago Women for Peace
THOMAS L. SLATER
Carpenters Union, Local No. 1
JEREMIAH STAMLER, M.D.
HELEN F. STEIN
Pres. Hungarian Women's Club
RAY STOUGH
THADDEUS STRUGIELSKI
MRS. REBECCA STILES TAYLOR
RABBI SAMUEL TEITLEBAUM
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MARY THOMPSON
MRS. IDELL UMBLES
Chicago Women for Peace
CHATMAN C. WAILES
Sec'y, Greater Chicago Negro Labor Council
OTTO WANDER
MRS. OSSIE B. WILEY
BEATRICE WILLIAMS
WILBUR M. WOLFE
Batavia, Ill.
MRS. ALICE YONIK
Lithuanian-American Peace Committee

(Partial list of sponsors; organizations listed for purposes of identification)

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1953

8:00 P.M. ..... KEYNOTE SESSION
DR. W.E.B. DuBOIS
(Admission Free)

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1953

9:30 A.M. ..... REGISTRATION

10:30 A.M. ..... GENERAL SESSION

1:00 P.M. to 3:30 P.M. ..... PANELS

I. **PEACE AND JOBS**—World Trade—Public Housing and Domestic Public Works Construction—Taxation and Fiscal Policy.

II. **STRENGTHENING THE UNITED NATIONS AS AN INSTRUMENT OF PEACE**—Disarmament—The A-and-H-Bombs—Membership and the Charter—The Declaration of Human Rights—The Genocide Convention.

III. **MAJOR POWER NEGOTIATION IN EUROPE AND ASIA**—Korea—China—Germany—NATO.

IV. **AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST & COLONIALISM**—Self-determination—Point Four and Aid to Industrially Undeveloped Nations—Problems of the Middle East.

V. **MILITARIZATION**—Conscription—Universal Military Training—Discrimination in the Armed Forces—What's Happening to Our Youth—Guaranteeing the Right to Speak for Peace.

VI. **INFORMATION AND EDUCATION FOR PEACEFUL NEGOTIATION**—International Cultural Exchange—Responsibilities of the Arts and Sciences—Responsibilities of Church and Religious Groups.

4 to 5 P.M. ..... GENERAL SESSION, REPORTS, ADJOURNMENT

9:00 P.M. ..... PAGEANT FOR PEACE
A cultural evening of Song, Dance, and Music for Peace. Admission $1.00.

CONFERENCE to FURTHER WORLD PEACE THROUGH NEGOTIATION *****

We, the undersigned, call all lovers of peace in the Chicago area, individuals and organizations, including trade unions, church groups, women's and youth organizations, and other civic groups, to meet in a Conference for World Peace Through Negotiation, to take place in Chicago October 17, 1953 (exact hour and place to be named later).

October 1953 will be a month of great decisions. The peace conference on Korea will be taking place; elections will have been held in Germany; the proposal for a meeting of the Four Great Powers will have reached maximum urgency; the United Nations General Assembly will be in the midst of a crucial session. The influence of the great mass of Americans for world peace must be exerted then if it is to be effective in determining government policy.

The truce in Korea, ending the bloodshed and destruction, has been warmly welcomed by millions of Americans and peoples of other countries as positive proof that despite all difficulties, differences between nations can be resolved by peaceful negotiation.

Similarly, peaceful negotiation among the major powers could solve most of the great problems confronting the world: the problem of strengthening the U.N. as an instrument of negotiation and arbitration of international issues; the problem of a just and stable peace in Asia; the problem of German unification; the problem of assuring freedom and self-determination for the peoples of Africa and of help for industrially underdeveloped nations; the problems of world disarmament and the outlawing of weapons of mass destruction; the problems of militarization, UMT and conscription; the problem of maintaining wages and full employment in a peace-time economy, including the restoration of trade between East and West. The Conference will include panels on these and other problems.

We dedicate this Conference to the patriotic task of combatting the dangerous idea that war is inevitable.

For this Conference we will work for and welcome the participation of all individuals, regardless of affiliation, and of all organizations working for peace or interested in any aspect of world peace problems. We base ourselves on a firm belief that the fullest cooperation and interchange of ideas among peacelovers is essential, and that the assurance of a lasting world peace can come only with the united effort of all believers in peace.

(Signed)

Otto Wander) Committee for Peaceful
H.C. Hvale) Alternatives (identification only)
Jason Cohen)
Lorraine Cohen)

Marion Perkins, soulptor

Thomas L. Slater, Carpenters' Union, Local 1

Barney Braakman, Cappenters' Union, Local 1

Ernest De Maio, UERMWA

Abe Feinglass, Fur & Leather

Rev. Joseph M. Evans

Robert Morss Lovett

Rev. William T. Baird

Rev. T.J. Griffin, St. Matthews Methodist Church

Rev. Wm. Latham, Metropolitan Cmmty. Church

Bishop H.M.Hooper, Church of the Risen Holy Nazarene

Rabbi Samuel Teitlebaum

Professor Anton J. Carlson

Mrs. Atlantis Marshall

(over)

(where possible, please list organization with name; will be used only for purposes of identification)

Wm. Jackson, MMSW

Chatman C. Wailes, Greater Chicago Negro Labor Council

Mrs. Idell Umbles, Chicago Women for Peace

Miss Dorothy Hayes, Chicago Women for Peace

Bernard Lucas, ILWU

Leon Beverly, UPWA

Jeremiah Stamler, M.D.

Alex Kaplan, M.D.

Conference to Further World Peace Through Negotiation

in accordance with W.E.B. DuBois

Dr.

Plane fare N.Y.C.	98.56
	52.00
Hotel room, 4 days	45.00
Meals, taxi, Entertainment, tips, misc.	195.56
Cr.	200.00
Check	444

Dr.

Speech U of C	?
TAM	?
Talk Study Night	?
Books, Pam P, 14 @ 50¢	7.00
16 @ 1.50	24.00
Dr. Seth 3	6.00
-2.00	37.00

(Cr. $70.00)

October 30, 1953

For lectures, Conference to Further World Peace
Through Negotiations

Plane fare, round trip	$98.56	
Chicago:		
Hotel room, 4 days	52.00	
Meals, cabs, limosine, tips and miscellaneous	45.00	
	$ 195.56	
Pd.	200.00	Paid, $200
	$ 4.44	
Speech, Univ. of Chicago	?	
Television	?	
Talk Sunday night	?	
Books: In Battle for Peace		
14 @ 50¢	$ 7.00	
16 @ $1.50	24.00	
De Sable @ $2.00 (3)	6.00	
	$ 37.00	
	7.00	Paid $7
	$ 30.00	

25-59'66

[Cong. of the Peoples for Peace]

TELEGRAM FROM Mr. V.MOLOTOV ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

#

MOSCOW, 27.4.1953

To the Commission of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

To : Frederic Joliot-Curie (France), Joseph Wirth (Germany), Pietro Nenni (Italy), Isabelle Blume (Belgium), General Buxbaum (Brazil), Cheng Shen Yu (China), Pierre Cot (France), Nicolai Tikhomov (U.S.S.R.), Ilya Ehrenburg (U.S.S.R.), Reverend James Endicott (Canada), Monica Felton (Great Britain), J.B. Figgins (Great Britain), Pastor Forbeck (Norway), J. Iwaszkiewicz (Poland), General Jara (Mexico), Goro Hani (Japan), S. Kitchlew (India), Mao Dun (China), Ma Yin Chu (China), Cesa Nabarawi (Egypt), Giuseppe Nitti (Italy).

35-52.29

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Soviet Government has received your telegram of March 27th, 1953, which was sent by Dr. Joseph Wirth, Pietro Nenni and Frederic Joliot-Curie acting on the instructions of the Commission, containing an Address of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace in which it is proposed that a Pact of Peace be concluded between the Soviet Union, the United States of America, the People's Republic of China, Great Britain and France.

True to its policy of strengthening Peace and co-operation between the peoples, the Government of the Soviet Union supports the Address of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace and the proposal contained therein.

The Soviet Government is convinced that there is no question at issue or without solution which cannot be settled by peaceful means on the basis of mutual agreement between the countries concerned. For this reason, the Soviet Government declares itself always ready to co-operate with the Governments of the other States for the purpose of attaining the worthy objectives of strengthening universal Peace and international security.

For the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

V. MOLOTOV
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

(Translated from Russian)

[Congress of the Peoples for Peace]

TELEGRAM FROM Mr. MILTCHO NEYTCHEV, ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BULGARIA

SOFIA, 27.4.1953
21.40 hours

On the instructions of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, I send you the following statement by the Presidium of the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers and the National Fatherland Front.

Statement by the Presidium of the National Assembly, of the Council of Ministers, of the permanent bureau of the National Council of the Fatherland Front, adopted at their joint session 27.4.53.

The International Commission to put into effect the decisions of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace which was held in Vienna in December 1952, has sent to the President of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria a letter inviting the Bulgarian Government to support the proposal of the Congress calling upon the Five Great Powers to conclude a Pact of Peace.

The Presidium of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Council of Ministers and the National Council of the Fatherland Front, after consideration of this letter, unanimously adopted the following statement :

Expressing the desire of the Bulgarian people for the consolidation of peace and the development of international co-operation, the Presidium of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Council of Ministers and the National Council of the Fatherland Front, consider that the entering into negotiations for the conclusion of a Pact of Peace by the Five Great Powers - The United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the People's Republic of China, Great Britain and France - on whom depend to a large extent the safeguarding of world peace, would eliminate international tension, the insecurity and mistrust in international relations and would thereby contribute towards the transition to a policy of settlement of all questions at issue between the States through peaceful negotiations. The conclusion of such a Pact would bring relief to the world and would meet the wishes of the peoples for the saving of peace.

The Presidium of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Council of Ministers and the National Council of the Fatherland Front, are deeply convinced that there is not one contentious or divergent question which cannot be settled in a peaceful way based on mutual agreement between the countries concerned.

The proposal for the conclusion of a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers is in full accord with the policy of the Bulgarian Government which is a policy of peace and friendship with all the peoples, a policy of peaceful co-operation based on equality of rights and respect of the national independence and sovereignty of all countries.

...

...

...

Expressing the Bulgarian people's desire to live in peace and friendship with all peoples, the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the National Council of the Fatherland Front, in a special statement on February 6th, 1953, let it be known that they support the decisions of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, including the Appeal for the conclusion of a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers.

By millions of votes, the Bulgarian people have supported the proposal for the conclusion of a Pact of Peace. Some six million Bulgarian citizens put their signatures to the Appeal of the World Council of Peace. The Law on the defence of peace voted in 1951 by the National Assembly is also an expression of the will of the Bulgarian people in favour of safeguarding peace. This aspiration to peace is dictated by the necessity of assuring the peaceful work of the Bulgarian people which is directed to the great economic and cultural construction now in course in Bulgaria. This necessity determines the peaceful policy of the Bulgarian Government and the support which the entire Bulgarian people give to the struggle for Peace throughout the world.

25-52/3/

In unreservedly supporting the action in favour of the conclusion of a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers, the Presidium of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Council of Ministers and the National Council of the Fatherland Front, express the will of all the Bulgarian people and their eagerness to defend the work of Peace until the end.

MILTCHO NEYTCHEV
Minister for Foreign Affairs

(Translated from French)

[Cong. of the Peoples for Peace]

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL
OF MINISTERS OF GREECE

*

ATHENS, 20.4.53

Sir,

By this letter, I wish to inform you that I have received the Appeal addressed to the Governments of the Five Great Powers by the Congress of the Peoples for Peace which met in Vienna on December 12th, 1952, together with the letter you were kind enough to address to me which has received my particular attention and interest.

Greece is an absolutely peaceful country, respecting the freedom and independence of other nations and desiring solely to preserve her own independence and freedom in order that her people - freed from aggressive threats and the acquisitive intentions of other Powers - may work energetically to build upon the ruins piled up during the wars of conquest recently unleashed against Greece and to set themselves earnestly to improving and enhancing their moral and spiritual level.

Greeks have, for all time, been partisans of the principle of settling differences separating the diverse peoples by peaceful means and by negotiations in good faith. It was to this end that they founded, in ancient times, the institution of the Amphictyonic congress.

I assure you that Greece is fully disposed to contribute, with all her might to all efforts for a real strengthening and consolidation of peace and to safeguard the freedom of the peoples.

Please accept, Sir, my esteemed respect.

MARSHAL A.L. PAPAGOS
President of the Council of Ministers

(Translated from the French)

55-52/32

[Cong. of the Peoples for Peace]

TELEGRAM FROM Mr. CHOU EN-LAI, ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OFCHINA

*

PEKING, 28.4.53.

To Frederic Joliot-Curie (France), Joseph Wirth (Germany), Pietro Nenni (Italy), Isabelle Blume (Belgium), General E. Buxbaum (Brazil), Cheng Shen-yu (China), Pierre Cot (France), Nikolai Tikhonov (U.S.S.R.), Ilya Ehrenburg (U.S.S.R.), Dr. J. Endicott (Canada), Monica Felton (Britain), J.B. Figgins (Britain), Pastor Forbeck (Norway), J. Iwaszkiewicz (Poland), General H. Jara (Mexico), Goro Hani (Japan), S. Kitchlew (India), Mao Dun (China), Ma Yin-chu (China), Cesa Nabarawi (Egypt), Ginseppe Nitti (Italy).

International Commission of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace,
76, Avenue Le Nôtre, Antony, Paris, Seine.

35-52.28

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China acknowledges the receipt of the communication dated March 30th, 1953, sent by Dr. Joseph Wirth, Mr. Pietro Nenni and M. Frederic Joliot-Curie under the charge of the International Committee forwarding therewith the address adopted in Vienna in December, 1952, by the Congress of the Peoples for Peace which recommends that the Governments of the United States of America, of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, of the People's Republic of China, of Great Britain and of France open negotiations and conclude a Pact of Peace.

In accordance with the peace policy which it consistently maintains and with the conviction that nations of different systens can co-exist in peace, the Government of the People's Republic of China holds that the said recommendation and the views advanced in the Appeal of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace are in complete accord with the common demands of all the people throughout the world who cherish a desire for peace. Therefore, I am authorised to declare on its behalf that the Government of the People's Republic of China is in full agreement with the said recommendation and gives it firm support.

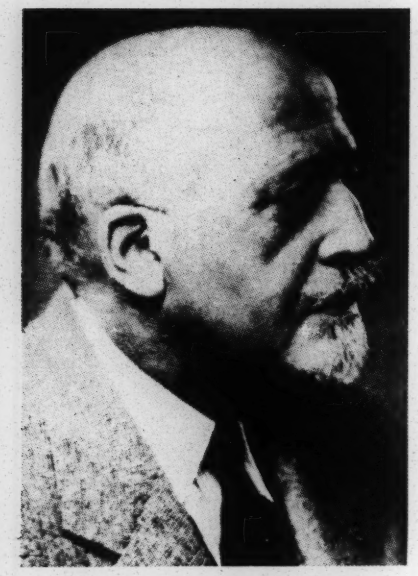
The Government of the People's Republic of China is convinced that, provided there is genuine good faith to seek peace, it should be possible and is possible to settle every dispute between the nations by the method of peaceful negotiations. In this respect, the Government of the People's Republic of China has already demonstrated its sincere desire, and it maintains the noble principle that international disputes should be settled through mutual discussions and negotiations. Together with all the peace-loving people of the whole world, the people of China will continue to strive to the very end for the preservation of peace and against war, and for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

CHOU EN-LAI
Minister for Foreign Affairs of the
People's Republic of China

CULTURAL PROGRAM FOR BROTHERHOOD MONTH

[1953]
[Connecticut Peace Council]

FOR BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF AND FRIENDSHIP WITH THE COLORED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD



DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 8 P.M.

VARICK MEMORIAL A.M.E. ZION CHURCH

Dixwell Avenue at Charles Street, New Haven, Conn.

Program:

★ DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS

World-Known Scholar and Author

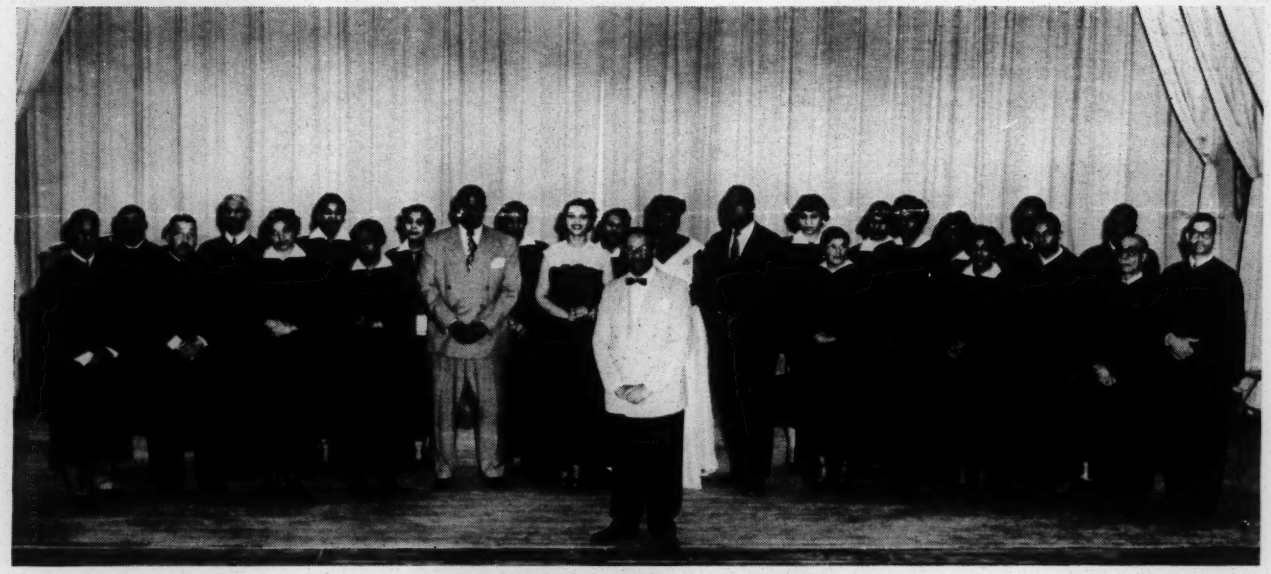
WILL SPEAK ON

"COLONIALISM, AFRICA AND PEACE"

★ CURTIS M. SAULSBURY CHOIR OF NEW HAVEN

★ VARIETY CONCERT GROUP OF NEW YORK

A MUSICAL AND DRAMATIC PRESENTATION



THE SAULSBURY CHOIR

CONTRIBUTION - - - - - - $1.00

Sponsored by The Connecticut Peace Council

P.O. Box 145, Bridgeport, Connecticut

6

October 9, 1953

Manager
Conrad Hilton Hotel
South Parkway
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir:

Will you kindly reserve me a single room for Thursday afternoon, October 15, for two or 3 days

I do not want it too expensive, but would like to have at least a partial lake view.

Please confirm.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W. E. B. Du Bois

[Continental Congress of Culture]

April 21, 1953

Congress Continental de la Cultura
Casilla 1012
Santiago, Chile

Members of the Continental Cultural Congress:

May I take this opportunity to send greetings from myself and my wife, Shirley Graham, to your Congress. If the United States government would permit we would be very glad to be in attendance, but no American who has been outspoken for Peace and Cultural Freedom is allowed to leave this country under present restrictions.

Even though we cannot be with you there, we nevertheless want to express our sympathy with the ideas for which your Congress is established: free cultural development; inter-cultural relations; freedom of creation and opinion.

We trust that your meeting will be successful and well attended.

DB:lh

W. E. B. Du Bois

25-56-15

1. The Continental Cultural Congress will be held in Santiago de Chile between April 26th to May 1st, 1953.

2. The Congress should comprise elements of all branches of culture: writers, artists, teachers, journalists, scientific investigators, economists, jurists, professionals of sciences and letters, sociologists, representatives of film and radio. It is not only a Congress of artists and writers but of all branches of culture. Delegates can represent institutions or come as individuals.

3. All correspondence must be addressed to: CONGRESO CONTINENTAL DE LA CULTURA, Casilla 1012, Santiago, Chile. Cable address: CONGRAM. Telephone 88118.

4. For the organization of the Congress throughout the continent a Continental Secretariat has been established in Santiago de Chile. The Secretariat is already functioning and it is composed of two delegates from each country. To this date 10 countries are represented. It is of the greatest importance to secure the participation of the United States and Canada.

5. At its meeting of March 16th, 1953, the Secretariat has agreed to the following preliminary draft of an agenda:

a. Stimulate the free cultural development of the American Peoples by the adoption of practical measures that will preserve the national characteristics of their cultures; its popularization, and scientific investigation , extending its benefits in favour of the people.

b. Increase inter-cultural relations between countries of the Continent and outside the Continent, eliminating the obstacles that impede free circulation and exchange of literary, artistic, scientific, cinematographic, pedagogic, liberal and technical professional works.

c. Defense of professional ethics, freedom of creation and opinion, and the general and particular interests of the different representatives of culture.

6. Sponsoring Committees have been formed in several countries. The Committees comprise the different sectors interested in the Congress which will undertake

Address from Gabriela Mistral, Baldomero Sanin Cano and Joaquin Garcia Monje, to the intellectuals, professional artists and men of science, in favour of the Continental Congress of Culture.-

- -

"The anxieties and anguish of universal conscience, as well as the problems affecting the American Continent, are urging men of good faith to join their efforts for a life together based on understanding and trust. Human responsibility lies on all of us, but each professional group has particular duties and matters to straighten out for the welfare of its c ompanions. Writers, investigators, jurists and intellect workers of every kind, have common interests which must be examined and protected in free and generous discussion.

Therefore, we believe in the great usefulness of a reunion of men and women of every tendency and creed, who live for art and science, in order to discuss all problems affecting our work, to resolve on ways of fruitful exchange, to join our possibilities of investigation and creation, and to find the coincidence which will increase the yielding of our efforts. We rest assured that considerable good will result from such a contact, as well as widening of perspective and our better service to American goals.

Being convinced of the opportunity and utility of the initiative we are propitiating, we address all those in America, who are dedicated to intellectual work, in the wish of knowing their comments and opinions on our purposes. The possibility of better work and more active cooperation for the welfare of our countries, will come from all united wills and knowledge."

(Signed) GABRIELA MISTRAL - BALDOMERO SANIN CANO-

JOAQUIN GARCIA MONJE

the publicizing of the significance and characteristics of the Congress as well as to promote the discussion of the national problems that come within the scope of the objectives of the Congress.

7. These Committees will raise the funds needed to finance the Congress which will be provided by all participating countries. Each country will also have to pay for travel and housing expenses of their delegates. Housing expenses in Chile are $6.00 to $8.00 per person per day.

8. Chile, Argentina and Brazil will contribute $2,000 (two thousand dollars) each and Guatemala $500 (five hundred dollars).

9. For the better coordination of the work it is necessary that the Committees send immediately to the Continental Secretariat the names of the sponsors of the Congress in each country and the information on the status of the work.

10. It is necessary that immediate steps be taken to reserve passage and to request visas for which the Chilean Government has offered special facilities.

11. As this is the first Congress of this nature to be held in the American continent it is urged that the National Committees prepare well in advance exhibitions, speeches, forums, recitals, concerts, etc. to be given in Santiago during the period of the Congress so that it will become an occasion of great cultural exchange among the countries of the Americas.

12. Also invited as guests of honor are great figures of culture of different Continents: Jean Paul Sartre, Moravia, Arnold Swieg, Lisenko, Mei Sieo, Nuremburg, Nadia Ray Anan, Etc.

COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE D.C. ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAWS
1103 Trenton Place S.E. Washington, D.C. Johnson-2-6932

35-65.22

February 1, 1953

Dear Friend:

We are all shocked at the incredible decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals in our case against theThompson Restaurant testing the validity of the laws of 1872 and 1873 prohibiting discrimination in restaurants and hotels.

We know you will want to join with us in voicing your protest against this display of race prejudice and in undoing the damage done to our city and our nation by this decision.

Enclosed are two copies of a petition to the Commissioners and to President Eisenhower. We ask

1. that the Commissioners immediately issue a regulation prohibiting discrimination - a power implied in the decision.

2. that the President exert his powers and influence to fulfill his campaign pledge to end discrimination. He can do two things right now...ask the U.S. Attorney-General to intervene in the case before the Supreme Court, and instruct the Commissioners to issue and enforce a regulation prohibiting discrimination.

We are sure you will join your efforts with ours. Get your petitions filled promptly and send them or bring them to 1015 M Street N.W. Additional copies of the petition are available at that same address.

Bring your filled petitions to the next meeting of the Coordinating Committee

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 9th at 8:15 PM
1015 M Street N.W.

Your financial help is needed now. Will you please make your check payable to Mary Church Terrell, Chairman, and send it to Coordinating Committee, 1103 Trenton Place S.E. Washington, 20, D.C.

We are confident that the indignation of the people of this city will turn this defeat into victory.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Church Terrell

Mary Church Terrell, Chairman

Oliver T. Palmer

Oliver T. Palmer
Petition Campaign Chairman CO-5-3612

COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE D.C. ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAWS
1103 Trenton Place S.E. Washington, 20, D.C. Johnson-2-6932

CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Mary Church Terrell
1615 S Street N.W.

February 1, 1953

FACTS ON THE THOMPSON RESTAURANT DECISION

1. The decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals in the Thompson Restaurant case was handed down January 22, 1953, more than a year after the case was heard in that Court.

2. The decision amazed and shocked the country by its frank declaration of racial bias. Four judges ruled that Congress could not delegate the power to the Legislative Assembly (or any home rule government) to enact laws prohibiting segregation in restaurants and hotels. The court stated that a local government can pass "Jim Crow" laws to promote "peace and order", but they could not pass anti-segregation laws. These laws, said the court, "cannot be justified as in aid of the preservation of peace and order". Chief Judge Stephens wrote the opinion.

3. Four other judges, dissenting, maintained that the laws of 1872 and 1873 prohibiting discrimination in hotels and restaurants, were within the power of the Legislative Assembly to enact, have never been repealed, and are now in full force and effect in the District.

4. One judge, Judge Prettyman, cast his vote with that of Judge Stephens, but said that the laws were invalid because of disuse by the Commissioners, who, he said, had the power to enforce and even enact such regulations.

5. By decision of the District Commissioners, the case will be appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. The Supreme Court has the right to hear the case or refuse to hear it.

6. By decision of the District Commissioners, a regulation is now being drafted by the Corporation Counsel ordering restaurants and hotels to serve all well-behaved persons without discrimination or have their licenses revoked. Whether this regulation will actually be issued depends on the Commissioners.

The decision of the U.S Court of Appeals is a disgrace to our country. It is openly racist, and has been compared to the Dred Scott decision, which led to the Civil War. It justifies segregation as a way of maintaining peace and order and implies that violence and rioting would follow in our national capital if all citizens were permitted to sit down in restaurants.

In addition, the decision is a precedent which would seriously hamper any genuine home rule for the District of Columbia. If the District ever gets home rule, under this decision, the residents of Washington will not be able to prohibit Jim Crow---they can only require it!!!.

WE CAN UNDO THE DAMAGE DONE BY THIS OUTRAGEOUS DECISION BY APPEALING IMMEDIATELY (sign the petition) TO THE COMMISSIONERS AND TO THE PRESIDENT..asking them to

1. ISSUE A REGULATION NOW prohibiting discrimination in restaurants and hotels

2. PRESENT A STRONG CASE by the Attorney General and the Corporation Counsel for the District for genuine home rule powers

[Coordinating Committee for the Enforcement of the D.C. Anti-discrimination Laws]

A PETITION

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND MEMBERS
OF THE D. C. BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS RESPECTIVELY :

We, the citizens of Washington, D. C., are sick of segregation. It is wrong and indefensible. It makes us vulnerable to national and world-wide criticism. We feel the means for ending segregation, here, as soon as possible, must be seized wherever they present themselves.

In the decision of the U. S. Court of Appeals, when it struck down the two nineteenth century laws prohibiting discrimination in Washington eating-places, we find the suggestion that the power to enact such laws is vested in our commissioners.

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, while awaiting the Supreme Court review of the Appeals court decision, urge you to adopt this suggestion immediately and further, to take prompt action to fulfill the president's pledge to end all segregation in the nation's capital

25-65.36

NAME	ADDRESS

COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE D. C. ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAWS
1103 TRENTON PLACE S. E. JOhnson 2-6932

Chairman; Mrs. Mary Church Terrell

WHEN THIS PETITION IS FILLED PLEASE RETURNE IT TO 1 01 5 M STREET N. W.
OR CALL CO. 5-3612

COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR THE ENFORCEMENT OF
THE D. C. ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAWS

1103 Trenton Place, S. E.
Washington 20, D. C.
Taylor 9-4463

Chairman:
Mrs. Mary Church Terrell
1615 S Street, N. W.
North 7-3691

25-59-49

October 21, 1953

Dear Friend:

We have good reason to believe that virtually all the movie houses in the District have dropped their color bars and are now admitting all well-behaved persons.

Several local managers and the head of the theater managers association have given us assurances to this effect.

Our job, then, is to see if this is really so.

I urge you, therefor, to visit the theaters in your neighborhood and help us verify our information.

At the last regular meeting of the Coordinating Committee, a committee was appointed to check all the theaters in the District and to find out which have and which have not changed.

You can help us by calling TA 9-4463 and reporting what you were able to learn about the policy of any theaters which you visit.

If we find any cases of managers who still refuse to admit colored people we shall make every effort, either by informal negotiation - or if that fails, by law - to compel theaters to open their doors to everyone.

MARY CHURCH TERRELL,

Chairman

2915

25-59-5

Corn Exchange Safe Deposit Co.

FIFTH AVENUE BRANCH.

No. A304917

New York, JUL 20 1953 19

Received from W. N. E. B. Du Bois

Ctf Dollars for rent of a safe in the vault of the

Corn Exchange Safe Deposit Co. FIFTH AVENUE Branch,

from Jul 9 1953 to Jul 9 1954 being a renewal of original receipt;

it being agreed that all terms, conditions, provisions and limitations of liability provided for therein,

shall be considered as though herein incorporated.

Corn Exchange Safe Deposit Co.

$ 5/20

SUPT.

20% TAX PAID

[Council of Greek Americans] [1953?]

SAVE THE LIVES OF THE MARITIME UNION LEADERS!

Write, Wire:

to the United Nations in New York
to the Premier of Greece in Athens
to President Truman in Washington, D.C.

Urge and Demand:

that the ten labor leaders be given a civilian trial and their freedom.

that the concentration camps in Greece be abolished and general amnesty be granted to the 20,000 political prisoenrs.

Speak Up and Tell:

yor friends, your union, your organization, your church, to take action to save their brothers and sisters in Greece.

Call Upon Us:

for further information, for speakers for your Union, clubs and churches to tell this story.

Send to Us:

any contribution you can to help pay the expenses of the trial of the ten union leaders.

●

COUNCIL OF GREEK AMERICANS
359 West 26th Street, N. Y. C.

FEDERATION OF GREEK MARITIME UNIONS
24 Stone Street, Room 302, N. Y. C.

DID YOU KNOW?

- that ten labor leaders are under sentence of death since 1948 for their union activities?
- that their union was outlawed because they refused to sign a contract with the bosses lowering the wages of their members?
- that on August 21, 1952, they will be "re-tried" by the same military court-martial which imposed the first death setnence?
- that this anti-labor repression is taking place in Greece, where the Truman Doctrine and U. S. aid keep and maintain the anti-labor government in power?
- that the American people, unions, Congressmen, community organizations, helped to prevent the execution of these ten heroes, and CAN DO SO AGAIN?

TONY AMBATIELOS

Tony Ambatielos, general secretary of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions, and nine other maritime union leaders were court-martialled in 1948 in what Congressman John Blatnick called a "kangaroo court."

The Greek shipowners, operating the 3rd largest merchant fleet in the world, had set up a company union. FGMU refused to sign the same agreement as the company union. This would have destroyed the gains FGMU had won in its previous contract. The Government (many of whom are shipowners) ordered the FGMU outlawed.

Since then, hundreds of trade union leaders and thousands of rank and file members were arrested. The death penalty was imposed for strike leaders. Anyone who opposed the Government program was "exiled" to the notorious concentration camps. There are 20,000 political prisoners—12 year old children, 80 year old women—slowly dying of disease and malnutrition in these camps.

Instead of the the general amnesty promised repeatedly by the Government, new prison and death sentences are imposed every week against people who fight for bread, for civil rights, for peace.

Tony Ambatielos and his fellow defendants saved from the firing squad because of protests f the United Nations, from Congressmen, from un like the National Maritime Union, Railroad Brot hoods, Transport Workers, Marine Cooks & Stewa National Lawyers Guild and dozens of others, as as hundreds of individuals in other fields.

The scheduled re-trial is designed to give the Gove ment its opportunity to finally murder these men, cause:

1. *Tony Ambatielos, while in prison under sente of death, was elected to Parliament last year with highest vote of any candidate in his city.*

2. *The Greek seamen throughout the world are manding a wage increase over the $90 a month they receive.*

3. *If the Government can use the "re-trial" machin to carry out the previously imposed sentences, 3 men and women under sentence of death face the s procedure and fate.*

4. *The Government's plans for a new war are slo down and blocked by the Greek people's demand Bread, Peace and General Amnesty. Renewed terro designed to wipe out such opposition.*

115

[1953?]

COUNCIL OF GREEK AMERICANS

359 WEST 26th STREET • NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

Tel. LOngacre 5-9627

FOR WORLD PEACE

FOR DEMOCRACY IN GREECE

Dear Friend:

The protests of thousands of citizens of the U.S., together with thousands of citizens throughout the world, were instrumental in preventing the execution of Tony Ambatielos and 9 other seamen sentenced to death by military courts in Greece in 1949.

Today these same seamen are facing retrial. The facts relating to their cases are set forth briefly in the enclosed brochure. The retrials will be conducted under the recently enacted Leniency Measures, which provide for civil trials for those previously condemned by military courts. In defiance of these provisions, however, the Greek government has scheduled the retrials before the same military courts which previously condemned these men and thousands of other political prisoners.

We are, therefore, again appealing to the citizens of the United States to petition the President to exercise his powers to prevent these Court-Martials of civilians.

The retrial of these 10 seamen by military courts will establish a precedent for future trials. Among the thousands awaiting retrial are lawyers, doctors, artists, professors and hundreds of peasants and workers, whose only "crime" was their participation in the Anti-Nazi Resistance movement and their efforts to restore elementary civil liberties in Greece. We, therefore, especially urge that intellectuals and professionals of the United States speak out to prevent these illegal and unconstitutional trials, and the inhuman execution of people solely because of their opposition to the repressive measures of the Greek Government.

Will you, therefore, sign the enclosed letter to the Premier of Greece and return it to us immediately?

Sincerely yours,

Gus Tates

GT:BS

Gus Tates,
Chairman

News Letter SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.
53 West 125th Street, New York 27, N. Y.
Telephone: ENright 9-8110

January 8, 1953 XLL, 1 Subscription $1.00 a year

FOR THE RECORD: HOW THEY STAND IN THE U.N. ON RIGHTS OF AFRICANS

Who are the friends of African Freedom in the U.N.? And who are the enemies? You will find the answer in a review of the debates and votes in the recently adjourned session of the U.N. General Assembly on a long list of questions affecting the interests, rights, and liberation struggles of the peoples of Africa.

Role of the U.S. The stand of the U.S. delegation, in particular, is worthy of note - not only on the more publicized issues of South Africa, Tunisia and Morocco, but also on a whole range of other African and colonial questions. In addition to the speeches and votes of the U.S. delegation, we must also take into account its behind-the-scenes influence and pressure upon other members, particularly in the large Latin-American bloc of 20 votes. It was this bloc which held the balance of power between the consistently pro-colonial and anti-colonial groups.

The representative of Pakistan, Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan, was one of those who protested to the Assembly against these "goings-on" behind-the-scenes, which resulted in the defeat of the resolutions on Morocco, Tunisia and other questions advanced by the Asian-Middle Eastern sponsors.

Whose U.N.? Despite the manueverings, however, the U.S. and its allies were defeated on a number of questions. The N.Y. Times on Dec. 13 reported that "...delegates of the colonial powers, and from the countries supporting them, believe that the anti-colonial campaign in the United Nations has already gone too far, and that it is high time to restrain or stop it. Some of them even say privately that the United Nations is in danger of being turned into an organ for attacks on the colonial powers, which the Soviet bloc invariably supports." Is the U.N. supposed to be an organ for the protection of the colonial powers?

We cite below the record of fifteen roll-call votes on some of the more important African and colonial questions taken up by the General Assembly. The letters preceding each issue correspond with the letters at the top of the column of votes on the following page.

For the sake of convenience in analyzing the division of votes the member states have been arranged in the following groups: The Western bloc, lead by the U.S. (19 votes), Latin-American countries (20 votes), African countries (3 votes), Arab-Asian countries (13 votes), pro-Socialist countries (5 votes). In the table of votes "Y" represents support of the proposal, "N" - opposition to it, "O" - abstention, and the blank space denotes absence from the vote.

ISSUES VOTED ON

A. To establish a commission to "study the racial situation" in South Africa and "report its conclusions" to the next General Assembly session. Special Political Comm., Nov. 20: 35 Yes, 8 No, 16 abstentions.

B. Resolution as a whole on the same question as proposed by 18 Asian, Middle-East, African and Latin-American states. Assembly, Dec. 5: 35 Yes, 1 No, 23 abstentions.

C. To invite a representative of the Bey of Tunis to participate without vote on the debate on the question of Tunisia. Political Comm., Dec. 10: 24 Yes, 26 No, 7 abstentions.

D. "...that negotiations be resumed between the government of France and the true representatives of the Tunisian people for the purpose of implementing the right of self-determination and the fulfillment of the national aspirations of the Tunisian people." Political Comm., Dec. 12: 24 Yes, 28 No, 5 abstentions.

E. "...that the (Togoland) Joint Council should be reconstituted by means of direct elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage exercised by secret ballot." Trusteeship Comm., Dec. 16: 29 Yes, 10 No, 10 abstentions.

F. Resolution as a whole on Ewe and Togoland Unification problems, recommending joint talks between France, Britain, and the people of Togoland to make the settlement of the problem "prompt, constructive and equitable." Trusteeship Comm., Dec. 16: 30 Yes, 11 No, 9 abstentions.

(continued on next page)

H O W T H E Y V O T E D

The Issues. . . .	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
United States	O	O	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Britain	O	O	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
South Africa	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Australia	O	O	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N		O
Canada	O	O	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	O	N	N	N	O
New Zealand	N	O	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
France	O	O			N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	O
Belgium	O	O	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N			O
Luxembourg	O	O	N	N		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N		O
Netherlands	N	O	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	O
Denmark	N	O	N	N	O	O	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	O	O
Norway	N	O	N	N	O	O	N	N	N	O	O	N	N	N	O
Sweden	N	O	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	O	O
Iceland	N	O	N	N				N					N		O
Greece	O	O		O	O	Y	N	N	O	O	O	Y	Y	Y	O
Turkey	O	O	O	N								O	O	O	O
Yugoslavia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Israel	Y	Y	O	O	O	O	O	N	Y	O	O	O	O	Y	O
Chiaing Kai-Shek	O	O	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	O
Argentina	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	Y	O	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bolivia	Y	Y	Y	O			Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y
Brazil	Y	Y	O	N	Y	Y	Y	O	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chile	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	O	Y	O	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Colombia	O	O	N	N	Y	O	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Costa Rica	Y	Y	N	N				O				Y	Y	Y	Y
Cuba	Y	Y	N	N				N	Y	Y	Y	O	Y	Y	O
Dominican Rep.	O	O	N	N	O	O	N	N	O	O	O	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ecuador	Y	Y	N	N	O	O	Y	O	Y	Y	Y	O	O	Y	Y
El Salvador	Y	Y			Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y
Guatemala	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Haiti	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	O
Honduras	Y	Y	N	N			Y	Y	Y	Y			Y		Y
Mexico	Y	Y	O	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Nicaraqua	O	O	N	N			Y			O	Y	O		O	
Panama	Y	Y	N	O			O					Y		Y	
Paraguay	O	O	N	N			O					O		Y	
Peru	N	O	N	N	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	O	Y	Y	Y	O
Uruguay	Y	Y	N	N	O	Y	N	N	Y	Y	O	Y	Y		Y
Venezuela	O	O	N	N	Y	Y	Y	O	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	O
Egypt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ethiopia	Y	Y	O	Y	O	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Liberia	Y	Y	O	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y
Afghanistan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Burma	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
India	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Indonesia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Iran	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	O	Y	Y	Y	Y
Iraq	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lebanon	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y		Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y
Pakistan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Philippines	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	O
Saudi Arabia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Syria	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Thailand	Y	Y	Y	Y	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	Y	O	O	O	Y
Yemen			Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Byelorussian SSR	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Czechoslovakia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Poland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ukranian SSR	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
USSR	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

ISSUES VOTED ON (Cont'd.)

G. Resolution criticizing Britain's expulsion of some 3,000 Wa-Meru tribesmen in Tanganyika from their lands "forcibly and against their will, with the purpose of transfering these lands to European settlers", and requesting Britain to "return immediately" these lands with compensation and indemnity. Trusteeship Comm., Dec. 3: 32 Yes, 17 No, 3 abstentions.

H. Same resolution on Wa-Meru lands. Assembly, Dec. 21: 28 Yes, 20 No, 10 abstentions. (The resolution was lost for lack of necessary two-thirds majority. A weaker U.S.-backed resolution, not asking for return of the Wa-Meru lands, was rejected: 21 Yes, 21 No, 16 abstentions.)

I. Resolution providing for continuation of the U.N. Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories for a further 3-year period and thereafter, unless otherwise decided by the General Assembly, as long as such territories exist. Trusteeship Comm., Nov. 8: 40 Yes, 12 No, 2 abstentions. (In the face of the categorical refusal of Britain, France and Belgium to recognize the Information Committee in terms of this resolution, the Assembly, Dec. 10, voted it down: 11 Yes, 18 No, 30 abstentions.)

J. Resolution providing for participation of "qualified indigenous representatives" from colonial countries in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. Trusteeship Comm., Nov. 11: 40 Yes, 10 No, 4 abstentions.

K. Resolution establishing criteria and provisions for determining whether the people of a territory have or have not attained full self-government. Trusteeship Comm., Nov. 15: 34 Yes, 12 No, 8 abstentions.

L. Resolution recommending that member states should "uphold the principle of self-determination of all peoples and nations" and should facilitate the exercise of this right in territories under their administration. Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Comm., Dec. 1: 34 yes, 13 No, 6 abstentions.

M. The same Resolution on self-determination. Assembly, Dec. 16: 40 Yes, 14 No, 6 abstentions.

N. Resolution requesting the colonial powers to "voluntarily" furnish information on the extent to which self-determination is exercised and fostered in territories under their control. Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Comm., Dec. 3: 38 Yes, 10 No, 4 abstentions.

O. Resolution upholding "the exercise of the sovereignty of any State over its natural resources," and aimed at promoting the nationalization of raw materials industries in less developed countries. Assembly, Dec. 21: 36 Yes, 4 No, 20 abst.

ARRESTS OF THOUSANDS OF KENYA AFRICANS CONTINUE; BRITISH OFFICIALS DEFEND POLICY OF FORCE

There was a little incident during one of the several debates on Kenya in the British Parliament last month which clearly exposed the ugly racist outlook and mentality of those who rule British Africa and the British empire.

There had been a series of embarrassing questions asked concerning the Kenya government's exclusion from that colony of two African lawyers, Mr. Cobina Kessie of the Gold Coast and Mr. Kola Balogun of Nigeria, who had come to assist in the legal defense of Jomo Kenyatta and five other Africans on trial. When his attempts at defending the government's action failed to stop the series of embarrassing questions, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, Churchill's Colonial Secretary, finally blurted out in exasperation, "Suppose forty counsel from Harlem and three from Moscow" were retained for the defense of Kenyatta? Amid shouts of astonishment and protest, Mr. Lyttelton continued, "The house asked for an answer and I am trying to give it. I think the governor would be entitled to exercise his discretion whether he would let all those people in or not."

There were a lot of other questions in Parliament about the senseless and brutal assault which the British have launched against Africans in Kenya. Although the Government was able to rally a safe majority in the test vote on Kenya policy, it is a safe guess that many of those who supported the Government as a matter of party loyalty really agreed with Col. G. Wigg, Laborite, who said:

"Sooner or later a Secretary of State has to realize that a policy of force by itself will not produce an answer. Somebody at some stage has to get people around a table to find a policy for a basis of peace in Kenya. The sooner a start is made the better. The situation has been handled from the start with the greatest incompetence. The Secretary of State has got himself into a mess, and he does not know how to get out of it, and the consequence is that the people of Kenya and of this country have to foot the bill. The best thing the rt. hon. gentleman can do is to resign. Sooner or later he will have to resign. There can be no fresh start in Kenya as long as the rt. hon. gentleman is the Colonial Secretary."

As of early December, according to Mr. Lyttelton's own figures, some 13,000 Africans in Kenya had been arrested and detained after initial screening (2,000 of these were released for lack of sufficient evidence). It is noteworthy that the charges "made or pending" against 7,896 of those held in police custody related merely to "local and special law offences", - nothing whatever to do with Mau Mau. What "maintaining law and order" in Kenya means is further illustrated by the imposition of the death sentence, Dec. 22, upon eleven Kikuyu tribesmen for the alleged murder of one British settler.

* * * * *

An impartial report of the situation in Kenya has been given readers of the New Statesmen and Nation in a series of articles written by Kingsley Martin who made a special trip to Kenya to gather on-the-spot information. Among the things he reported were the following:

"I have heard the shocked complaints of officers of the Lancashire Fusiliers about the unnecessary degree of violence the police have been showing... A well-known authority of the Kikuyu reports that a most bitter hatred against Europeans is now general; a nd a liberal settler expressed the view that the situation was deteriorating daily...

"I have been reading extracts from suppressed African newspapers with the object of trying to define the ideology of the present African revolution. I can see no signs of the much-publicized primitive "ju-ju" aspect of Mau Mau. Nor are the sentiments Marxist. They are mainly liberal and nationalist. In essence, the African protest is against racial and economic discrimination, and in support of equal rights of Africans. Nationalist propaganda is often directed towards the example of the Gold Coast change to self-government."

* * * * *

Belgian Congo--Following the example of Kenya, police on Nov. 22 rounded up and arrested a "few score" africans in Elizabethville on charges of membership in the outlawed Kitawala sect, which allegedly has been spreading anti-European propaganda. The Belgian Government rarely permits such news to escape from its uranium-rich colony.

Anglo-Egyptian Sudan--The Sudan Workers' Federation, representing 54 trade union organizations with a total of 180,000 members, recently refused to meet with a U.S. liaison officer, Mr. Burdett, explaining that Sudanese workers had no desire for contact with American officials so long as the United States continued to "act so inhumanely in Korea." Calling him a representative of imperialism, the Federation called for a boycott of Mr. Burdett.

A.N.C. ELECTS CHIEF LUTHULI AS NEW PRESIDENT; WHITE VOLUNTEERS JOIN IN DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN

There were three important developments last month in the struggle of the African and other non-white peoples of South Africa against the Malan Government's white supremacy tyranny:

* On Dec. 2 Dr. J.S. Moroka, President of the African National Congress, Dr. Y.M. Dadoo, President of the South African Indian Congress, and eighteen other leaders of these organizations, who were on trial under the notorious Suppression of Communism Act, were sentenced to nine months in jail, with the sentences suspended for two years and leave to appeal granted. The judge in passing sentence emphasized that the defendants had been found guilty of "statutory communism", which, he said, "has nothing to do with communism as it is commonly known."

* On Dec. 8 the first group of white volunteers, three men and four women of high standing in South Africa, participated in the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign, joining with Africans and Indian volunteers in entering Germiston location, an African settlement near Johannesburg, without required permits.

* On Dec. 13, at the annual African National Congress Conference, the fortieth in its history, Chief Albert J. Luthuli was elected as the new President of the A.N.C. for the next three years. Mr. Luthuli last November was dismissed from his post as Chief in the Groutville Mission Reserve, to which he had been elected in 1935, after he had rejected the Government's ultimatum that he resign from the Presidency of A.N.C. in Natal Province and have nothing further to do with the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws.

Some 215 delegates assembled at the Conference in Johannesburg despite great difficulties and in the face of the latest edict from Minister of "Justice" Swart prohibiting meetings of more than ten Africans. The manner in which the Conference was conducted reflected the critical emergency. The delegates were there to plan for carrying forward Congress' Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws, in which over 8,000 volunteers have been arrested since it began last June 26. Resolutions were reduced to a minimum and there were no flowery speeches.

Said Acting General-Secretary D. Mji, "The government is plotting to muzzle our leadership. So far it is doing this one by one. By January perhaps all whom we elect to our national executive might not be able to say a word on a platform. We must be ready for that emergency."

* * * * *

CHIEF LUTHULI TAKES HIS STAND FOR AFRICAN FREEDOM

Negro Americans in positions of responsibility and other people's leaders - especially in these days of loyalty tests and other out-croppings of Cold War hysteria - must at some time come face to face with the kind of decision which confronted Chief Luthuli, the newly elected President of the African National Congress.

When he was ordered to take his stand with the Government or with the African people whom he had long served as Chief, Albert John Luthuli did not hesitate. In a very moving explanation of the basis of his decision, Chief Luthuli writes:

"My view has been, and still is, that a Chief is primarily a servant of his people. He is the voice of his people. He is the voice of his people in local affairs. Unlike a Native Commissioner, he is part and parcel of the Tribe, and not a local agent of the Government. Within the bounds of loyalty it is conceivable that he may voice and press the claims of his people even if they should be unpalatable to the Government of the day. . . .

"Laws and conditions that tend to debase human personality - a God-given force - be they brought about by the State or other individuals, must be relentlessly opposed in the spirit of defiance shown by St. Peter when he said to the rulers of his day 'Shall we obey God or man?' No one can deny that in so far as non-Whites are concerned in the Union of South Africa, laws and conditions that debase human personality abound. Any Chief worthy of his position must fight fearlessly against such debasing conditions and laws.

"If the Government should resort to dismissing such Chiefs, it may find itself dismissing many Chiefs or causing people to dismiss from their hearts chiefs who are indifferent to the needs of the people through fear of dismissal by the Government. . . As for myself, with a full sense of responsibility and a clear conviction, I decided to remain in the struggle for extending democratic rights and responsibilities to all sections of the South African community. . .

". . . the Road to Freedom is Via the CROSS. MAYIBUYE! AFRIKA!"

PRESS RELEASE FROM THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS:

Dr. Alpheus Hunton, Secretary of the Council on African Affairs releases the following information concerning the Peace Prize awarded to W.E.B. Du Bois.

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE
Secretariat
Palais Sia, Prague January 14, 1953.

"We have pleasure in informing you that the Jury of the International Peace Prizes met on December 10th, 11th and 16th, 1952, under the chairmanship of M. Pierre Cot and attended by Mme Wanda Wassiliewska, Mao Dun, Gabriel d'Arboussier, Jorge Amado, the Reverend Hewlett Johnson, Arthur Lundkvist, Professor Jan Mukarowsky and General Jara.

"After examining the proposed candidatures, the Jury of the International Peace Prizes proposed to the World Council of Peace the award of the prizes and gold medals as given in the enclosed list..."

25-61-73

PEACE PRIZE OF HONOUR

To the Bulgarian poet and national hero, VAPTZAROV, who fell in the fight against the Nazis.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE PRIZES

1. To the French poet, Paul ELUARD, for his writings and actions for Peace.

2. To the American scientist, W.E.B. DU BOIS, for his work for Peace.

3. To the German film experts, Martin HELLBERG KURT and Jeanne STEN, for their film "The Condemned Village".

4. To the Icelandic novelist, Hammeder LAXNESS, for his literary work for Peace.

5. To the Mexican engraver, Leopold MENDEZ and his colleagues in "Taller de Grafica Popular" for their artistic work in the service of Peace.

6. To the Indian novelist, Mulk RAJ ANAND, for his literary work for Peace.

The amount of each of these six prizes will be two million, five hundred thousand francs (2,500,000) (About $7000.)

GOLD MEDALS

- To the French caricaturist, Jean EFFEL, for his drawings in the service of Peace.

- To the Czechoslovak poet, Vitezslav NEZVAL, for his poem, "Song of Peace".

(cont'd.)

-To the British novelist, James ALDRIDGE, for his novel "The Diplomat".

- To the Brazilian musician, Claudio SANTORO, for his symphony "Sõngof Love and Peace".

- To the Argentinian writer, Sra. Maria Rosa OLIVER, for her work for Peace.

- To the Japanese painters, Toshika AKAMAKSU and Iri MAKURI, for the series of pictures "Scenes of Atomic Bombing".

- To the French sculptor, Georges SALENDRE, for his artistic work in the service of Peace.

- To the Iranian novelist, BOZORG ALAVI, for his book "Nameha".

- To the Rumanian sculptor, CSORVASY, for his wood carving "Koreans".

- To the Venezuelan poet, Carlos Augusto LEON, for his poems on Peace.

- To the Doctor of Law, Luis Carlos PEREZ, Colombia, for his work for Peace.

- To the Finnish sculptor, Vaino AALTONEN, for his statue "Peace".

25-61-74

January 20, 1953

Dr. Alpheus Hunton
Council on African Affairs
53 West 125 St.
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Alpheus:

Thank you very much for the matter which you sent me, which will be of use.

I am sorry that you cannot join us.

I will bring the Council's library to the attention of the class.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

53 WEST 125TH STREET • NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK • ENRIGHT 9-8110

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

Feb. 17, 1953

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Shirley forgot to get your endorsement on these two checks (contributions for the Matthews' reception) before forwarding them to me. Would you please sign and return them?

Everyone who was present at the reception whom I have talked with has remarked how inspiring and excellent it was. I want to thank you (I have already thanked Shirley) for your part in it.

Up to date (some promises are still outstanding) we have a net of about $700 on the affair. $300 has been set aside to go to South Africa, but with the new legislation pending there, making acceptance of any aid for the resistance movement from inside or outside the country a criminal offense, we have a new hurdle to jump.

Sincerely,

Alphaeus

25-49-11

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

53 WEST 125TH STREET • NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK • ENRIGHT 9-8110

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

A

April 3, 1953

Dear Doctor Du Bois:

A special supplement on Africa is planned for the June issue of FREEDOM. I was asked to head up a committee to get it ready. Among those helping are Kumar Goshal, Essie Robeson, and Eugene Gordon.

We all feel that an absolute MUST for the supplement is an article on the subject of AFRICA AND WORLD PEACE -- by you, of course. It is suggested that it be brief, about 400-600 words, but if this is too restrictive we are willing to abide by your judgment.

25-49-12

We sincerely hope that you can do this. We would like to have all copy in hand by about May first.

In addition to the references to IN BATTLE FOR PEACE, cited in the last NEWSLETTER, the WEST AFRICAN PILOT has recently carried a front-page report of a speech by you on the Rosenbergs and your message (and also Paul's) to the people of Africa on the occasion of the last World Peace Congress.

And speaking of Peace, it seems the word is again gaining some respectability, at long last.

Yours sincerely,

Alphaeus

April 9, 1953

Dr. Alpheus Hunton
Council on African Affairs, Inc.
53 West 125 St.
New York 27, N.Y.

My dear Alpheus:

I shall be very glad to write an article of 600 words on "Africa and World Peace" and have it in your hands before May 1st.

My charge will be $25.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

April 17, 1953

Dr. Alpheus Hunton
Council on African Affairs
53 West 125 St.
New York 27, N.Y.

My dear Alpheus:

Here is the article on AFRICA AND WORLD PEACE for which you asked.

It is, of course, too long. Please use your judgment in cutting it down to the right length.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh
enc.

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Council on African Affairs]

In The Subversive Activities Control Board

No._____

Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General of the United States,
Petitioner

V

Council on African Affairs, Inc.
Respondent

On Petition for an order requiring the Council on African Affairs, Inc. to register with the Attorney General as required by Section 7(b), (c) and (d) of the Internal Security Act of 1950.

PETITION

The Attorney General respectfully represents to the Subversive Activities Control Board that the Council on African Affairs, Inc. was required under Section 7(b), (c) and (d) of the Internal Security Act of 1950 to register and file a registration statement with the Attorney General on or before October 23, 1950, as a Communist-front organization and that it failed to do so and continues to fail to do so.

Pursuant to Section 13(a) of the Act, therefore, the Attorney General petitions this Board for an order, after appropriate proceedings, directing the Council on African Affairs, Inc. to register with the Attorney General as a Communist-front organization in the manner required by the Act.

In support of this petition the Attorney General alleges the following facts, based on information and belief, relating to the character of the Council on African Affairs, Inc. as measured by the standards specified in the Act.

I.

Respondent is an organization which has been in existence from approximately 1937 to the present. It was founded in 1937 as the International Committee on African Affairs, and was incorporated in the State of New York on October 15, 1941 as the Council on African Affairs, Inc. (herinafter referred to as the "Council"). The Council, which has been and is composed of members, functions through its headquarters located in New York City.

The Council formerly prepared and distributed a bulletin "New Africa." Since February 1952 it has prepared and distributed a semi-monthly "News Letter"

II.

Since 1919 there has been in continuous existence in the United States an organization known by various names and which is now known as the Communist Party of the United States of America (herinafter referred to as the "Communist Party" or "Party"). The Communist Party has been and is a Communist-action organization within the meaning of Section 3 (3) of the Internal Security Act of 1950. This Board has found the Communist Party to be a Communist-action organization and has ordered the Party to register as such with the Attorney General.

III

Throughout its existence, the Council has been and is substantially directed, dominated and controlled by the Communist Party, and has been and is primarily operated for the purpose of giving aid and support to the Communist Party. Pursuant to Section 13(f) of the Act, the following facts are respectfully submitted for the consideration of the Board as illustrative of the above:

(1) From the inception of the Council up to and including the date of the filing of this petition, a substantial number of the persons who have been active in the management, direction and supervision of the Council, have been active in the management, direction and supervision of, and as representatives of, the Communist Party. Through these persons, the Party has guided and directed the internal affairs of the Council and has exercised direction over the formulation of the policies of the Council. The following facts, among others, are illustrative of the above:

(a) Communist Party functionaries, including representatives of the National Negro Commission of the Party, were consulted in regard to, and participated in, the establishment of the International Committee on African Affairs.

(b) After the establishment of the International Committee on African Affairs, and after its incorporation in 1941 as the Council on African Affairs, Inc., Communist Party functionaries were regularly consulted in regard to, and participated in, the affairs of the organization.

(c) Officials of the Council have agreed with Communist Party functionaries to follow and adhere to the Communist Party line regarding international affairs.

(d) A substantial number of the officers of the Council have been active in the management, direction and supervision of, and as representatives of, the Communist Party.

(e) A substantial number of persons not holding office in the Council but who have been active in its management, direction and supervision, have been active in the management, direction and supervision of, and as representatives of, the Communist Party.

(2) From its inception to the date of the filing of this petition the Council has received and continues to receive support, financial and otherwise, from and at the direction of the Communist Party as illustrated by the following facts, among others:

(a) Funds used to purchase the premises known as 23 West 26th Street, New York, New York, the former headquarters of the Council, were furnished by and through Party functionaries, representatives, members and persons affiliated with the Party.

(b) The Council has received funds for its operations from the proceeds of public performances by members and representatives of the Party, who participated in such performances at the request and direction of, and with the approval and support of, functionaries of the Communist Party.

(c) Funds owned and controlled by members of the Communist Party were furnished to the Council.

(d) Aid, advice and guidance have been furnished by the Party through its functionaries and by the assignment of Party members to give guidance to the Council.

(e) The Communist Party has provided the Council with extensive and favorable publicity in its various publications.

(f) The Communist Party has urged and directed its members to support the activities of the Council.

(3) From its inception up to and including the date of the filing of this petition, the Council has been and is operated for the purpose of giving aid and support to the Communist Party, and its funds, resources, and personnel have been used to further and promote the objectives of the Party. The following facts, among others, are illustrative of the above:

(a) In furtherance of the objectives of the Party, the Council seeks to create and further hostility among the negroes in this country to the United States for the purpose of rendering this segment of the population susceptible to Communist indoctrination.

(b) The Council propagandizes the Communist Party line that the Party is the only true protector of negro interests.

(c) In furtherance of the objectives of the Party, the Council has sought to make the Negro friendly toward the Soviet Union.

(d) The Council claims that, by reason of the support of the Party, it is the only anti-imperialist force in the United States working on behalf of the Negro.

(e) In furtherance of the objectives of the Party, representatives of the Council have met with, and given assistance to, representatives of the Soviet Union to further the positions of representatives of the Soviet Union with respect to matters relating to Negroes and to the African colonies.

(f) In furtherance of the objectives of the Party the Council agreed to support and follow positions taken by representatives of the Soviet Union at the United Nations Conference held in San

Francisco, California, in 1945, regarding colonial policies.

(4) From the inception of the Council up to and including the date of the filing of this petition it never knowingly has deviated from the views and policies advanced by the Communist Party. The Council has advocated and followed the views and policies of the Party in the following instances, among others:

(a) The Council has advocated and supported the position of the Party with respect to the incident occurring in 1949 at Peekskill, N. Y., involving Paul Robeson.

(b) The Council has advocated and supported the views and policies of the Party toward the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

(c) The Council has advocated and supported the position of the Party in its support of the Soviet Union with respect to colonial policies.

(d) The Council supported the Communist Party in its opposition to certain appointments made by the President of the United States considered by the Party to be inimical to its interests.

(e) The Council has advocated and supported the position of the Party with respect to certain Federal legislation considered by the Party to be inimical to its interest such as the Military Assistance Bill.

(f) The Council has advocated and supported the position of the Party with respect to certain policies of the United States Government considered by the Party to be inimical to its interest such as the North Atlantic Pact and the defense of the Republic of Korea from Communist agression.

(g) The Council has advocated and supported the position of the Party with respect to seating of the representatives of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations.

(h) The Council has advocated and supported the position of the Party with respect to its claim that the United Nations is being used as an instrument for war and imperialism, rather than as an instrument for peace.

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ Herbert Brownell, Jr.,
HERBERT BROWNELL, JR.,
Attorney General

/s/ Warren Olney III
WARREN OLNEY III
Assistant Attorney General

/s/ William E. Foley

/s/ Rourke J. Sheehan

/s/ Harold D. Koffsky
Attorneys, Department of
Justice

Verification

Washington, District of Columbia ss.:
HERBERT BROWNELL, JR., being duly sworn, deposes and says:

I am the petitioner above named. I have read the foregoing petition and know the contents thereof. The matters alleged are based on information and belief, and I believe them to be true. The sources of my information and the grounds of my belief are the investigative reports made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation with reference to the Council on African Affairs, Inc.

/s/Herbert Brownell, Jr.
Herbert Brownell, Jr.

Sworn to before me this 20th day of April, 1953
/s/ Edgar M. Ford Notary Public
SEAL

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

NEWS RELEASE

53 WEST 125TH STREET ● NEW YORK 27, N. Y. ● ENRIGHT 9-8110

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* — W. E. B. Du BOIS, *Vice Chairman* — E. M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* — W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE — APRIL 24, 1953

85-61,72

New York: The following statement was issued today by Paul Robeson, Chairman, on behalf of the Council on African Affairs, concerning the Justice Department's order for that organization to register under the McCarran Act:

"The consistent job of the Council on African Affairs through the years since its establishment in 1937 has been to provide accurate information on the conditions and struggles of the peoples of Africa and to support their efforts toward liberation. In recent months the Council has endeavored to rally American assistance for the desperate fight of black and brown South Africans against Malan's fascist oppression, and for the Africans of Kenya whose struggle for land and survival the British seek to crush with the most ruthless and inhuman punitive measures.

"For such work as this the Council, I am proud to say, has received many expressions of gratitude and appreciation from African leaders. It would appear, therefore, that in branding the Council as 'subversive' and ordering it to register under the notorious McCarran Act, U.S. authorities are at the same time branding as 'subversive' all the millions of Africans who are today determined to be free of the stigma of colonialism and white supremacy domination.

"This attack upon the Council represents an attempt to frighten and silence all those Americans, particularly the Negro people, who are in any way critical of U.S. policies in Africa.

"Those policies are directed toward the establishment of military bases in Africa without consultation with or the consent of the people in the so-called strategic areas. They aim at the extraction of the maximum quantities of uranium, manganese, copper, bauxite and scores of other African raw materials for U.S. war stockpiles and industry. They entail U.S. financial and diplomatic support for the Malan regime and for the European bosses of Africa in order to maintain the white supremacy status quo (as in our own Dixiecrat South) and 'security' for the expanding American investments in Africa.

"All this may be found explicitly or implicitly stated in numerous statements of administration leaders and in such documents as "The Overseas Territories in the Mutual Security Program" issued last year by the Mutual Security Administration. These policies and practices are a matter of official U.S. record, and not simply 'Communist propaganda', as is alleged.

"The Council on African Affairs opposes these policies because they are detrimental to the interests of both Africans and Americans. The Government in its charge against the Council dodges the real issue of the right of American citizens to criticize policies of state and poses instead a wholly false issue. Is it 'subversive' not to approve our Government's action of condoning and abetting the oppression of our brothers and sisters in Africa and other lands?

"It is a metter of shame that at the recent meeting of the U.N. General Assembly it was our own country, the United States, which voted with the European colonial powers against resolutions in the interest of the peoples of Africa,--resolutions which were supported by the majority of the U.N., including India and the other Asian-Middle Eastern-African member states, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union.

"The real issue in our case is the right of advocacy and support for the freedom of Africa's enslaved millions,-- including the descendants of Africa who have yet to achieve their full liberty and rights here in the United States.

"The Council on African Affairs will continue to carry forward its work and will fight all efforts to restrict its usefulness to the cause of African freedom by means of the unconstitutional and un-American McCarran Act."

[Council on African Affairs]

C
O
P
Y

May 19, 1953

Mr. James T. Wright
2003 12th St., N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jimmie:

As you have probably heard, our motion for extension of time was denied by the Board and we have been ordered to file motions addressed to the petition by June 1st. This order was dated May 14, the same day we had our hearings, and is uniform for all of the organizations.

At a meeting yesterday with others, it was agreed that arrangements should be made for all attorneys to consult together as quickly as possible on the line and character of motions to be made, and also on the question of deciding which of the organizations should bring injunction proceedings immediately upon denial of motions, so that preparation for that step can begin at once. It was my understanding that since you, Forer and Rhein (?) and possibly another lawyer who is to be retained by one of the other organizations, are in Washington, the one attorney who has been retained here (who I believe is Harry Sacher) would go to Washington to meet with you folks there. Whether that works out or not, I imagine that you can consult with Forer and the others there.

The motions generally agreed upon as having to be made are as follows:

1. Attack upon the constitutionality of the Act.

2. Motion for postponement pending decision of the Supreme Court on the C.P. appeal.

3. Attack upon the regulations of the Board requiring answers to all statements in the petition, since this violates the constitutional protection against self-incrimination.

4. Motion to strike everything from the petition dealing with matters prior to the date of the Act.

Request, of course, will be made for oral arguments on the motions. The assumption is that aside from the Court injunction, we will be granted 10 days after the Board rules on the motions to submit our answers to the petition.

Since the time is short for getting the motions prepared, my proposal would be that you go ahead at once with the work on them and that we hold off your trip to New York until perhaps Tuesday or Wednesday of next week, May 26 or 27.

at which time we could go over together the motions you shall have prepared, formalize your retention as Counsel, discuss the preparation of answers to the petition and other matters. In the meantime, if any questions arise concerning the motions, you can telephone me. The office phone is ENright 9-6610, and my home phone is VIrginia 9-0706.

Please let me know if these arrangements are O.K. I know that you would prefer to come up for the weekend, but I imagine that you will not have the motions ready by this weekend and Paul leaves next Friday, the 29th on his trip. That is why I suggest the 26th or 27th. We can probably complete our discussions in one day, and carry forward future work by correspondence.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours

W. A. Hunton
Secretary

WAH:rb

PLEASE HOLD THESE DATES PENDING CONFIRMATION OF THE TIME FOR OUR GET-TOGETHER WITH MR. WRIGHT, our attorney.

Alphaeus

P. S. I trust you had a good trip and rest.

May 20, 1953

Dr. Alpheus Hunton
Council on African Affairs
53 W. 125 St.
New York 27, NY

Dear Alpehus:

Thank you very much for the copy of your letter of May 19th to Mr. James T. Wright of Washington, D.C.

I shall be glad to cooperate in any way I can. I should, of course, prefer not to go to Washington unless it was absolutely necessary.

We had a very pleasant trip and have returned quite refreshed.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

May 28, 1953

Dr. Alpheus Hunton
Council on African Affairs
53 West 125 St.
New York 27, N.Y.

My dear Alpheus:

The enclosed letter and money order have come to me and I am sending them to you. I have answered the letter. Perhaps you might also acknowledge it.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

53 WEST 125TH STREET • NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK • ENRIGHT 9-8110

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ROSALIE C. PINCKNEY, TREASURER [redacted] W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

June 18, 1953

Dear Mr. X :

You are, no doubt, aware of the fact the Council on African Affairs has been forced to take legal steps to defend its right to exist and continue to work for African liberation, as a result of Attorney General Brownell's petition to the Subversive Activities Control Board to order the Council to register as a "Communist-front organization" under the terms of the Internal Security (McCarran) Act of 1950. Through its attorney, Mr. James T. Wright of Washington, our organization has moved for dismissal of the Attorney-General's petition and for protection of our constitutional rights in other respects. Oral argument on these motions is now pending.

8-11-94

This action of the Government is one more step in the process of making Americanism synonymous with McCarthyism, of interpreting patriotism to mean conformity to the most reactionary political and social creed, and of meting out punishment to those who dissent from that creed,

For refusing to act as an informer, the Council's secretary, Dr. Hunton, was forced to serve five months in jail. For advocating and working for peace, I was also threatened with jail. And both Paul Robeson and I, and no one knows how many hundreds of others, are denied the right to travel abroad -- Mr. Robeson, so the Government argued, because of his "frank admission that he has been for years extremely active politically in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa. . . (and) the diplomatic embarrassment that could arise from the presence abroad of such a political meddler. . . ." Now, invoking the notorious McCarran Act, the Government aims to inflict still more drastic punishment on the officers of the Council.

Please do not misunderstand me. I make no personal plea to you on my own behalf. Neither do my colleagues in the leadership of the Council on theirs. I write to you because I feel you share my conviction, first, that it is important and essential to defend the right of our organization to continue its work; and, second, that if the Government is successful in its attack upon us and the other organizations whose cases are now before the S.A.C.B., the way will have been opened for <u>legally</u> imposing fascist thought-control upon <u>all</u> organizations and <u>all</u> the people of our country.

The Council during the past several months has been collecting funds to aid the people's resistance struggle against Malanism in South Africa. You are probably among those who have enabled us to send more than $2500 for the support of that cause. It now becomes necessary for us to ask your help in the Council's defense, -- on this particular front of the people's battle against McCarthyism in the U.S.A.

, We are confronted with the necessity of raising at once a minimum of $2000 for immediate legal and other expenses incidental to the conduct of our case before the S.A.C.B. We have not the time nor the means for mounting a general public campaign to raise this sum, although we do, of course, intend doing all we can to spread the proper understanding of our case and enlist broad support. We are seeking to raise the $2000 quickly by using this means of asking a few friends to contribute as substantially as possible.

Paul Robeson is now in California on concert tour: that is why his signature does not appear below with mine. But I know that he joins me in the earnest hope that you will respond generously to this appeal, either individually or in association with other friends, despite whatever heavy obligations you may already have.

Faithfully yours,

W. E. B. DuBBois

P.S. All contributions in response to this letter will be entered in a special Defense Fund account and will be used exclusively for the purposes indicated. Checks may be made payable to me or to Rosalie L. Pinkney, treasurer.

46-11-9

[Smith, Vera]

351 Englewood
Detroit, 2, Mich.
July 16, 1953

Council on African Affairs, Inc.
53 W. 125th Street,
New York

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois,
Vice Chairman.

Dear Sirs

I have your letter of a few weeks ago and I have been thinking of how to go about helping you in this great struggle for freedom for the African people, of which I feel I am a part.

This is the month I was finishing up my state mission work and trying to get everything completed. Then I hope to send you a donation as soon as possible, before the month is out.

I read your letter and understand quite well what is happening and why. So we must keep struggling with all we can muster up to fight with; because it is something worth the struggle we make and will pay off in the future.

Yours for the Cause,
Vera Smith
Vera Smith

25-61-3

(Mrs. Smith is a prominent church woman.
Though she has made no contribution as yet,
except to buy some of the S. Africa pamphlets,
I think she would appreciate a word from you.
Alphaeus)

[Council for Afr. Affairs]

July 23, 1953

Mr. Herman Santa Cruz, Chairman,
United Nations Commission on the
Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa,
Palais des Nations,
Geneva, Switzerland.

Dear Mr. Santa Cruz:

The Council on African Affairs submits herewith its memorandum on the South African Government's policy and practice of racial discrimination and oppression, with the hope that it will receive the careful consideration of the Commission of the United Nations charged with the study of the racial situation in the Union of South Africa.

Our organization welcomes this opportunity of setting forth its findings on a question with which it has been continuously concerned for over a decade and which it regards as of major importance in international affairs. Our representatives, who have had observer status in the United Nations, have through the years since 1945 followed closely the deliberations of the world organization on the various questions affecting South Africa. We have, moreover, been in regular communication with organizations and leaders in South Africa, and have systematically studied government documents, newspapers, and other published materials forwarded to us from South Africa.

The Council on African Affairs, an incorporated organization composed of Negro and white members throughout the United States, has published several pamphlets on the conditions and struggles of the non-white peoples of South Africa, and has at various times forwarded resolutions and memoranda on this question to members of the United Nations and to the United States and South African Governments. Representatives of the Council have also had interviews with members of the United States delegation in the United Nations. Seven years ago, May, 1946, this organization petitioned the Human Rights Commission "to give specific consideration to the flagrant violation of the most elementary principles of human rights" in the Union of South Africa, citing the legal and other methods used to keep the Africans there in a status of permanent subservience to the white minority.

We recognize, of course, as we are sure that your Commission must, that the most valuable testimony on this matter must come from the people directly affected. It is consequently of utmost importance, we believe, that the Commission not conclude its study without seeking and securing the fullest possible testimony of African, Indian, and Colored representatives in the Union of South Africa.

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We are concerned about the difficulty of this being accomplished in view of the very brief notice given regarding the time and other conditions of your Commission's hearing. In view of the fact that information concerning the Commission's plans in this regard was not released by the United Nations in New York until July 3rd (Press Release G4/969), allowing only seventeen days for the submission of requests to present oral testimony and less than a month for preparing and forwarding written testimony, we believe it is desirable and necessary that the time-limit for the Commission's acceptance of written testimony and applications for presenting oral testimony be extended so as to avoid the possible arbitrary exclusion of information useful to the Commission because of the time factor.

While submitting the enclosed written testimony for the Commission's consideration, the Council on African Affairs also wishes to reserve the right and request the opportunity of presenting additional oral testimony before the Commission.

Very truly yours,

W. A. Hunton, Secretary

25-61-6

Enclosure: Memorandum on the Government's Policy and Practice of Racial Discrimination and Oppression in the Union of South Africa.

[Council for Afr. Affairs]

MEMORANDUM

The Government's Policy and Practice of Racial Discrimination and Oppression In the Union of South Africa

Submitted to the United Nations Commission
on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa
by the Council on African Affairs, Inc.,
July 23, 1953

Scope and Purpose of Memorandum

It is not the purpose of this memorandum to recount the origin, history, and nature of the various political, economic and social injustices which the non-white peoples of South Africa have been forced to endure. Pertinent data on these matters have been repeatedly cited in the United Nations General Assembly, and additional information is readily available in a considerable number of authoritative books, monographs and articles. The African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, moreover, forwarded to the United Nations last November a Memorandum on "The Disabilities of the Non-White Peoples of South Africa" - detailing the facts concerning the general pattern of racial discrimination, the unfair system of taxation, the lack of political power, the land-hunger, the conditions of labor, and the oppressive pass law and other restrictions suffered by African, Indian and so-called Colored peoples in South Africa.

This Memorandum is therefore limited to the presentation of factual evidence showing that:

I. the injustices based on discrimination against the non-white peoples of South Africa have been augmented and intensified to the limit of human endurance during the five years of Nationalist government headed by Prime Minister Malan;

II. the Malan Government is resorting to ruthless tyranny to suppress and punish all opposition to its racist doctrines and program;

III. the Malan Government is guilty of inciting and provoking increasing racial conflict and violence;

IV. the fascist and racist ideology and expansionist aims of the Malan Government constitute a grave and present danger to international peace and harmony.

I. Apartheid Madness

Speaking in the South African Parliament on March 14, 1945, Dr. Malan's predecessor, Prime Minister Jan Smuts, remarked that everybody "except fools" was agreed on "our fixed policy to maintain white supremacy in South Africa." He was answering a charge from Opposition leader Malan that the Government was not using the proper measures to "keep the Natives in their place." Nevertheless, Malan and the Nationalist Party won power in 1948 by outdoing the United Party in posing as the white electorate's only true saviour against "the black menace." They retained power in the 1953 election by repeating their performance.

Although the system of racial discrimination and segregation in order to maintain domination by the white minority was firmly established in all spheres of South African life long before Malan came to power, it may be said that during the five years of his administration the South African way of life which Malan calls apartheid has been made

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immensely more rigid, [illegible]scribed and cruel for the non-white population. The spate of Malan-sponsored "apartheid" legislation enacted since 1948 includes:

The Asiatic Laws (Amendment) Act, repealing the limited Indian franchise;
The Mixed Marriages Act, making the marriage of whites and non-whites a criminal offense;
Amendment of the Immorality Act, making sexual relations between "Colored" and white persons, as well as between Africans and whites, a criminal offense;
The Population Registration Act, intended to establish the racial identity of every person over 16 years of age, so that there shall be no question of who is subject to the various "apartheid" measures;
The Group Areas Act, empowering the Government to delimit areas in which only members of a particular racial group or sub-group may reside or own property (this Act is being enforced despite repeated recommendations of non-implementation by the U.N. General Assembly in 1950, 1951 and 1952; at the present writing 146,000 Indians in Durban face eviction from their homes, businesses and institutions, and 75,000 Africans face imminent removal from the Western Areas of Johannesburg, with no alternative housing accommodations whatever afforded);
The Bantu Authorities Act, which seeks to establish puppet tribal councils and foster tribal division of the Africans (the present limited representation of Africans - by white members - in the South African Parliament is to be abolished);
The Separate Representation of Voters' Act, which would strike some 48,000 "Colored" voters in the Cape Province from the common list of voters and establish a system of separate representation for them such as the Africans now have (declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, but the Government continues to seek to have it upheld);

25-61-8

The subservient status of non-white labor, which is the foundation of South Africa's economy, has been established in law through such measures as the Industrial Conciliation Act, No. 36 of 1937, excluding African trade unions from authorized collective bargaining and strike procedures, the Masters and Servants Act, and the Riotous Assemblies Act.

The Malan Government's policy of tightening still further the shackles on African labor is reflected in the statement of Dr. Theo Wassenaar, a Nationalist Party leader, made in the House of Assembly, September, 1948: "Africans must be re-tribalised: Zulus must remain Zulus, Swazis must remain Swazis and Xosas Xosas - this is one of the ultimate objectives of apartheid. We cannot allow the development of a mass black proletariat which would be able to master against the whites." (Guardian /Cape Town/ 23 September 1948). It is reflected in the Government's reply to a question from Senator W.G. Ballinger, June, 1949, acknowledging that a Departmental circular of 26th March, 1948, "reaffirms the policy outlined in its circular of the 31st October, 1924 which enjoins Departments and Provincial Administrations wherever possible to substitute civilised /white/ labour for uncivilised /African/ labour. The former circular also modified this Department's circular No. 8 of 1948, which authorises the employment of Natives as messengers, to the extent that Natives should only be employed as messengers where the services of a European youth are not available."

Under the Malan regime the great majority of Africans have been excluded from the benefits of the Unemployment Insurance Act, and Africans have been legally barred from skilled labor in the building trades by the terms of the Native Building Workers Act,

The Native Laws Amendment Act was passed providing for the removal of an African from an urban area, even tho he may have been born and lived there permanently, if he is unemployed for 72 hours. Legislation now pending would abolish independent African trade unions altogether and establish Government-approved "company unions" in their place. Minister of Labor B. J. Schoeman, reported N.Y. Times correspondent Albion Ross from Pretoria, April 18, 1953, was prepared to secure Parliament's approval of "something close to a system of concentration camps for the black proletariat."

How much regard the ruling circles of the Union of South Africa have for the principles set forth in Article 55 of the U.N. Charter is clearly revealed in the following excerpt of an account of a debate in the South African Parliament earlier this year:

"The Government benches accused the Labor and United parties of wanting equal rights for all men. The great fundamentals of the democratic faith were hurled at Opposition speakers as accusations, and again and again the Opposition members denied in effect that they believed in human equality and reaffirmed, under a barrage of scornful interruptions from the Government benches, that they believed in domination of the natives by the white minority." (N.Y. Times, Feb. 12, 1953)

II. Tyrannical Suppression of Opposition

". . . the Natives must be made clearly to understand, and to realise that the presence and predominance of the white race will be preserved at all hazards, and that all attempts to destroy its hegemony, whether overt or covert . . . will be promptly punished . . . ."

The quotation is from page 5 of the Report of Natal Native Affairs Committee for the year 1906-7. The idea enunciated has remained the chief principle of South African statecraft down through the decades. The present Nationalist Government has observed and applied it with exceptional persistence and severity. "Any organization that does not want to acknowledge the color bar has no right to exist in South Africa," Malan's Minister of Economic Affairs, Eric H. Louw, said in 1949. The Government's record of victimization of individuals and organizations supporting democratic rights for all South Africans shows Mr. Louw's statement to be in fact state policy.

To silence opposition to its policies the Malan Government was at first content to use the expedient of having a magistrate issue an order banning a scheduled meeting. Thus, for example, Mr. Sam Kahn, Member of Parliament representing Africans and a bitter opponent of the Nationalists' "apartheid" program, was served with the following magistrate's order dated 17th March, 1949: "Whereas in terms of Section 1(4) of Act 27 of 1914, as amended, there is reason to apprehend that feelings of hostility between Europeans and Non-Europeans would be engendered by the assembly of a public gathering in any place in this town to which the public has access to hear an address by Mr. Sam Kahn M.P. on the subject of "Apartheid or Equality", acting under the special authority of the Minister of Justice, I do hereby prohibit such assembly in the municipal area of Springs for the purposes aforesaid." African and Indian critics of Malanism were similarly muzzled. The Riotous Assemblies Act and other measures were also invoked to curb free assemblage and free speech.

Then, in 1951, with mammoth public demonstrations against the Separate Representation of Voters' Bill taking place in Cape Town, the Nationalist Government pushed through Parliament, by the narrow margin of 69 votes to 68, the so-called Suppression of Communism Act, the first of its own laws for silencing and punishing its opponents. As noted by even anti-Communist newspapers and leaders in South Africa, this law marked the establishment of police-state fascism in the country.

25-61-9

The implementation of the Suppression of Communism Act has demonstrated the truth of this judgment. Invoking this law the Malan Government has:

— banned the publication of the Guardian, the first instance of the suppression of a newspaper in South Africa;
— ousted Mr. Sam Kahn and Mr. Fred Carneson, the duly elected representatives and spokesmen for Africans, from their respective seats in the House of Assembly and the Cape Provincial Council;
— "named" Chief James A. Luthuli, President General of the African National Congress; Dr. G. Naicker, President of the South African Indian Congress; scores of other leaders of these two organizations, and white and non-white leaders of trade unions and of other organizations, ordering them (a) not to address or attend meetings, (b) not to visit certain specified areas for any purpose, (c) to resign from offices and membership in specified organizations in which they served;
— arrested, prosecuted, and sentenced Africans, Indian, and "Coloured" leaders of the organizations which conducted the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws, and others, white and non-white, who were charged with having violated the "naming" order previously cited;
— conducted police raids and searches on the offices of various organizations and on the homes of leaders of the organizations.

In a vain effort to put a stop to the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws last year, the Government, in addition to arresting and prosecuting leaders of the resistance movement, imposed heavier sentences (imprisonment up to two months) upon those taking part in the defiance actions, resorted to abusive treatment of some of the volunteers jailed, and imposed humiliating corporal punishment (whipping with a cane) upon youth volunteers under 21 years of age and upon some of the women volunteers.

Next, in February, 1953, the Government introduced and secured speedy passage of the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act. These laws, as Edward Hughes (Wall Street Journal, April 14, 1953) writes, have been "widely interpreted as removing such basic rights as freedom of speech and press in South Africa." Have they this, they are laws whose excessively harsh, repressive, and fascist provisions can only be compared with Hitler's edicts. The first prosecution under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, against an African leader, Arthur Matlala, occurred in March, only a few days after the Act was gazetted.

Further to intimidate and smash all opposition, the Government has repeatedly conducted police raids and searches on the offices of the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, Springbok Legion, and African trade unions, and on the homes of officers of these organizations. Such raids were made July 30, 1952, and again during June and July, 1953. The search warrants used in the latter raids authorized the police to seize what they might regard as evidence of treason, sedition or other offenses among documents relating to the affairs of 14 specified organizations (in addition to those raided the list included youth organizations, and other bodies, such as the South African Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union, the Transvaal Peace Council, and the Congress of Democrats).

Peaceful assemblages of supporters of African rights have been banned or broken up by the police. Thus, for example, a reception planned in Durban, April 25, 1953, for Chief Luthuli was banned by Mayor Osborne, and a meeting of several thousand non-white people at Umbeleuse Square, Durban, on January 30, 1953, to discuss the need of more schools for their children was interrupted and stopped by the police who grabbed Chief Luthuli and Mr. J. N. Singh and took them off to police headquarters.

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The account of the Government's suppression of peaceful and legitimate protest against racial discrimination and oppression cannot be concluded without reference to the record of wanton killing of Africans by the South African police. It is worth noting that in dispersing crowds of non-whites and in dealing with so-called disorders involving non-whites, the South African police are in the habit of using not tear-gas or streams of water from fire-hose, but their clubs and guns. 1949 saw Africans shot down by the police at Johannesburg's Western Areas, Randfontein and Krugersdorp. In January, 1950, Newclare was the scene of further police shootings. On May 1st of the same year police smashed "Freedom Day" demonstrations killing 18 Africans in the Johannesburg area. Thus the record continues down to 1952 when, in the space of a few weeks from October 18 to November 9, Africans were killed and scores wounded by police in disorders at Port Elizabeth (11 killed), Johannesburg (3 dead), Kimberley (13 killed), and East London (11 dead).

It is reported that in four and a half years of Nationalist rule, up to November 15, 1952, there were 29 outbreaks of violence involving Africans and the police, with a total of 238 persons killed and 1,146 injured (N.Y. Times, Jan. 3, 1953, p. 60). The tempo of police assaults has increased in ratio to the increased severity of repressive legislation. History has taught us that mass murder is the ultimate form of political repression and control under fascism.

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III. The South African Government Flouts the Rule of Law

Government by arbitrary decree is more and more replacing government by law in South Africa. Such laws as the Suppression of Communism Act and Public Safety Act were enacted precisely to dispense with Parliament and enable the Government to rule by decree. In opposing the Suppression of Communism Bill, the United Party opposition introduced an amendment (defeated by the Nationalist majority) which declared that the Bill "creates a fascist despotism, in that it clothes the Executive with unnecessarily wide and despotic powers, fails to provide for full and effective access to the courts, and makes intolerable inroads upon the freedom of the citizen, including the power to violate the sanctity of the home." By the terms of the Public Safety Act, Parliament's sanction is no longer required for the declaration of a national emergency and martial law.

Section 10(1) of the Suppression of Communism Act reads: "Whenever the Minister [of Justice] is satisfied that any person is in any area advocating, advising, defending or encouraging the achievement of any objects of communism . . . or is likely in any area to advocate, advise, defend or encourage . . . the achievement of any such object . . . he may prohibit him from being within any area defined in a notice . . . ."

Section 3 of the Public Safety Act reads: "The Governor General may . . . make such regulations as appear to him to be necessary or expedient . . . suspend in whole or in part any Act of Parliament or any other law, . . . and any such law which is in conflict with or inconsistent with any . . . such regulation shall be deemed to be suspended . . . ."

The Malan Government with one stroke sets aside all existing law in order to achieve its immediate ends. Thus Section 7 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act adopted this year reads: "A magistrate's court shall, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any other law contained, have jurisdiction to impose any sentence or make any order provided for by this Act."

The world is well aware of the manner in which the Malan Government has flouted the country's Constitution in seeking to remove the "Colored" voters from the common voting list. The Separate Representation of Voters' Act was pushed to passage by the Nationalist majority despite the fact that the voting procedure did not conform with the constitutional

requirement. When the Supreme Court's Appellate Division on March 20, 1952, ruled the Act invalid and unconstitutional because it was not passed by the required two-thirds majority, Malan rejected the decision and secured passage of a bill (High Court of Parliament) establishing the members of Parliament themselves as the supreme arbiter of the law of the land, and empowered by simple majority vote to make its decisions prevail over those of any other court. Without waiting for the Supreme Court to act on the validity of the High Court of Parliament Act, Malan on August 27 had Parliament in its new role of High Court set aside the Supreme Court's March 20 verdict. On November 13 the Supreme Court declared the High Court illegal. In the April 15 election the Nationalist Party failed to get a two-thirds majority in Parliament, but Malan is still determined to have his way, courts or no courts.

Another fight between the executive and judicial branches of the Government developed when on March, 1953, the Supreme Court cast a shadow over Malan's "apartheid" program by upholding the plea of an African that he had a right to use the Cape Town railway waiting room reserved for whites since the facilities provided for Africans were inferior. Malan indignantly stated that "The judgment draws a line through the traditional apartheid on the railways as we have always known it," making it clear that "apartheid" did not mean separate but equal status for non-whites. "If the Nationalist Party wins the election," said Malan, "we shall rectify the matter without delay, and in a way that will leave no room in doubt about the wish and intention of Parliament and the people." (N.Y. Times, March 25, 1953)

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In the sphere of international conventions the stubborn and arrogant unilateral stand taken by the South African Government is well known. That Government remains the only one of the mandatory powers which has refused to abide by the trusteeship provisions of the United Nations Charter, maintaining exclusive authority and supervision over the mandate territory of South West Africa. It has year after year refused to join with the Government of India in settling the dispute over the treatment of Indians in South Africa, as recommended again and again by the United Nations General Assembly. It has consistently refused to ratify the Geneva Convention governing the use of forced labor - for the very good reason that, as pointed out in the recently published report of the Committee on Forced Labor set up by the United Nations and the International Labor Organization, "a system of forced labor of significance to the national economy appears to exist in the Union of South Africa."

Prime Minister Malan has declared war to the death against the African, Indian and "Colored" inhabitants of South Africa who, demanding equality and democracy, refuse to obey the unjust laws of the land. All liberal-minded people endorse and support their struggle for justice. It is the South African Government itself which should be called to account for flouting the rule of law.

IV. Incitement to Violence

The South African Government has sought to explain the causes of African unrest and protest in terms of Communist incitement, agitation by non-white "extremists" and "radicals," Mau Mau, and interference from those outside South Africa, particularly India. It is never admitted that Africans have genuine grievances, or that they have a long tradition of struggle and require no artificial incitement to arouse them to demand their rights. To admit these things is more than can be expected from those who cling to notions of white supremacy.

In the pursuit of scapegoats, the South African white ruling circles propagate elaborate fabrications, which in turn breed hysteria and fear among the whites, and in this atmosphere the Government finds sanction for its words and deeds which promote racial hate, oppression, and violence.

In playing up the bogey of Communism, the Nationalist leaders followed in the footsteps of Smuts, who tried to send 52 Communist leaders to jail on charges of conspiring to incite the great strike of African mine workers in 1946. After an extended trial, the Government found it necessary to withdraw the charge - it had no evidence. Malan's Minister of Justice Swart, urging enactment of the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950, argued that Communism was a vast and deadly conspiracy and that he had reliable information that there was a Communist-instigated plot to poison the reservoirs and water-supplies of the country. Mr. Sam Kahn immediately repudiated the allegation, comparing it to Goering's Reichstag plot, and challenged the Minister to appoint a commission to investigate and determine whether any such plot existed. Mr. Swart ignored the challenge and never launched any investigation or prosecution of the alleged "water-poisoners", but in 1952 he again repeated the fabrication and revived the other one about the Communists having incited the African mine workers to strike.

In November, 1952, it became the custom of Malan and his Cabinet members to warn the country of the dangers of Mau Mau, implying that it was somehow linked with the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws and with the clashes between Africans and the police at Port Elizabeth, Kimberley and East London. Mr. Swart said that the South African riots followed the Mau Mau pattern. Mr. Tom Naude, Minister of Posts, said that all whites were threatened by the present attitude of the non-whites, and added, "We have our 'platteland' [volunteer vigilante corps] upon whom we can rely for defense of our country in an emergency, but the time may come when the women of South Africa may also have to be trained in the use of firearms to defend themselves." (N.Y. Times, Nov.23, 1952) The Minister of Justice, Mr. F.C. Erasmus, announced that machine guns would be issued to the Platteland corps. These and similar statements by other Government leaders precipitated a rush by the whites to buy guns. (Non-whites are forbidden to purchase or own guns).

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The allegations made by Nationalist newspapers that the Defiance Campaign was responsible for the police disorders in October and November, 1952, were completely without foundation. On the contrary, it was the leaders of the African National Congress who prevented the disorders from getting out of hand. The conduct of the Defiance Campaign was remarkable for its discipline - during the arrests of thousands of Defiance volunteers not a single act of violence occurred, though there were ample provocations.

The National Action Committee of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress charged that the riots and disturbances which occurred in October and November, 1952, at Port Elizabeth, Kimberley and East London were "deliberately incited and provoked by the Government." "We challenge the Government," the Committee's statement said, "to hold an impartial judicial inquiry into these riots as we have reason to believe that they were actually provoked. Authentic reports strongly suggest that these disturbances were engineered by provocateurs and that the shooting order of Mr. Swart played a major part." (Minister of Justice Swart announced on November 19th that he had instructed police officials not to wait until their men were killed or injured in riots before they fired. "They have been told to shoot first," he said.)

Opposition leader J.G.N. Strauss also asked for the appointment of an impartial judicial commission to investigate the disturbances. A similar demand was made by liberal white leaders and organizations. The Government turned a deaf ear to all these demands; it refused to order an inquiry.

Following the disturbance at East London, which started when police attempted to break up a religious service for which official permission had been granted, the East London Daily Dispatch stated: "But for the imposition of the ban on public meetings there would have been no trouble yesterday in Duncan Village . . . the Minister of Justice today must feel his responsibility. It was he who gave the police their instructions and it was he who plugged the safety-valve of free speech. On his shoulders must rest responsibility for the aftermath."

There is considerable basis for the belief that the Malan Government is set upon a course of deliberately goading and inciting Africans to resort to violence. Since they have only sticks and stones to fight with, they will then be at the mercy of the armed police and shistcommandos. And the Communists, or "Native agitators," or India will be blamed for the pogroms that follow.

V. International Peace at Stake

The [illegible] consequences of racist policies and program of the Malan Government are not confined to South Africa. India is bitterly resentful of the abuses heaped on Indians in South Africa. The [illegible]ngwato tribe of Bechuanaland can blame Malanism for the exile of their chief, Seretse [illegible]. The Negro people of the United States note many parallels between Jim Crowism and Malan's "apartheid" and indignantly protest the South African Government's banning of two American Negroes, Bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, from entering the Union to carry on their church duties. African leaders in the High Commission Territories of Bechuanaland, Basuteland and Swaziland are fully aware of Malan's annexation aims and have vowed that the people will resist being brought under the yoke of South African racism.

Malanism is the enemy of African liberation movements in every section of the African continent. The Prime Minister has inveighed against the Gold Coast's advance toward self-government and has warned Britain that the empire would find its "grave" in Africa unless the policy of racial equality is abandoned.

On their side the Gold Coast people say, "The expansionist policy of the Union is arousing all Africa to the dangers of racial domination, and we wish to emphasize the importance of United Nations responsibility in deciding the fate of these /inhabitants of Basuteland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and South West Africa/ and other African people. It is very much to be hoped that effective steps - by means, if necessary, of sanctions - will be taken at the forthcoming General Assembly to implement the decision of successive resolutions of the United Nations." (Petition to Ad Hoc Committee of U.N. on South West Africa, 1952, document A/2261, 21 Nov. 1952, page 19, signed by Kwame Nkrumah, Life Chairman, Convention People's Party of Gold Coast, and other officers of C.P.P.)

Nigeria has also repeatedly cried out against Malanism. An editorial in the West African Pilot (Lagos, Nigeria), Feb. 8, 1949, declared, "Whatever may be the handicaps of the United Nations, we refuse to believe that the big nations in that body are ignorant of how bestto bring world pressure to bear on South Africa in and out of the U.N. If South Africa must brow-beat the U.N. and remain at large to pursue its heinous policy, then the Negro race will have to rely on themselves and make ready for the liquidation of 2,000,000 South African Europeans in the life and death struggle that is to come. It is unavailing to appeal to God who seems to have no hands in our affairs. It must be freedom and equality for the African race or we all - all the races - should march to mass destruction."

Another editorial in the same paper, April 20, 1953, stated: "The success of Dr. Daniel Malan's National Party in the South African elections means the intensification of the racial struggle throughout the continent of Africa. It is as we see it a direct challenge to West African nationalism. Britain has connived at Dr. Malan's apartheid policy no doubt because of her own interests in Kenya and Rhodesia. America perhaps because of her own Negro problem has refused to speak out boldly on the issue which is the chief cause of the cataclysm in Africa today.

"If Malan insists on establishing white supremacy in Africa, it must be the duty of Nigeria and the Gold Coast to overwhelm him and those who think like him with a superior strategy. Guns, planes and bombs we may not have, and force we may not care to employ, but strategy.

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that which we have - divine guidance, conviction, moral courage, unity of purpose and determination - shall we employ to the utmost limit until the scale is readjusted throughout Africa as the Almighty God meant it to be."

Finally, we may quote a statement made by General Smuts himself in 1950, after he had yielded power to Malan: "If the policy now promulgated in the Union goes through (and there is no reason to suppose it will not go through), a Mason-Dixon Line will be established in Africa along the Limpopo, between the Transvaal and the Rhodesias, and more vaguely along the line which separates South West Africa from the Union, Bechuanaland, and Angola. There will be incompatible policies on the colour question to the north and south of that line. We know what happened in America; it will happen in Africa as surely as it happened there if we do not face the problem now." (address to the South African Institute of Race Relations, quoted in East Africa and Rhodesia, Nov. 9, 1950).

CONCLUSION

The Council on African Affairs appeals to the United Nations to take such measures as may be necessary to halt the present oppression of the eleven million non-white people of the Union of South Africa, and to avert the danger to international peace and harmony arising from the pursuit of the South African Government's policy and practice of racial discrimination and oppression. We are confident that with the aid and support of the United Nations, the people of South Africa, white as well as non-white, will willingly strive to achieve equal civil liberties, equal political rights, equal economic opportunities, and equality of social status for all South Africans.

25-61-15

W. A. Hunton, Secretary
for the Council on African Affairs

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

53 WEST 125TH STREET • NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK • ENRIGHT 9-8110

PAUL ROBESON, Chairman • W. E. B. DU BOIS, Vice Chairman • ROSALIE L. PINCKNEY, TREASURER • W. A. HUNTON, Secretary

July 27, 1953

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I enclose for your information a Memorandum and covering letter sent by the Council to the U. N. Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa.

You will note that request has been made for our presentation of oral testimony. If the request is granted and if the Commission holds a hearing here in New York, I should very much like you to testify on behalf of the Council - with such assistance as I can give, of course. It would be worth while testing whether the State Dept. would allow you to go to Geneva to testify, if invited — assuming we could find the money for the trip.

I shall send you in a few days a memo on contributions received in response to your letter. No further legal developments yet.

Sincerely,

Alphaeus

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July 29, 1953

Dr. Alpheus Hunton
Council on African Affairs
63 West 125 St.
New York, 27, N.Y.

My dear Alpheus:

If the Commission on South Africa holds its hearing in New York I shall be glad to testify on behalf of the Council. And of course, I would go to Geneva in the unlikely case that I would be allowed.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-61-16

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PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ~~ESTELLE M. OSBORNE~~, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

25-61-17

July 30, 1953

Dear Doctor Du Bois:

Unfortunately, there apparently won't be any opportunity to testify. A cable received from Geneva reads: "Reply your communications twentythird am directed inform you that notwithstanding its desire Commission Racial Situation South Africa in view of established programme does not find possible extend delay (sic) for oral testimony. However Commission would be prepared consider written testimony if received before fifteen August."

Obviously the Commission wants to do as little as possible. I leave it to you whether you consider it worthwhile to send them a written statement.

Sincerely,

Alphaeus

News Letter SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.
53 West 125th Street, New York 27, N. Y.
Telephone: ENright 9-8110 • • • •

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THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY AND PRACTICE OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND OPPRESSION IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

(Somewhat reluctantly, because there are many late developments in Kenya, Rhodesia, Nigeria and other areas of Africa which demand present discussion, we have devoted this Newsletter to giving our readers the main text of the Memorandum which the Council on African Affairs forwarded on July 23 to the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in South Africa, meeting in Geneva, Switzerland /see page 3 of last Newsletter_/. With the next regular session of the U.N. General Assembly opening in September, it is important that all supporters of the struggle against fascism in South Africa press for positive and effective U.N. action on this question. The text follows.)

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This Memorandum is limited to the presentation of factual evidence showing that:

I. the injustices based on discrimination against the non-white peoples of South Africa have been augmented and intensified to the limit of human endurance during the five years of Nationalist government headed by Prime Minister Malan;

II. the Malan Government is resorting to ruthless tyranny to suppress and punish all opposition to its racist doctrines and program;

III. the Malan Government is guilty of inciting and provoking increasing racial conflict and violence;

IV. the fascist and racist ideology and expansionist aims of the Malan Government constitute a grave and present danger to international peace and harmony.

I. Apartheid Madness

Speaking in the South African Parliament on March 14, 1945, Dr. Malan's predecessor, Prime Minister Jan Smuts, remarked that everybody "except fools" was agreed on "our fixed policy to maintain white supremacy in South Africa." He was answering a charge from Opposition Leader Malan that the Government was not using the proper measures to "keep the Natives in their place." Nevertheless, Malan and the Nationalist Party won power in 1948 by outdoing the United Party in posing as the white electorate's only true saviour against "the black menace." They retained power in the 1953 election by repeating their performance.

Although the system of racial discrimination and segregation in order to maintain domination by the white minority was firmly established in all spheres of South African life long before Malan came to power, it may be said that during the five years of his administration the South African way of life which Malan calls apartheid has been made immensely more rigid, circumscribed and cruel for the non-white population. The spate of Malan-sponsored "apartheid" legislation enacted since 1948 includes:

The Asiatic Laws (Amendment) Act, repealing the limited Indian franchise;
The Mixed Marriages Act, making the marriage of whites and non-whites a criminal offense;
Amendment of the Immorality Act, making sexual relations between "Colored" and white persons, as well as between Africans and whites, a criminal offense;
The Population Registration Act, intended to establish the racial identity of every person over 16 years of age, so that there shall be no question of who is subject to the various "apartheid" measures;
The Group Areas Act, empowering the Government to delimit areas in which only members of a particular racial group or sub-group may reside or own property (this Act is being enforced despite repeated recommendations of non-implementation by the U.N. General Assembly in 1950, 1951 and 1952; at the present writing 146,000 Indians in Durban face eviction from their homes, businesses and institutions, and 75,000 Africans face imminent removal from the Western Areas of Johannesburg, with no alternative housing accommodations whatever afforded);
The Bantu Authorities Act, which seeks to establish puppet tribal councils and foster tribal division of the Africans (the present limited representation of Africans - by white members - in the South African Parliament is to be abolished);
The Separate Representation of Voters' Act, which would strike some 48,000

"Colored" voters in the Cape Province from the common list of voters and establish a system of separate representation for them such as the Africans now have (declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, but the Government continues to seek to have it upheld);

The subservient status of non-white labor, which is the foundation of South Africa's economy, has been established in law through such measures as the Industrial Conciliation Act, No. 36 of 1937, excluding African trade unions from authorized collective bargaining and strike procedures, the Masters and Servants Act, and the Riotous Assemblies Act.

The Malan Government's policy of tightening still further the shackles on African labor is reflected in the statement of Dr. Theo Wassenaer, a Nationalist Party leader, made in the House of Assembly, September, 1948: "Africans must be re-tribalized: Zulus must remain Zulus, Swazis must remain Swazis and Xosas Xosas - this is one of the ultimate objectives of apartheid. We cannot allow the development of a mass black proletariat which would be able to muster against the whites." (Guardian /Cape Town/ 23 September 1948). It is reflected in the Government's reply to a question from Senator W.G. Ballinger, June, 1949, acknowledging that a Departmental circular of 28 March, 1948, "reaffirms the policy outlined in its circular of the 31st October, 1924 which enjoins Departments and Provincial Administrations wherever possible to substitute civilised /white/ labour for uncivilised /African/ labour. The former circular also modified this Department's circular No. 8 of 1948, which authorises the employment of Natives as messengers, to the extent that Natives should only be employed as messengers where the services of a European youth are not available."

35-61.61

Under the Malan regime the great majority of Africans have been excluded from the benefits of the Unemployment Insurance Act, and Africans have been legally barred from skilled labor in the building trades by the terms of the Native Building Workers Act. The Native Laws Amendment Act was passed providing for the removal of an African from an urban area, even tho he may have been born and lived there permanently, if he is unemployed for 72 hours. Legislation now pending would abolish independent African trade unions altogether and establish Government-approved "company unions" in their place. Minister of Labor B. J. Schoeman, reported N.Y. Times correspondent Albion Ross from Pretoria, April 18, 1953, was prepared to secure Parliament's approval of "something close to a system of concentration camps for the black proletariat."

II. Tyrannical Suppression of Opposition

". . . the Natives must be made clearly to understand and to realize that the presence and predominance of the white race will be preserved at all hazards, and that all attempts to destroy its hegemony, whether overt or covert . . . will be promptly punished . . . ."

The quotation is from page 5 of the Report of Natal Native Affairs Committee for the year 1906-7. The idea enunciated has remained the chief principle of South African statecraft down through the decades. The present Nationalist Government has observed and applied it with exceptional persistence and severity. "Any organization that does not want to acknowledge the color bar has no right to exist in South Africa," Malan's Minister of Economic Affairs, Eric H. Luow, said in 1949. The Government's record of victimization of individuals and organizations supporting democratic rights for all South Africans shows Mr. Luow's statement to be in fact state policy.

To silence opposition to its policies the Malan Government was at first content to use the expedient of having a magistrate issue an order banning a scheduled meeting. Thus, for example, Mr. Sam Kahn, Member of Parliament representing Africans and a bitter opponent of the Nationalists' "apartheid" program, was served with the following magistrate's order dated 17 March, 1949: "Whereas in terms of Section 1(4) of Act 27 of 1914, as amended, there is reason to apprehend that feelings of hostility between Europeans and Non-Europeans would be engendered by the assembly of a public gathering in any place in this town to which the public has access to hear an address by Mr. Sam Kahn M.P. on the subject of "Apartheid or Equality," acting under the special authority of the Minister of Justice, I do hereby prohibit such assembly in the municipal area of Springs for the purposes aforesaid." African and Indian critics of Malanism were similarly muzzled. The Riotous Assemblies Act and other measures were also invoked to curb free assemblage and free speech.

Then, in 1951, with mammoth public demonstrations against the Separate Representation of Voters' Bill taking place in Cape Town, the Nationalist Government pushed through Parliament, by the narrow margin of 69 votes to 62, the so-called Suppression of Communism Act, the first of its own laws for silencing and punishing its opponents. As noted by even anti-Communist newspapers and leaders in South Africa, this law marked the establishment of police-state fascism in the country.

The implementation of the Suppression of Communism Act has demonstrated the truth of this judgment. Invoking this law the Malan Government has:

-- banned the publication of the Guardian, the first instance of the suppression of a newspaper in South Africa;
-- ousted Mr. Sam Kahn and Mr. Fred Carneson, the duly elected represenatives and spokesmen for Africans, from their respective seats in the House of Assembly and the Cape Provincial Council;
-- "named" Chief James A. Luthuli, President General of the African National Congress; Dr. G. Naicker, President of the South African Indian Congress; scores of other leaders of these two organizations; and white and non-white leaders of trade unions and of other organizations, ordering them (a) not to address or attend meetings, (b) not to visit certain specified areas for any purpose, (c) to resign from offices and membership in specified organizations in which they served;
-- arrested, prosecuted, and sentenced African, Indian, and "Colored" leaders of the organizations which conducted the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws, and others, white and non-white, who were charged with having violated the "naming" order previously cited;
-- conducted police raids and searches on the offices of various organizations and on the homes of leaders of the organizations.

In a vain effort to put a stop to the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws last year, the Government, in addition to arresting and prosecuting leaders of the resistance movement, imposed heavier sentences (imprisonment up to two months) upon those taking part in the defiance actions, resorted to abusive treatment of some of the volunteers jailed, and imposed humiliating corporal punishment (whipping with a cane) upon youth volunteers under 21 years of age and upon some of the women volunteers.

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The account of the Government's suppression of peaceful and legitimate protest against racial discrimination and oppression cannot be concluded without reference to the record of wanton killing of Africans by the South African police. It is worth noting that in dispersing crowds of non-whites and in dealing with so-called disorders involving non-whites, the South African police are in the habit of using not tear-gas or streams of water from fire-hose, but their clubs and guns. 1949 saw Africans shot down by the police at Johannesburg's Western Areas, Randfontein and Krugersdorp. In January, 1950, Newclare was the scene of further police shootings. On May 1st of the same year police smashed "Freedom Day" demonstrations killing 18 Africans in the Johannesburg area. Thus the record continues down to 1952 when, in the space of a few weeks from October 18 to November 9, Africans were killed and scores wounded by police in disorders at Port Elizabeth (11 dead), Johannesburg (3 dead), Kimberley (13 killed), and East London (11 dead).

It is reported that in four and a half years of Nationalist rule, up to November 15, 1952, there were 29 outbreaks of violence involving Africans and the police, with a total of 238 persons killed and 1,146 injured (N.Y. Times, Jan. 3, 1953, p. 60). The tempo of police assaults has increased in ratio to the increased severity of repressive legislation. History has taught us that mass murder is the ultimate form of political repression and control under fascism.

III. The South African Government Flouts the Rule of Law

Government by arbitrary decree is more and more replacing government by law in South Africa. Such laws as the Suppression of Communism Act and Public Safety Act were enacted precisely to dispense with Parliament and enable the Government to rule by decree. In opposing the Suppression of Communism Bill, the United Party opposition introduced an amendment (defeated by the Nationalist majority) which declared that the Bill "creates a fascist despotism, in that it clothes the Executive with unnecessarily wide and despotic powers, fails to provide for full and effective access to the courts, and makes intolerable inroads upon the freedom of the citizen, including the power to violate the sanctity of the home." By the terms of the Public Safety Act, Parliament's sanction is no longer required for the declaration of a national emergency and martial law.

Section 10(1) of the Suppression of Communism Act reads: "Whenever the Minister [of Justice] is satisfied that any person is in any area advocating, advising, defending or encouraging the achievement of any of the objects of communism . . . or is likely in any area to advocate, advise, defend or encourage the achievement of any such object . . . he may . . . prohibit him . . . from being within any area defined in a notice . . . ."

Section 3 of the Public Safety Act reads: "The Governor General may . . . make such regulations as appear to him to be necessary or expedient . . . suspend in whole or in part any Act of Parliament or any other law, . . . and any such law which is in conflict with or inconsistent with any such regulation shall be deemed to be suspended . . . ."

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The Malan Government with one stroke sets aside all existing law in order to achieve its immediate ends. Thus Section 7 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act adopted this year reads: "A magistrate's court shall, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any other law contained, have jurisdiction to impose any sentence or make any order provided for by this Act."

The world is well aware of the manner in which the Malan Government has flouted the country's Constitution in seeking to remove the "Colored" voters from the common voting list. The Separate Representation of Voters' Act was pushed to passage by the Nationalist majority despite the fact that the voting procedure did not conform with the constitutional requirement. When the Supreme Court's Appellate Division, on March 20, 1952, ruled the Act invalid and unconstitutional because it was not passed by the required two-thirds majority, Malan rejected the decision and secured passage of a bill (High Court of Parliament) establishing the members of Parliament themselves as the supreme arbiter of the law of the land, and empowered by simple majority vote to make its decisions prevail over those of any other court. Without waiting for the Supreme Court to act on the validity of the High Court of Parliament Act, Malan on August 27 had Parliament in its new role of High Court set aside the Supreme Court's March 20 verdict. On November 13 the Supreme Court declared the High Court illegal. In the April 15 election the Nationalist Party failed to get a two-thirds majority in Parliament, but Malan is still determined to have his way, courts or no courts.

Another fight between the executive and judicial branches of the Government developed when in March, 1953, the Supreme Court cast a shadow over Malan's "apartheid" program by upholding the plea of an African that he had a right to use the Cape Town railway waiting room reserved for whites since the facilities provided for Africans were inferior. Malan indignantly stated that "The judgment draws a line through the traditional apartheid on the railways as we have always known it," making it clear that "apartheid" did not mean separate but equal status for non-whites. "If the Nationalist Party wins the election," said Malan, "we shall rectify the matter without delay, and in a way that will leave no court in doubt about the wish and intention of Parliament and the people." (N.Y. Times, March 25, 1953)

In the sphere of international conventions the stubborn and arrogant unilateral stand taken by the South African Government is well known. That Government remains the only one of the mandatory powers which has refused to abide by the trusteeship provisions of the United Nations Charter, maintaining exclusive authority and supervision over the mandate territory of South West Africa. It has year after year refused to join with the Government of India in settling the dispute over the treatment of Indians in South Africa, as recommended again and again by the United Nations General Assembly. It has consistently refused to ratify the Geneva Convention governing the use of forced labor - for the very good reason that, as pointed out in the recently published report of the Committee on Forced Labor set up by the United Nations and the International Labor Organization, "a system of forced labor of significance to the national economy appears to exist in the Union of South Africa."

Prime Minister Malan has declared war to the death against the African, Indian and "Colored" inhabitants of South Africa who, demanding equality and democracy, refuse to obey the unjust laws of the land. All liberal-minded people endorse and support their struggle for justice. It is the South African Government itself which should be called to account for flouting the rule of law.

IV. Incitement to Violence

The South African Government has sought to explain the causes of African unrest and protest in terms of Communist incitement, agitation by non-white "extremists" and "radicals," Mau Mau, and interference from those outside South Africa, particularly India. It is never admitted that Africans have genuine grievances, or that they have a long tradition of struggle and require no artificial incitement to arouse them to demand their rights. To admit these things is more than can be expected from those who cling to notions of white supremacy.

In the pursuit of scapegoats, the South African white ruling circles propagate elaborate fabrications, which in turn breed hysteria and fear among the whites, and in this atmosphere the Government finds sanction for its words and deeds which promote racial hate, oppression, and violence.

In playing up the bogey of Communism, the Nationalist leaders followed in the footsteps of Smuts, who tried to send 52 Communist leaders to jail on charges of conspiring to incite the great strike of African mine workers in 1946. After an extended trial, the Government found it necessary to withdraw the charge -it had no evidence. Malan's Minister of Justice Swart, urging enactment of the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950, argued that Communism was a vast and deadly conspiracy and that he had reliable information that there was a Communist-instigated plot to poison the reservoirs and water-supplies of the country. Mr. Sam Kahan immediately repudiated the allegation, comparing it to Goering's Reichstag plot, and challenged the Minister to appoint a commission to investigate and determine whether any such plot existed. Mr. Swart ignored the challenge and never launched any investigation or prosecution of the alleged "water-poisoners," but in 1952 he again repeated the fabrication and revived the other one about the Communists having incited the African mine workers to strike.

In November, 1952, it became the custom of Malan and his cabinet members to warn the country of the dangers of Mau Mau, implying that it was somehow linked with the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws and with the clashes between Africans and the police at Port Elizabeth, Kimberley and East London. Mr. Swart said that the South African riots followed the Mau May pattern. Mr. Tom Naude, Minister of Posts, said that all whites were threatened by the present attitude of the non-whites, and added, "We have our 'skietkommandos' /volunteer vigilante corps/ upon whom we can rely for defense of our country in an emergency, but the time may come when the women of South Africa may also have to be trained in the use of firearms to defend themselves." (N.Y. Times, Nov. 23, 1953) The Minister of Justice, Mr. F. C. Erasmus, announced that machine guns would be issued to the Skietkommandos. These and similar statements by other Government leaders precipitated a rush by the whites to buy guns (Non-whites are forbidden to purchase or own guns).

The allegations made by Nationalist newspapers that the Defiance Campaign was responsible for the police disorders in October and November, 1952, were completely without foundation. On the contrary, it was the leaders of the African National Congress who prevented the disorders from getting out of hand. The conduct of the Defiance Campaign was remarkable for its discipline - during the arrests of thousands of Defiance volunteers not a single act of violence occurred, though there were ample provocations.

The National Action Committee of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress charged that the riots and disturbances which occurred in October and November, 1952, at Port Elizabeth, Kimberley and East London were "deliberately incited and provoked by the Government." "We challenge the Government," the Committee's statement said, "to hold an impartial judicial inquiry into these riots as we have reason to believe that they were actually provoked. Authentic reports strongly suggest that these disturbances were engineered by provocateurs and that the shooting order of Mr. Swart played a major part." (Minister of Justice Swart announced on November 15th that he had instructed police officials not to wait until their men were killed or injured in riots before they fired. "They have been told to shoot first," he said.)

Opposition leader J.G.N. Strauss also asked for the appointment of an impartial judicial commission to investigate the disturbances. A similar demand was made by liberal white leaders and organizations. The Government turned a deaf ear to all these demands: it refused to order an inquiry.

Following the disturbance at East London, which started when police attempted to break up a religious service for which official permission had been granted, the East London Daily Dispatch stated: "But for the imposition of the ban on public meetings there would have been no trouble yesterday in Duncan Village . . . the Minister of Justice today must feel his responsibility. It was he who gave the police their instructions and it was he who plugged the safety-valve of free speech. On his shoulders must rest responsibility for the aftermath."

There is considerable basis for the belief that the Malan Government is set upon a course of deliberately goading and inciting Africans to resort to violence. Since they have only sticks and stones to fight with, they will then be at the mercy of the

armed police and skietcommandos. And the Communists, or "Native agitators," or India will be blamed for the pogroms that follow.

V. International Peace at Stake

The evil consequences of racist policies and program of the Malan Government are not confined to South Africa. India is bitterly resentful of the abuses heaped on Indians in South Africa. The Bamangwato tribe of Bechuanaland can blame Malanism for the exile of their chief, Seretse Khama. The Negro people of the United States note many parallels between Jim Crowism and Malan's "apartheid" and indignantly protest the South African Government's banning of two American Negroes, Bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, from entering the Union to carry on their church duties. African leaders in the High Commission Territories of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland are fully aware of Malan's annexation aims and have vowed that the people will resist being brought under the yoke of South African racism.

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Malanism is the enemy of African liberation movements in every section of the African continent. The Prime Minister has inveighed against the Gold Coast's advance toward self-government and has warned Britain that the empire would find its "grave" in Africa unless the policy of racial equality is abandoned.

On their side the Gold Coast people say, "The expansionist policy of the Union is arousing all Africa to the dangers of racial domination, and we wish to emphasize the importance of United Nations responsibility in deciding the fate of these /inhabitants of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and South West Africa/ and other African people. It is very much to be hoped that effective steps - by means, if necessary, of sanctions - will be taken at the forthcoming General Assembly to implement the decision of successive resolutions of the United Nations." (Petition to Ad Hoc Committee of U.N. on South West Africa, 1952, document A/2261, 21 Nov. 1952, page 19, signed by Kwame Nkrumah, Life Chairman, Convention People's Party of Gold Coast, and other officers of C.P.P.)

Nigeria has also repeatedly cried out against Malanism. An editorial in the West African Pilot (Lagos, Nigeria), Feb. 8, 1949, declared, "Whatever may be the handicaps of the United Nations, we refuse to believe that the big nations in that body are ignorant of how best to bring world pressure to bear on South Africa in and out of the U.N. If South Africa must brow-beat the U.N. and remain at large to pursue its heinous policy, then the Negro race will have to rely on themselves and make ready for the liquidation of 2,000,000 South African Europeans in the life and death struggle that is to come. It is unavailing to appeal to God who seems to have no hands in our affairs. It must be freedom and equality for the African race or we all - all the races - should march to mass destruction."

Finally, we may quote a statement made by General Smuts himself in 1950, after he had yielded power to Malan: "If the policy now promulgated in the Union goes through (and there is no reason to suppose it will not go through), a Mason-Dixon Line will be established in Africa along the Limpopo, between the Transvaal and the Rhodesias, and more vaguely along the line which separates South West Africa from the Union, Bechuanaland, and Angola. There will be incompatible policies on the colour question to the north and south of that line. We know what happened in America; it will happen in Africa as surely as it happened there if we do not face the problem now." (address to the South African Institute of Race Relations, quoted in East Africa and Rhodesia, Nov. 9, 1950.

CONCLUSION

The Council on African Affairs appeals to the United Nations to take such measures as may be necessary to halt the present oppression of the ten million non-white people of the Union of South Africa, and to avert the danger to international peace and harmony arising from the pursuit of the South African Government's policy and practice of racial discrimination and oppression. We are confident that with the aid and support of the United Nations, the people of South Africa, white as well as non-white, will willingly strive to achieve equal civil liberties, equal political rights, equal economic opportunities, and equality of social status for all South Africans.

****

Dear Dr. Hunton,
I have just read your "Postscript for Americans" appended to your publication*. . . I want to congratulate you on that; it is a fine piece of work - lucid, factual, convincing. But that's not my only reason for writing to you. I have a confession to make. Ever since that ghastly murder of the Rosenbergs, I have gone around with a sickening hatred of the Americans in my heart. Of course, intellectually I distinguish between the ruling gang that did it, and the masses whom they bludgeoned into silent acquiescence. Emotionally, though, these distinctions tend sometimes to get rather blurred. Your article has brought the distinctions into focus again, and shown me that there are fine, generous, brave Americans who, in the midst of all their own troubles, can take to heart the sufferings of oppressed people on the other side of the world. For that I thank you very much. I press your hand.

M.H., Johannesburg, South Africa, July 23, 1953.

*RESISTANCE in South Africa, Council on African Affairs, 35¢

[Hunton]

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

53 WEST 125TH STREET • NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK • ENRIGHT 9-8110

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ~~ESTELLE M. OSBORNE~~ Rosalie C. Pinchaney, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

August 25, 1953

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thanks so much for journeying uptown and helping us wrestle with that answer to the Attorney General's charges on the 12th.

I had meant to give you the enclosed materials to take with you. You will recall that I asked if you could write a note of thanks to Mr. Goldsman. Mrs. Taylor and Mrs. Sims (I have already sent receipts and acknowledgments), and also a note to Mrs. Vera Smith.

A few more contributions have come in (I will make a supplementary report next month), and considering that there has been no direct solicitation whatever, beyond your letter, I suppose it can be said that we have done pretty well, altho we are only about half-way to our goal of $2000.

Paul's latest passport application has again been rejected, and this time Mrs.

25-61-1

Shipley flatly charges him with being a Communist! — whatever that has to do with acting Othello in London. So it is clear that the passport issue and the Council's case all hang together.

Sincerely yours,

Alphaeus

September 24, 1953

Dr. Alpheus Hurton
Council on African Affairs, Inc.
53 West 125 St.
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Hunton:

Because of the summer vacation we were delayed in answering the letters, which I am now returning.

I am keeping one letter, from Vera Smith, as it was written in July and I would like to know whether she finally sent you a donation. As soon as you let me know I will answer her letter and return it to you.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

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PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • R.L. Pinckney, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

October 2, 1953.

Dear Friend:

When Attorney General Brownell, some months ago, first initiated proceedings to force the Council on African Affairs to register as a "Communist-front organization" under the McCarran Act, the officers of the Council issued a statement pointing out that the real issue involved in this attack was the denial of freedom of opinion and expression and the legal enforcement of thought control. The objective of the McCarrans and McCarthys, it was pointed out, was to perform a "brain-washing" operation upon the whole of America.

"We don't believe it can be done," the Council's officers stated. "We don't believe the American people will abide it. But the hour is late. Only organized and united resistance of all sections of the people can stop it. And the time for such resistance is NOW!"

At great expense of money and time, the Council has already undertaken the legal fight against the Attorney General's order. But it is in the larger area of public opinion and action, and not simply in the courts, that the battle must be waged and won.

We therefore welcome and endorse the enclosed "Call for a People's Conference to Fight the McCarran Law Prosecutions and McCarthyism."

We hope we can count on your own attendance and participation at this Conference on October 24. But, further, we urge you to do whatever you can toward securing the attendance of others, preferably as representatives of organizations but also as individual observers.

Let us make this Conference the mobilizing spear-head of a truly effective campaign of the American people to defend their democratic heritage.

Very sincerely yours,

W. A. Hunton

W. A. Hunton
Secretary

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COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

NEWS RELEASE

November 7, 1953

53 WEST 125TH STREET ● NEW YORK 27, N. Y. ● ENRIGHT 9-8110

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* — W. E. B. Du BOIS, *Vice Chairman* — R.L. Pinckney, *Treasurer* — W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

New York — The Council on African Affairs, of which Paul Robeson is Chairman and Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois Vice Chairman, has filed a formal statement with the Subversive Activities Control Board in Washington denying categorically the "Communist-front" charges made against it by Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., and attacking the McCarran Act, on which the Attorney General bases his action, as "an instrument of censorship, of suppression and suspicion and fear."

The statement, signed by the Council's Secretary, Dr. W. A. Hunton, declares that the organization's "single and consistent purpose has been to provide accurate information on the conditions and struggles of the peoples of Africa and to promote and support their welfare and efforts toward liberation."

Describing its research and information services, the Council points out that its publications are subscribed to by university libraries, United Nations and other governmental officials, anthropologists and religious leaders, and that among those who have made use of its library facilities was an official of the U. S. State Department.

As examples of its service for African welfare and freedom, the Council's statement cites its activities in relation to the South African Government's racial oppression and other African issues before the United Nations, its campaign of assistance to starvation victims in South Africa, and its rallying of American aid and support for labor and political struggles in Nigeria, Gold Coast, French West Africa, Bechuanaland, Tunisia, Morocco, South Africa, and Kenya.

"Numerous expressions of warm appreciation of these efforts of the Council have been received from leaders of the fight against Malanism, from leaders of the Kenya African Union, from Seretse Khama, from West African labor and political spokesmen, and from youth, women, teachers, and others in various African territories," says the statement of the Council on African Affairs. "This testimony dating from 1942 to the present year, is the most definitive and irrefutable proof that the Council's work has in fact been directed toward promoting the welfare and liberation of the peoples of Africa, and not, as alleged by the Attorney General, 'for the purpose of giving aid and support to the Communist Party'".

According to the Council's statement, among the instances cited by the Attorney-General as proof of its adherence to the views and policies of the Communist Party were its protest against the exhibition of mob-violence at Peekskill in 1949, its criticism of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and its attitude toward the North Atlantic Pact and the Korean War.

The Council's hearing before the Subversive Activities Control Board is scheduled to begin on November 23.

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forwarded funds for the aid of the dependents of thousands of African men and women who were arrested during the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws in protest against the Malan Government's fascist-like subjection of the country's non-white peoples. This year the Council has been able to give financial assistance to the Kenyatta Defense Fund in London, established to provide legal counsel for Jomo Kenyatta and other Kenya leaders prosecuted by the British.

Following the Grand Jury hearing the Council's Secretary expressed the opinion that a "calculated campaign" has been launched in this country to try to discredit the African people's liberation movements by branding them "Communist". Besides the Yergan interview he cited as evidence various recent N.Y. Times dispatches from South Africa, an editorial in the Sept. 4 Saturday Evening Post, an article by Oden Meeker in the current issue of the same magazine, and other similar articles.

"It is to be hoped," Dr. Hunton said, "that the Government will not officially adopt this view and penalize those Americans who support the cause of African freedom."

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COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

53 WEST 125TH STREET • NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK • ENRIGHT 9-8110

Rosalie L. Pinckney

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • [redacted], *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

November 11, 1953

Dear Doctor Du Bois:

The Council's hearing before the Subversive Activities Control Board begins on Monday, November 23, in Washington.

Our Chairman and I both regard it as very necessary that we meet together prior to that date so as to arrive at a collective agreement on certain important matters of policy in regard to the hearing and our defense campaign. There are also other urgent Council problems to be discussed.

We hope, therefore, that you will try to let nothing interfere with your attendance at our meeting next Tuesday, November 17, at 4 p.m. For the greater convenience of Dr. Du Bois we have arranged to meet at the Library, 23 West 26th Street.

Enclosed are copies of Attorney General Brownell's petition (original unamended version) and of the Council's answer, which was filed with the S.A.C.B. on October 23.

Sincerely yours,

W. A. Hunton

P.S. If you find it absolutely impossible to be present on Tuesday, kindly telephone me (VIrginia 9-0706) any time on Sunday.

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November 13, 1953

Dr. Alpheus Hunton
Council on African Affairs, Inc.
53 West 125 Street
New York 27, N.Y.

My dear Alpheus:

I just realized that on Tuesday night, November 17th I am presiding at the birthday dinner of the National Guardian.

This is a rather strenuous undertaking and I would not think it wise to attend a meeting during the afternoon. It would be best for me to rest.

I am very sorry, and will do anything else I can to help the cause.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-49-13

MEETING of the COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
held in the Library, 23 West 26th Street, New York
November 17, 1953

- - -

Present: Mrs. Rosalie L. Pinckney, Mrs. Eslanda G. Robeson, Mr. Cyril Philip, Mr. Doxey A. Wilkerson, Dr. W. A. Hunton.

The following were reported as having given excuses for their absence: Mr. Paul Robeson, Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, Mr. Kumar Goshal.

The meeting was called to order at 4 P.M. Mrs. Robeson presided, by common consent.

Order of Business:

1. Minutes of last meeting
2. Secretary's Report on Status of Legal Defense
3. Election of Members and Chairman of the Executive Board
4. Representation of the Council at the S.A.C.B. Hearing
5. Financial Report

Minutes of Last Meeting:

The minutes of the last meeting were approved as circulated.

Secretary's Report on Status of Legal Defense

Dr. Hunton reviewed the developments in the case of the Attorney General vs the Council and reported that the scheduled date, November 23, for the beginning of the Council's hearing before the Subversive Activities Control Board had been cancelled as a consequence of a motion by the Attorney General to strike most of the Council's Answer to the charges as "irrelevant, impertinent, etc." The Council's attorney would reply to this motion by November 27 and would request opportunity for oral argument. The Board would set a new date for the hearing following its decision on this matter. The Secretary pointed out that the effect of the Attorney General's motion, if upheld, would be to invalidate and exclude from the Council's evidence the main grounds of its defense.

See enclosure

There followed discussion of the information presented and of the impending hearing. The Council's Answer was commended and its wide distribution urged.

Election of Members and Chairman of the Executive Board

Pursuant to Article IV, Section 3, of the Constitution, it was proposed that the following six members be nominated to serve with the present officers as members of the Executive Board: Dr. Herbert Aptheker, Mr. Kumar Goshal, Mr. Cyril Philip, Mrs. Eslanda G. Robeson, Dr. Gene Weltfish, and Mr. Doxey A. Wilkerson.

Unanimous concurrence with the proposed nominations was expressed.

Action Taken:

Vote 1 . Motion to elect as members of the Executive Board Dr. Herbert Aptheker, Mr. Kumar Goshal, Mr. Cyril Philip, Mrs. Eslanda G. Robeson, Dr. Gene Weltfish and Mr. Doxey A. Wilkerson, and to constitute the Executive Board as consisting of these members together with the present

officers of the Council: Mr. Paul Robeson (Chairman), Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois (Vice Chairman), Mrs. Rosalie L. Pinckney (Treasurer) and Dr. W.A. Hunton (Secretary).

Motion adopted.

Vote 2. Motion to elect Mrs. Eslanda G. Robeson as Chairman of the Executive Board.

Motion adopted.

Representation of the Council at the S.A.C.B. Hearing

It was recommended and unanimously agreed that, in view of her many excellent qualifications, it would be highly desirable to have Mrs. Robeson testify on behalf of the Council at the hearing before the Subversive Activities Control Board. Mrs. Robeson expressed readiness to serve.

Action Taken:

Vote 3. Motion to authorize Mrs. Eslanda G. Robeson to testify on behalf of the Council on African Affairs at the hearing before the Subversive Activities Control Board.

Motion adopted.

Financial Report

The Secretary of the Council, on behalf of the Treasurer, submitted a financial statement covering the Council's income and expenditure for the period from Jan. 1, 1953 to Sept. 30, 1953. Supplementary information on income and expenditure down to Nov. 15 was also given. The Secretary reported that it would probably be necessary to change the Council's office quarters at an early date.

There was discussion of the report and particularly of the expenses entailed in the Council's legal defense.

Action Taken:

Vote 4. Motion to receive with thanks the financial report as given.

Motion adopted.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 5:45 P.M.

HERE ARE THE FACTS...

YOU BE THE JUDGE!

THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS ANSWERS ATTORNEY GENERAL BROWNELL

Preparatory to the hearing on its case before the Subversive Activities Control Board, scheduled to begin in Washington on November 23, 1953, the Council on African Affairs filed with the Board the following formal answer to the allegations advanced by the Attorney-General of the United States pursuant to the terms of the Internal Security (McCarran) Act.

* * *

In answer to the Petition dated August 28, 1953, from Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., to the Subversive Activities Control Board "for an order requiring the Council on African Affairs, Inc., to register with the Attorney General as required by Section 7 (b), (c), and (d) of the Internal Security Act of 1950", the Council on African Affairs categorically denies the Attorney General's allegation that it is a "Communist-front" organization. It categorically denies the Attorney General's allegations that "the Council has been and is substantially directed, dominated and controlled by the Communist Party, and has been and is primarily operated for the purpose of giving aid and support to the Communist Party".

The Council on African Affairs is a non-partisan organization; it is not dominated by nor does it owe allegiance to any political party. The Council is directed and controlled by its own officers.

<u>The True Purpose of the Council</u>

The single and consistent purpose for which the Council on African Affairs has existed, and which has been the basis determining all its activities, has been to provide accurate information on the conditions and struggles of the peoples of Africa and to promote and support their welfare and efforts toward liberation.

These objectives of the Council on African Affairs are a matter of public record in the Certificate of Incorporation of the organization, filed in New York State, October 29, 1941, and in numerous publications of the Council and statements of its leaders. The Attorney General in his petition not only fails to deny the existence or the validity of these objectives for which the Council strives; he does not even once allude to them.

The only valid and final test of the purposes of any organization is to study the <u>whole range of its activities</u> - what it <u>does</u>. In the Attorney General's petition of more than forty paragraphs, except for reference to certain alleged Communist-inspired actions of the Council relating to policies of the United Nations and the United States Government, there is only one single sentence dealing with the actual work of the Council in pursuance of the objectives indicated above, one sentence (I, second paragraph) stating that the Council "prepared and distributed" "New Africa" and a "Newsletter" (full title: "Spotlight on Africa Newsletter"). The Attorney General might have added that this publication has been issued monthly under the two titles for the past ten years, since 1943, and numbers among its regular subscribers

several public and university libraries, as well as United Nations and other governmental representatives, anthropologists, religious leaders, and others with professional interests in Africa.

The information services of the Council include also the publication and distribution of pamphlets, -- the most recent, published May, 1953, entitled "Resistance Against Fascist Enslavement in South Africa", -- factual memoranda, and other materials dealing with the cultural and historical traditions and background of African society in all sections of the continent; the origin and nature of present-day economic, social and political problems confronting the peoples in the various colonies and in Liberia, Ethiopia, and the Union of South Africa; and the place of Africa in world affairs.

The normal research activity of the Council takes the form of the perusal and digest of newspapers, periodicals, books and government reports received directly from various areas of Africa, similar materials concerned with Africa but published in Europe or this country, and United Nations documents bearing on trust territories and other colonial and self-governing territories in Africa. Additional information is derived from regular correspondence with African organizations and leaders in South Africa and other areas of the continent.

The above-mentioned materials have been organized in a catalogued library and indexed files. The Council has prepared several special subject bibliographies and a 15-page "Africa Bibliography" of materials published during the period from January, 1945, to February, 1950. The library and files of the Council are used by graduate and under-graduate students, journalists, and others. As an example of this research service of the Council we may cite the expression of thanks "for your assistance in my search for bibliographical information of Africa" received June 5, 1947, from Ruth C. Sloan, Chief of the African Branch, Area Division Near East and Africa, Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs, United States Department of State.

In addition to the foregoing, the Council undertakes to supply a news release service, to furnish exhibit materials, and to answer numerous informational queries received from all sections of the country and abroad. Other avenues of general dissemination of information are through lectures, forums and conferences sponsored by the Council on African Affairs or by other organizations at which representatives of the Council have participated.

Some Examples of the Council's Service for African Welfare and Freedom

It is possible to present here only a bare outline of some of the highlights of the Council's activities on behalf of the welfare and advancement of the peoples of Africa, during the sixteen years of its existence. These activities include:

(1) the advancement of proposals, endorsed by hundreds of prominent American citizens, for the just solution through the United Nations of political, economic and social problems in the Union of South Africa and the former mandated and other dependent territories of Africa;

(2) conducting a nation-wide campaign of assistance to starving Africans in the Cape Province of the Union of South Africa, which resulted in the forwarding of considerable financial aid and food supplies for the relief of the starvation victims;

(3) rallying American aid and support in times of crisis in African affairs such as the general strike in Nigeria in 1945, the strike of African workers in the gold mines of South Africa in 1946, the arrest of Kwame Nkrumah and other leaders during the Gold Coast crisis of 1948, the shooting down of striking mine workers in Nigeria in 1949,

the United Nations' decisions in 1949 on the status and future of Italy's former African colonies; the French Government's wholesale arrests, killings, and campaign of terror against the Rassemblement Democratique Africain in French West Africa the same year; the shooting down of African workers on American-owned rubber and iron ore properties in Liberia in 1950; the British order in 1950 exiling Seretse Khama, leader of the Bamangwato in Bechuanaland; the brutal armed suppression of national liberation movements in Tunisia and Morocco in 1951-52; the struggle of South Africa's ten million non-white peoples, expressed through their heroic Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws during 1952, against the Malan Government's vicious racist oppression; and the continuing desperate struggle of Kenya Africans for land, liberty, and life.

In support of South African resistance to fascist enslavement the Council on Affairs circulated and secured wide endorsement of a petition to the President of the United States calling upon him "to halt United States assistance in any form to the Government of the Union of South Africa, and to denounce publicly that government's racist program as an international menace.". The Council also collected and forwarded $2,500.00 for the aid of the children and families of the more than 8,000 men and women who were sent to jail during the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws.

The officers of the Council have corresponded with and sent numerous documents to the United States and United Nations officials, and its leaders have advanced the organization's views in conferences with State Department officials in 1944 and 1945, with Mr. Francis B. Sayre, United States representative to the United Nations Trusteeship Council, October 28, 1947, with Mr. John Foster Dulles, United States representative to the United Nations, April 27, 1949, and with other officials.

The Council has since 1945 maintained an authorized observer at the sessions of the United Nations in order to be able to report directly and interpret the work of the world organization in its relation to Africa. It has sought every opportunity to further United Nations action in the interests of the peoples of Africa. During the 1947 session of the General Assembly, for example, the Council's intervention on the question of South West Africa was cited by the representative of India, Sir Maharaj Singh, and its views regarding the granting of a hearing to the Ewe representative were reported by Mr. Sayre. The most recent action of the Council in this area of work was the forwarding in July, 1953, of a detailed Memorandum on "The Government's Policy and Practice of Racial Discrimination and Oppression in the Union of South Africa" to the United Nations Commission charged with the study of that question.

Testimonials to Council Refute False Charges

Numerous expressions of warm appreciation of these efforts of the Council on their behalf have been received from the leaders of the fight against Malanism, from the leaders of the Kenya African Union, from Seretse Khama, from West African labor and political spokesmen, and from youth, women, teachers, and others in various African territories. This testimony, dating from 1942 to the present year, is the most definitive and irrefutable proof that the Council's work has in fact been directed toward promoting the welfare and liberation of the peoples of Africa, and not, as alleged by the Attorney General, "for the purpose of giving aid and support to the Communist Party".

Those who struggle against imperialist and racist oppression are not misled by the Attorney General's branding of the Council as "subversive." Since hearing of that action the foremost African and Indian organizations of South Africa have reiterated their support for the Council on African Affairs. The Secretary-General of the African National Congress, Mr. W. M. Sisulu, wrote on June 9, 1953:

"The African National Congress highly appreciates the good work and tireless efforts made by your Council in educating our American Negro brothers and the public of America as a whole. We also express our gratitude for the assistance you have given us in our Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws...."

The Secretary of the South African Indian Congress, Mr. Yusuf Cachalia, wrote on May 18, 1953:

"The South African Indian Congress expresses its warm solidarity with the Council on African Affairs. The non-white peoples of South Africa, engaged in a struggle for freedom, will long remember the support given them by the Council and the valuable efforts it made to bring before the American public the facts of the savage racial oppression practiced in South Africa.

"Efforts to outlaw the Council on African Affairs as 'subversive' only make clearer the true character of American reaction which on the one hand still practices discrimination against Negroes at home and now tries to prevent Americans from learning the facts of the freedom struggles being waged on the African continent".

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Further answer to the Attorney General's charge that the Council "throughout its existence" has been the agent and servant of the Communist Party may be found in other commendations of the organization's work such as that of Sir Maharaj Singh, who spoke of the Council's "excellent work" in a letter from Bombay, December 8, 1948, to the organization's secretary, Dr. Hunton; or that of Senator Harley M. Kilgore, who wrote in 1946:

"The Council on African Affairs deserves the wholehearted support of every American for its great fight to secure freedom and full democratic rights for the oppressed and starving South Africans and other colonial peoples.....The world can and must move forward with freedom for all peoples. We can not and we must not accept anything less. Every American who supports the Council's drive to aid the starving South Africans will be striking a solid blow for world freedom".

And in 1947, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt wrote:

"I am very glad of this opportunity to send my greetings and good wishes to the Council on African Affairs on the occasion of their 10th anniversary. I hope you will meet with continued success."

<u>On What Does the Attorney General Base His Charges?</u>

As has been already stated, Attorney General Brownell in his petition to the Subversive Activities Control Board has wholly ignored the above-outlined record of the Council's work. That record is readily available to the public in the organization's publications; it was surely available to the Justice Department. In making his charges, however, the Attorney General states,

"The sources of my information and the grounds of my belief are the investigative reports made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation with reference to the Council on African Affairs, Inc."

The trustworthiness of the F.B.I. files has only just recently been called into serious question in the cases of Charles E. Bohlen, President Eisenhower's appointee as Ambassador to the Soviet Union, whom Senator McCarthy assailed, of Mrs. Mildred McAfee Horton, who failed to secure verification of her appointment to represent the United States in the United Nations Economic and Social Commission, and of Representative Robert L. Condon, who was barred from witnessing atomic tests -- all because of derogatory information concerning them in the files of the F.B.I. Writing on the case of Mrs. Horton in the New York World Telegram and Sun, May 28, 1953, Thomas L. Stokes said:

> "The F.B.I. reports are secret because they contain all sorts of hearsay, unverified material, and often spite stuff from prejudiced persons".

This is the sort of "evidence," together with the bought-and-paid-for testimony of professional stool-pigeons who find ready employment in the present period, which is to be weighed against the solid record of the Council's achievement.

The same F.B.I. "evidence," or as much of it as had been collected up to that time, was presumably also the basis of Attorney General Tom Clark's designation of the Council on African Affairs on his list of "subversive" organizations in 1947. This brand was placed upon the Council without prior notice, without trial, without the hearing of evidence, without the opportunity of rebuttal or answer. Nor did Mr. Clark, or his successor as Attorney General, offer any definition of the meaning of "subversive activities." Though the Attorney General's "Subversive" list had no legal force, it nevertheless achieved its purpose of making the designated organizations suspect in the public eye, preparing the way for the next step, the McCarran Act.

McCarran Act Makes a Mockery of the Bill of Rights

The Council on African Affairs maintains the contention, as stated in its motion which the Subversive Activities Control Board has denied, that the provisions and procedures laid down in the Internal Security (McCarran) Act of 1950 are violative of constitutional guarantees. The major national organizations of the country, including those representing labor, the church, and the Negro people, all denounced this Act and the Mundt-Nixon Bill, which it paralleled, as unconstitutional and un-American. In his veto message on the McCarran Bill, President Truman said:

> "There is no more fundamental axiom of American freedom than the familiar statement: In a free country we punish men for the crimes they commit but never for the opinions they have...The course proposed by this bill... would make a mockery of the Bill of Rights and of our claims to stand for freedom in the world."

The McCarran Act makes a finding of guilt automatic by the very nature of its definition of "Communist-action" and "Communist-front" organizations, in which the criterion of parallelism of ideas as the basis of judgment is established. As President Truman stated in his veto message, in terms of the Act an organization can be found to be a "Communist-front" body

> "based solely upon 'the extent to which the positions taken or advanced by it from time to time on matters of policy do not deviate from those' of the Communist movement.
>
> "This provision could easily be used to classify as a Communist-front organization any organization which is advocating a single policy or objective which is also being urged by the Communist Party or by a Communist foreign government. In fact, this may be the intended result....

"It is not enough to say that this probably would not be done. The mere fact that it could be done shows clearly how the bill would open a Pandora's box of opportunities for official condemnation of organizations and individuals for perfectly honest opinions which happen to be stated also by Communists...

"And what kind of effect would these provisions have on normal expression of political views? Obviously, if this law were on the statute books, the part of prudence would be to avoid saying anything that might be construed by someone as not deviating sufficiently from the current Communist-propaganda line. And since no one could be sure in advance what views were safe to express, the inevitable tendency would be to express no views on controversial subjects."

Despite this clear warning, in the hysterical atmosphere of the outbreak of the Korean War, Congress chose to over-ride the President's veto, and the present implementation of the McCarran Act in the case of the Council on African Affairs and other organizations has set our country upon the same path of police-state thought-control as in Hitler's Germany and Malan's South Africa.

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The Attorney General's Accusations against the Council

Attorney General Brownell accuses the Council on African Affairs of six instances, "among others" unspecified, of supporting and advocating views "in furtherance of the objectives of the (Communist) Party." The first instance alleged is that

"The Council seeks to create and further hostility among the negroes (spelled thus with small 'n' in original petition) in this country to the United States for the purpose of rendering this segment of the population susceptible to Communist indoctrination."

Besides being ludicrously false and artfully vague (hostility to what or whom in the United States?), this allegation and others contain an implicit insult to the Negro people for they rest upon the racist assumption that Negroes do not and cannot think for themselves, are not intelligent enough to determine their own opinions and attitudes on the basis of the experience of their daily lives, and merely follow like sheep wherever they are led.

In addition, the Attorney General cites eight instances, again "among others" unspecified, in support of his contention that the Council "never knowingly has deviated from the views and policies advanced by the Communist Party." Among the instances listed are the Council's position "with respect to the incident occurring in 1949 at Peekskill, N. Y., involving Paul Robeson," the Council's attitude toward the House Committee on Un-American Activities, its support of the Soviet Union's colonial policies, its opposition to certain appointments made by the President of the United States, its attitude toward the Military Assistance Bill and North Atlantic Pact, on the Korean War, and toward the admission of the Chinese People's Republic to the United Nations.

The Council on African Affairs certainly will not retract one word of its protest against the vicious exhibition of fascist mob-violence at Peekskill. It does not deny its opposition to and criticism of certain policies of the United States Government. It <u>does</u> deny that its attitudes on these matters have been patterned after the views and policies advanced by the Communist Party or any other organization. When it regarded government policies as inimical to the interests of the people of Africa and of the United States, the Council has publicly said so, stating its reasons. The Council does not subscribe to the doctrine that when the Communist

Party says something, others must automatically reject it or say the opposite. The Council will not buy the safety of political conformity by selling out its principles.

No One is Safe Under the McCarran Law

One could easily cite a wide variety of non-Communist expression paralleling and substantiating the views cited by the Attorney General as evidence of the Council's alleged non-deviation from the policies of the Communist Party. But the Government's contention, as voiced by the Justice Department's representative, Mr. Paisley, in the first case to be considered under the McCarran Act, that of the Communist Party, is that:

> "It doesn't matter whether the particular view or policy is held by many people, by some people, or by all the people of the world. The issue is whether the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the U.S. hold similar views."

Against a law based upon such senseless logic who is safe?

In an address in Philadelphia, March 3, 1952, Justice William O. Douglas said:

> "We throw our weight on the side of the status quo; we pour billions upon billions of dollars into projects designed to stabilize the situation; we prop up feudal overlords; we align ourselves against the revolutions; we become more and more identified with the forces that cause these revolutions; we become more and more the spokesmen for the vested interests, less and less the inspiration for the peoples of Asia.
>
> "We are apt to talk about these problems as foreign policy issues. But they start at home. The state we are in, the drift of our affairs, reflect a dangerous domestic condition...
>
> "There is an ominous trend in this nation. We are developing tolerance only for the orthodox point of view on world affairs, intolerance for new or different approaches. Orthodoxy normally has stood in the path of change. Orthodoxy was always the stronghold of the status quo....."

The relationship between our government's opposition to social change abroad and its punishment of non-conformists at home is clearly exemplified in the following extract from the Government's brief in the Court of Appeals justifying its revocation of Paul Robeson's passport:

> "Furthermore, even if the complaint had alleged, which it does not, that the passport was cancelled <u>solely</u> because of the appellant's recognized status as a spokesman for large sections of Negro Americans, we submit that this would not amount to an abuse of discretion in view of appellant's frank admission that he has been for years extremely active politically in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa. Though this may be a highly laudable aim, the diplomatic embarrassment that could arise from the presence abroad of such a political meddler, travelling under the protection of an American passport, is easily imaginable. After all, 'the President is the sole organ of the federal government in the field of international relations'".

Now the Attorney General says in effect that the Council on African Affairs is likewise a "political meddler" and must be forced to register as a "subversive" organization, incurring such odious and onerous restrictions or penalties that the organization would be compelled to cease its existence.

Outlawing Anti-Imperialism in America as Well as Africa

The Malan government of South Africa also regards the leaders and organizations of the people's struggle there for democratic rights as "political meddlers" and prosecutes them under a so-called Suppression of Communism Act. Jails, concentration camps, and the firing squad or hangman's noose are prescribed for those who today oppose the colonial status quo in the East and North African territories ruled by Britain and France. Will our own government, besides giving financial and military aid to the European imperialists who would keep Africa in chains, also prescribe jails and concentration camps for those Americans who support the cause of African liberation?

Criticism of the United States policy in Africa today comes not only from Africans but is finding increasing expression in this country, particularly in the Negro press and other areas of Negro opinion. Negro Americans and many other Americans are not at all inclined to accept the official view that the main danger to Africa (as everywhere else) is Communism. This is an area of thought in which it will be most difficult to enforce conformity, whatever the fate of the Council on African Affairs may be in the present McCarran Act proceedings.

To Save Our Rights the Use of this Instrument of Censorship Must be Stopped!

The Council concludes its answer to the Attorney General's petition against it by citing certain legal opinions which go to the heart of the question at issue. Our Courts have held that in a democracy no governmental authority "can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion." (Board of Education v. Barnette, 319 U.S. 624, 641, 642.) Further, the Supreme Court has declared,

> "The very purpose of the First Amendment is to preclude public authority from assuming a guardianship of the public's mind through regulating press, speech and religion. In this field every person must be his own watchman for truth, because the forefathers did not want any government to separate the truth from the false for us." (Thomas v. Collins, 323 U.S. 511, 545).

Freedom of expression is the guarantee that government is responsible to the will of the people. The McCarran Act provides for compulsory regulation of public expression in accordance with the will of the government holding power.

President Eisenhower has recently stated (letter of June 24, 1953 to the American Library Association's annual conference):

> "...we know that freedom cannot be served by the devices of the tyrant. As it is an ancient truth that freedom cannot be legislated into existence, so is it no less obvious that freedom cannot be censored into existence, and any who act as if freedom's defenses are to be found in suppression and suspicion and fear confess a doctrine that is alien to America."

The McCarran Act, we submit, is an instrument of censorship, of suppression and suspicion and fear. We therefore call upon President Eisenhower to direct the Attorney General to withdraw his petition against the Council on African Affairs, and to halt the present proceedings in the Subversive Activities Control Board.

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS INC.
53 West 125 Street, New York 27, N. Y.

October 23, 1953

By: (signed)
W. A. Hunton, Secretary

[Council on African Affairs]

MEMORANDUM

December 17
1953

To: Our Friends and All Supporters of the First Amendment
From: The Officers of the Council on African Affairs
Subject: Status of the Council's Case before the Subversive Activities Control Board

In order to bring you up to date, we wish to report that the start of the Council's hearing in Washington before the Subversive Activities Control Board, originally set for Nov. 23, was postponed, and no new date has yet been given. The postponement resulted from a new motion made by the Attorney General to rule out virtually the whole of our Answer to the charges against us on the basis of being "irrelevant, impertinent, argumentative", etc. Our attorney has filed a counter-motion defending the contents of the Answer and requesting the opportunity to argue the matter orally. We are awaiting the Board's determination.

We believe it important for our friends to understand the implications of this latest move by the Attorney General. The Council takes the position that "the only valid and final test of the purposes of any organization is to study the whole range of its activities - what it does." Therefore, in our Answer to the charges, we attempted to present a rounded picture of the Council's work for African freedom. But the Attorney General seeks to exclude such information from our testimony and narrow down the issue to suit his purpose of proving the Council to be a "Communist front" organization. It amounts to saying, "Have you stopped beating your wife? Answer Yes or No!"

To illustrate, the Attorney General charged that "In furtherance of the objectives of the (Communist) Party, representatives of the Council have met with, and given assistance to, representatives of the Soviet Union to further the positions of representatives of the Soviet Union with respect to matters relating to Negroes and to the African colonies."

In our Answer we said: "Respondent acknowledges that its representatives have at various times had conferences with governmental representatives of THE UNITED STATES, THE UNITED KINGDOM, INDIA, PAKISTAN, AND the Soviet Union. The respondent avers that the purpose of these conferences was not, as alleged, to further the objectives of the Communist Party, BUT TO ADVANCE INFORMATION AND VIEWS OF THE RESPONDENT OF VARIOUS AFRICAN PROBLEMS AND IN SUPPORT OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLES' INTERESTS AND DEMANDS."

The capitalized words are what the Attorney General wants to have omitted from our answer as being "not responsive to the petition, impertinent and immaterial"! And from the main section of our Answer, consisting of eight pages, a copy of which was sent you (additional copies are still available), all but one sentence and part of another was ordered cut out. It was said to be "surplusage tendered to becloud the issue."

McCarthyism, of which the McCarran Act is the legal embodiment, sets its own rules of procedure and code of due process. And thereby the innocent have no possible chance of a fair hearing. The only defense we have is to get rid of McCarthyism and the McCarran Act! This is the prime task of the hour.

We wish to express our appreciation of the many fine letters of support and the contributions toward our legal defense which we have received. If you are one of those who has not yet responded, we earnestly hope that you will. The need is urgent.

We take pleasure in enclosing a reprint of a timely and important article by Professor Commager. If you have read it - or when you have read it - please pass it on to a friend.

[Council on African Affairs]

I.

2 In submitting answers to the facts alleged in the Attorney General's petitionx concerning the Council on African Affairs addressed to the Subversive Activities Control Board, as required by section 201.7 of the Rules of Procedure under the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, Respondent states that while the Attorney General's general allegations, III (1), (2), (3), and (4), embrace the entire history of the Council from its "inception" in 1937, the signer of this Answer, the Secretary of the Council on African Affairs, can claim direct knowledge of all aspects of the organisation's activities only for the period since June 1948. Where direct knowledge xxxxxx is lacking, the answers which follow are based upon available information and the signer's belief.

Answers to Facts Alleged in Section III

(1) (a) The Council has no knowledge of the facts alleged.

(1) (b) The work of the Council has been discussed with many leaders in many organisations, though usually such leaders, because of their personal interest in the cause of African liberation and the program of the Council, were acting in their individual capacity rather than as official representatives of their organizations. Such was the case in the instance of Communist Party officials with whom such discussions were held.. The Council has no knowledge of Communist Party officials having been "regularly consulted" in regard to the affairs of the organisation. Mr. Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., a Communist Party leader whose recognition as an outstanding citizen is attested by his election to the City Council of New York, was one of several leaders in various fields of public life invited to address a public mass meeting sponsored by the Council in 1946 to which Senator Harbey M. Kilgore among others sent greetings. Except for instances of this same character, the Council has no knowledge of the participation of Communist Party functionaries in its affairs.

(1)(c) The Council denies this allegation.

(1) (d) The Council denies this allegation.

(1) (e) The Council denies this allegation.

(2) (a) The Council denies this allegation.

(2) (b) The Council denies this allegation.

(2) (c) The Council accepts contributions from all persons interested in supporting the cause of African freedom and does not question the political affiliations of its contributors. ~~[illegible]~~ No contributions are accepted which entail the Council's adherence to the political or other program of any organization.

(2) (d) The Council has no knowledge of the facts alleged.

(2) (e) The Council seeks the widest possible favorable publicity in order to extend the area of its work, and its news releases and publications are accordingly sent to a large number of publications, including some which support the Communist progam. The same materials have been sent to the New York Times and the New York Daily Worker, for example; but the Council had no control over what use, if any, was made of the materials by either publication.

(2) (f) The Council has no knowledge of the facts alleged.

(3) (a) The Council denies this allegation.

(3) (b) The Council denies this allegation.

(3) (c) The Council admits that it has sought to promote friendly relations between all the people of the United States and the people of the Soviet Union, and has urged a policy of peaceful settlement of the differences between the governments of the two countries. The Council has done this ~~in~~ solely in the ~~best~~ interest of promoting world peace, and not, as alleged, for the purpose of furthering the objectives of the Communist Party.

(3) (d) The Council denies the allegation.

(3) (e) Representatives of the Council have at various times had conferences with governmental representatives of the United States (see Part II of this answer), the United Kingdom, India, Pakistan, and the Soviet Union. The purpose of these conferences was not, as alleged, to furthr the objectives of the Communist Party, but to advance ~~the~~ information and the views of the

Council on various African problems and in support of the African peoples' interests and demands.

(3)(f) The Council denies this allegation.

(4) The Council makes a general denial of all the allegations under this section. Further explanation of theCouncil's position on the matters dealt with xxxx is given in Part II of this answer.

(4)(a) The Council's expression concerning the shocking display of mob violence at Peekskill was the product of its own independent judgment. Is it the Attorney General's opinion that the Council should have condoned or remained silent concerning the un-American and outrageous occurrence in which the life of the Council's chairman was endangered?

(4)(b) The Council's views concerning the House Un-American Activities Committee represented an independent judgment. Does the Attorney General hold that all the many critics of that body, including President Roosevelt,were simply supporting the views of the Communist Party?

(4)(c) The Council has presented objective factual reports on the position taken by the Soviet Union, the United States, and other countries with reference to various colonial issues, and has expressed its endorsement of those policies ~~xxxx~~ which in the Council's judgment coincided with the interests of the colonial peoples affected.

(4)(d) The Council is unable to give more than a general denial to this allegation ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ because no specific instances ~~xxxxx~~ are cited.

(4)(e) The Council did not advocate or support any position with regard to the Military Assistance Bill. It has, however, stated the self-evident fact that "without the military assistance of the United States already granted or promised, the European powers could not now maintain the imperialist control they exercise in Africa and other colonial areas." And the Council does opposes the policy of aiding in the suppression of the liberation struggles of subject peoples. Not knowing what other federal legislation the Attorney General refers to, the Council can make only a general denial to this alle-

gation.

(4)(f) The Council's statement on the North Atlantic Pact was concerned with the consequences of that program upon the interests of the people of Africa and upon the outlook for world peace. Its statement on the Korean War voiced the thinking of a number of prominent Negro citizens. The interests and views of the Communist Party did not motivate, influence, or enter in any way into the making of either statement.

(4)(g) The Council's stand on the admission of the Chinese People's Republic into the United Nations is prompted solely by the Council's belief that this is one of the essential prerequisites for a genuine solution of the problems of Asia and the achievement of international harmony and lasting peace in that area. Is the Government of India, which holds identical views, also to be accused of advocating and supporting the position of the Communist Party of the United States?

(4)(h) During the entire existance of the United Nations, the Council on African Affairs has called for public support of the world organization's objectives as set forth in its Charter. There has been ample evidence, however--evidence reported by the Council and remarked upon by the representatives of Pkistan, India, and other member-states in addressing the General Assembly--of the deliberate intention of the colony-holding members of the United Nations to evade one of the basic purposes for which the organization was founded, namely, "to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. As long as the demands and rights of subject peoples are neglected by the United Nations, and as long as the organization remains primarily an instrument of power politics, , no one, regardless of his political philosophy, can truthfully say that it is fulfilling its functions as an instrument for peace. But it should be added that the Council does not agree with those who--for quite different reasons--would take the United States out of the United Nations and "kick the U.N. out of the U.S." (One

might raise the question, incidentally, whether <u>that</u> policy and its advocates are regarded as subversive by the Attorney General.) The charge as stated is denied, as are all others under (4).

25-61-44

II.

In answer to the Petition dated April 20, 1953, from Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr. to the SACB "for an order requiring the Council on African Affairs, Inc. to register with the Attorney General as required by Section 7(b), (c), and (d) of the Internal Security Act of 1950," the Council on African Affairs categorically denies the Attorney General's allegation that it is a "Communist-front" organization. It categorically denies the Attorney General's allegations that "the Council has been and is substantially directed, dominated and controlled by the Communist Party, and has been and is primarily operated for the purpose of giving aid and support to the Communist Party."

25-61.45

The Council on African Affairs is a non-partisan organization; it is not dominated by nor does it owe allegiance to any political party. The Council is directed and controlled by its own officers: Paul Robeson, Chairman; Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, Vice Chairman; Mrs. Rosalie C. Pinckney, Treasurer; and Dr. W. A. Hunton, Secretary; the latter functioning as the executive officer of the organization since June, 1948.

The single and consistent purpose for which the CAA has existed, and which has been the basis determining all its activities has been to provide accurate information on the condition and struggles of the peoples of Afries and to promote and support their welfare and efforts toward liberation.

These objectives of the Council on African Affairs are a matter of public record in the Certificate of Incorporation of the organization, filed in New York State, October 29, 1951, and in numerous publications of the Council and statements of its leaders. The Attorney General in his petition not only fails to deny the truth or the validity of these objectives for which the Council strives; he does not even once allude to them.

In the entire 36 paragraphs of the Attorney General's petition, except for reference to certain alleged Communist-inspired actions of the Council relating to policies of the United Nations and the United States Government, there is only one single sentence dealing with the actual work of the Council in pursuance of the objectives indicated above, one sentence (I, second paragraph) stating that the Council "prepared and distributed" "New Africa" and a "Newsletter" (full title: "Spotlight on Africa Newsletter").

The Attorney General might have added that this publication has been issued monthly under the two titles for the past ten years, since 1943, numbers among its regular subscribers several public and university libraries, as well as United Nations and other governmental representatives, anthropologists, religious leaders, and others with professional interests in Africa.

The information services of the Council include also the publication and distribution of pamphlets, -- the most recent, published May, 1953, entitled "Resistance Against Fascist Enslavement in South Africa", -- factual memoranda, and other materials ~~(see list of publications in Appendix A)~~ dealing with the cultural and historical traditions and background of African society in all sections of the continent; the origin and nature of present-day economic, social and political problems confronting the peoples in the various colonies and in Liberia, Ethiopia, and the Union of South Africa; and the place of Africa in world affairs.

35-61-40

The normal research activity of the Council takes the form of the perusal and digest of newspapers, periodicals, books and government reports received directly from various areas of Africa, similar materials concerned with Africa but published in Europe or this country, and United Nations documents bearing on trust territories and other colonial and self-governing territories in Africa. Additional information is derived from regular correspondence with African organizations and leaders in South Africa and other areas of the continent.

The above-mentioned materials have been organized in a catalogued library and indexed files. The Council has prepared several special subject bibliographies and a 15-page "Africa Bibliography" of materials published during the period from January, 1945, to February, 1950. The library and files of the Council are used by graduate and undergraduate students, journalists, and others. As an example of this research service of the Council we may cite the expression of thanks "for your assistance in my search for bibliographical information on Africa" received June 5, 1947, from Ruth C. Sloan, Chief of the African Branch, Area Division Near East and Africa, Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs, United States Department of State.

In addition to the foregoing, the Council undertakes to supply a news release service, to furnish exhibit materials, and to answer numerous informational queries received from all sections of the country and abroad. Other avenues of general dissemination of information are through lectures, forums and conferences sponsored by the Council on African Affairs or by other organizations at which representatives of the Council have participated.

It is possible to present here only a bare outline of some of the highlights of the Council's activities on behalf of the welfare and advancement of the peoples of Africa, during the sixteen years of its existence. These activities included:

(1) the advancement of proposals, endorsed by hundreds of prominent American citizens, for the just solution through the United Nations of political, economic and social problems in the Union of South Africa and the former mandated and otherdependent territories of Africa;

(2) conducting a nation-wide campaign of assistance to starving Africans in the Cape Province of the Union of South Africa, which resulted in the forwarding of considerable finanacial aid and food supplies for the relief of the starvation victims;

(3) rallying American aid and support in times of crisis in African affairs such as the general strike in Nigeria in 1945, the strike of African workers in the gold mines of South Africa in 1946, the arrest of Kwame Nkrumah and other leaders during the Gold Coast crisis of 1948, the shooting down of striking mine workers in Nigeria in 1949, the United Nations' decisions in 1949 on the status and future of Italy's former African colonies, the French Government's wholesale arrests, killings, and campaign of terror against the Rassemblement Democratique Africain in French West Africa the same year; the shooting down of African workers on American-owned rubber and iron ore properties in Liberia in 1950; the British order in 1950 exiling Seretse Khama, leader of the Bamangwato in Bechuanaland; the brutal armed suppression of national liberation movements in Tunisia and Morocco in 1951-52; the struggle of South Africa's ten million non-white peoples, expressed through their

heroic Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws during 1952, against the Malan Government's vicious racist oppression; and the continuing desperate struggle of Kenya Africans for land, liberty, and life.

In support of South African resistance to fascist enslavement the Council on African Affairs circulated and secured wide endorsement of a petition to the President of the United States calling upon him "to halt United States assistance in any form to the the Government of the Union of South Africa, and to denounce publicly that government's racist program as an international menace." The Council also collected and forwarded over ~~$25000~~ $2500 for the aid of the children and families of the more than 8000 men and women who were sent to jail during the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws

The officers of the Council have corresponded with and sent numerous documents to United States and United Nations officials, and its leaders have advanced the organization's views in conferences with State Department officials in 1944 and 1945, with Mr. Francis B. Sayre, United States representative to the United Nations Trusteeship Council, on October 28, 1947, and with Mr. John Foster Dulles, United States representative to the United Nations, on April 27, 1949, and with other officials.

The Council has since 1945 maintained an authorized observer at the sessions of the United Nations in order to be able to report directly and interpret the work of the world organization in its relation to Africa. It has sought every opportunity to further support United Nations action in the interests of the peoples of Africa. During the 1947 session of the General Assembly, for example, the Council's interventionon the question of South West Africa was cited by the reprerepresentative of India, Sir Maharaj Singh, and its views regarding the granting of a hearing to the Ewe representative were reported by Mr. Sayre. The most recent action of the Council in this area of work was the forwarding in July, 1953, of a detailed Memorandum on "The Government's Policy and Practice of Racial Discrimination and Oppression in the Union of South Africa" to the United Nations Commission charged with the study of that question.

Numerous expressions of warm appreciation of these efforts of the Council on their behalf have been received from the leaders of the fight against Malanism, from the leaders of the Kenya African Union, from Seretse Khama, from West African labor

and political spokesmen, and from youth, women, teachers, and others in various African territories. This testimony, dating from 1942 to the present year, is the most definitive and irrefutable proof that the Council's work has in fact been directed toward promoting the welfare and liberation of the peoples of Africa, and not, as alleged by the Attorney General, "for the purpose of giving aid and support to the Communist Party."

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Those who struggle against imperialist and racist oppression are not misled by the Attorney General's branding of the Council as "subversive." Since hearing of that action the foremost African and Indian organizations of South Africa have reiterated their support for the Council on African Affairs. The Secretary-General of the African National Congress, Mr. W.M. Sisulu, wrote on June 9, 1953:

> "The African National Congress highly appreciates the good work and tireless efforts made by your Council in educating our American Negro brothers and the public of America as a whole. We also express our gratitude for the assistance you have given us in our Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws. . . ."

The Secretary of the South African Indian Congress, Mr. Yusuf Cachalia, wrote on May 18, 1953:

> "The South African Indian Congress expresses its warm solidarity with the Council on Africa n Affairs. The Non-White peoples of South Africa, engaged in a struggle for freedom, will long remember the support given them by the Council and the valuable efforts it made to bring before the American public the facts of the savage racial oppression practiced in South Africa.
>
> "Efforts to outlaw the Council on African Affairs as 'subversive' only make clearer the true character of American reaction which on the one hand still practices discrimination against Negroes at home and now tries to prevent Americans from learning the facts of the freedom struggles being waged on the African continent."

Further answer to the Attorney General's charge that the Council "throughout its existence" has been the agent and servant of the Communist Party may be found in other commendations of the organization's work such as that of Sir Maharaj Singh, who spoke of the Council's "excellent work" in a letter from Bombay, Dec. 8, 1948, to the organization's secretary, Dr. Hunton; or that of Senator Harley M. Kilgore, who wrote in 1946:

> "The Council on African Affairs deserves the wholehearted support of every American for its great fight to secure freedom and full democratic rights for the oppressed

and starving South Africans and other colonial peoples. . . The world can and must move forward with freedom for all peoples. We can not and we must not accept anything less. Every American who supports the Council's drive to aid the starving South Africans will be striking a solid blow for world freedom."

And in 1947, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt wrote:

"I am very glad of this opportunity to send my greetings and good wishes to the Council on African Affairs on the occasion of their 10th anniversary. I hope you will meet with continued success."

- - - - -

As has been already stated, Attorney General Brownell in his petition to the Subversive Activities Control Board has wholly ignored the above-outlined record of the Council's work. That record is readily available to the public in the organization's publications; it was surely available to the Justice Department. In making his charges, however, the Attorney General states,

"The sources of my information and the grounds of my belief are the investigative reports made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation with reference to the Council on African Affairs, Inc."

The trustworthiness of the F.B.I. files have only just recently been called into serious question in the cases of President Eisenhower's appointee as Ambassador to the Soviet Union, whom Senator McCarthy assailed; of Mrs. Mildred McAfee Horton, who failed to secure verification of her appointment to represent the United States in the United Nations Economic and Social Commission; and of Representative Robert L. Condon, who was barred from witnessing atomic tests -- all because of derogatory information concerning them in the files of the F.B.I. Writing on the case of Mrs. Horton in the New York World Telegram and Sun, May 28, 1953, Thomas L. Stokes said:

"The F.B.I. reports are secret because they contain all sorts of hearsay, unverified material, and often spite stuff from prejudiced persons."

This is the sort of "evidence", together with the bought-and-paid-for testimony of professional stool-pigeons who find ready employment in the present period, which is to be weighed against the solid record of the Council's achievement.

The same F.B.I. "evidence", or as much of it as had been collected up to that time, was presumably also the basis of Attorney General Tom Clark's designation of the Council on African Affairs on his list of "subversive" organizations in 1947. This brand was placed upon the Council without trial, without the hearing of evidence, with-

out the opportunity of rebuttal or answer. Nor did Mr. Clark, or his successor as Attorney General, offer any definition of the meaning of "subversive activities." Though the Attorney General's "subversive" list had no legal force, it nevertheless achieved its purpose of making the designated organizations suspect in the public eye, preparing the way for the next step, the McCarran Act.

The Council on African Affairs maintains the contention, as stated in its motion which the Subversive Activities Control Board has denied, that the provisions and procedures laid down in the Internal Security (McCarran) Act of 1950 are violative of constitutional guarantees. The major national organizations of the country, including those representing labor, the church, and the Negro people, all denounced this Act and the Mundt-Nixon Bill, which it paralleled, as unconstitutional and un-American. In his veto message on the McCarran Bill President Truman said:

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> "There is no more fundamental axiom of American freedom than the familiar statement: In a free country we punish men for the crimes they commit but never for the opinions they have. . . The course proposed by this bill . . . would make a mockery of the Bill of Rights and of our claims to stand for freedom in the world."

The McCarran Act makes a finding of guilt automatic by the very nature of its definition of "Communist-action" and "Communist-front" organizations, in which the criterion of parallelism of ideas as the basis of judgment is established. As President Truman stated in his veto message, in terms of the Act an organization can be found to be a "Communist-front" body

> "based solely upon 'the extent to which the positions taken or advanced by it from time to time on matters of policy do not deviate from those' of the Communist movement.
>
> "This provision could easily be used to classify as a Communist-front organization any organization which is advocating a single polivy or objective which is also being urged by the Communist Party or by a Communist foreign government. In fact, this may be the intended result. . .
>
> "It is not enough to say that this probably would not be done. The mere fact that it could be done shows clearly how the bill would open up a Pandora's box of opportunities for official condemnation of organizations and individuals for perfectly honest opinions which happen to be stated also by Communists. . .
>
> "And what kind of effect would these provisions have on the normal expression of political ideas views? Obviously, if this law were on the statute books, the part of prudence would be to avoid saying anything that might be construed by someone as not deviating sufficiently from the current Communist-prppaganda line. And since no one could be sure in advance what views were safe to express, the inevitable tendency would be to express no views on controversial subjects."

Despite this clear warning, in the hysterical atmosphere of the outbreak of the Korean War Congress chose to over-ride the President's veto, and the present implementation of the Mc Carran Act in the case of the Council on African Affairs and other organizations has set our country upon the same path of police-state thought-control as in Hitler's Germany and Malan's South Africa.

Attorney General Brownell accuses the Council of African Affairs of six instances, "among others" unspecified, of supporting and advocating views "in furtherance of the objectives of the (Communist) Party." The first instance alleged is that

> "the Council seeks to create and further hostility among the negroes (spelled thus with small 'n') in this country to the United States for the purpose of rendering this segment of the population susceptible to Communist indoctrination."

Besides being ludicrously false and ~~dis~~ artfully vague (hostility to what or whom in the United States?), this allegation and others contain an implicit insult to the Negro people for they rest upon the racist assumption that Negroes do not and can not think for themselves, are not intelligent enough to determine their own opinions and attitudes on the basis of the experience of their daily lives, and merely follow like sheep wherever they are led.

In addition, the Attorney General cites eight instances, again "among others" unspecified, in support of his contention that the Council "never knowingly has deviated from the views and policies advanced by the Communist Party." Among the instances listed are the Council's position "with respect to the incident occurring in 1949 at Peekskill,N.Y., involving Paul Robeson," the Council's attitude toward the House Committee on Un-American Activities, its support of the Soviet Union's colonial policies, its opposition to certain appointments made by the President of the United States, its attitude toward the Military Assistance Bill and North Atlantic Pact, on the Korean War, and toward the admission of the Chinese People's Republic to the United Nations.

The Council on African Affairs certainly will not retract one word of its protest against the vicious exhibition of fascist mob-violence at Peekskill. It does not deny its opposition to and criticism of certain policies of the United States

Government. It does deny that its attitudes on these matters have been patterned after the views and policies advanced by the Communist Party or any other organization. When it regarded government policies as inimical to the interests of the people of Africa and of the United States, the Council has publicly said so, stating its reasons. The Council does not subscribe to the doctrine that when the Communist Party says something, others must automatically reject it or say the opposite. The Council will not buy the safety of political conformity by selling out its principles

One could easily cite a wide variety of non-Communist expression paralleling and substantiating the views cited by the Attorney General as evidence of the Council's alleged non-deviation from the policies of the Communist Party. But the Government's contention, as voiced by the Justice Department's representative, Mr. Paisley, in the first case to be considered under the McCarran Act, that of the Communist Party, is that

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> "It doesn't matter whether the particular view or policy is held by many people, by some people, or by all the people of the world. The issue is whether the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the U.S. hold similar views."

Against a law based upon such senseless logic who is safe?

In an address in Philadelphia, March 3, 1952, Justice William O. Douglas said:

> "We throw our weight on the side of the status quo; we pour billions upon billions of dollars into projects designed to stabilize the situation; we prop up feudal overlords; we align ourselves against the revolutions; we become more and more identified with the forces that cause these revolutions; we become more and more the spokesmen for the vested interests, less and less the inspiration for the peoples of Asia.
>
> "We are apt to talk about these problems as foreign policy issues. But they start at home. The state we are in, the drift of our affairs, reflect a dangerous domestic condition. . .
>
> "There is an ominous trend in this nation. We are developing tolerance only for the orthodox point of view on world affairs, intolerance for new or different approaches. Orthodoxy normally has stood in the path of change. Orthodoxy was always the stronghold of the status quo. . . ."

The relationship between our government's opposition to social change abroad and its punishment of non-conformists at home is clearly exemplified in the following extract from the Government's brief in the Court of Appeals justifying its revocation of Paul Robeson's passport:

"Furthermore, even if the complaint had alleged, which it does not, that the

passport was cancelled solely because of the appellant's recognized status as a spokesman for large sections of Negro Americans, we submit that this would not amount to an abuse of discretion in view of appellant's frank admission that he has been for years extremely active politically in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa. Though this may be a highly laudable aim, the diplomatic embarrassment that could arise from the presence abroad of such a political meddler, travelling under the protection of an American passport, is easily imaginable. After all, 'the President is the sole organ of the federal government in the field of international relations.'"

Now the Attorney General says in effect that the Council on African Affairs is likewise a "political ~~meddler~~ meddler" and must be forced to register as a "subversive" organization, incurring such odious and onerous restrictions or penalties that the organization would be compelled to cease its existence.

The Malan government of South Africa also regards the leaders and organizations of the people's struggle ~~them~~ for democratic rights as "political meddlers" and prosecutes them under a so-called Suppression of Communism Act. Jails, concentration camps, and the firing squad or hangman's noose are ~~prese~~ prescribed for those who today oppose the colonial status quo in the East and North African territories ruled by Britain and France. Will our own government, besides giving financial and military aid to the European imperialists who would keep Africa in chains, , also ~~prese~~ prescribe jails and concentration camps for those Americans who support the cause of African liberation? The Secretary of the African National Congress, in his previously mentioned letterc to the Council, writes:

"It is not accidental that your organization has become the victim of the reactionary Eisenhower-McCarthy ruling clique who are conniving with other imperialistsb for the oppression and exploitation of millions of colonial and semi-colonial peoples. We are, however, confident that the progressive forces the world over, united as they are in their determination to expose and end oppression and domination of one group by another, will triumph, for their cause is just."

Criticism of United States policy in Africa today comes not only from Africans but is finding increasing expression in this country, particularly in the Negro press and other areas of Negro opinion. Negro Americans and many other Americans are not at all inclined to accept the official view that the main danger to Africa (as everywhere else) is Communism. This is an area of thought in which it will be most difficult to enforce conformity, whatever the fate of the Council on African

Affairs may be in the present McCarran Act proceedings.

The Council concludes its answer to the Attorney General's petition against it by citing certain legal opinions which go to the heart of the question at issue. Our courts have held that in a democracy no governmental authority "can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion." (Board of Education v. Barnette, 319 U.S. 624, 641, 642.) Further, the Supreme Court has declared,

> "The very purpose of the First Amendment is to preclude public authority from assuming a guardianship of the public's mind through regulating press, speech and religion. In this field every person must be his own watchman for truth, because the forefathers did not want any government to separate the truth from the false for us." (Thomas v. Collins, 323 U.S. 511, 545.)

Freedom of expression is the guarantee that government is responsible to the will of the people. The McCarran Act provides for compulsory regulation of public expression in accordance with the will of the government holding power.

President Eisenhower has recently stated (letter of June 24, 1953 to the American Library Association's annual conference):

> ". . . we know that freedom cannot be served by the devices of the tyrant. As it is an ancient truth that freedom cannot be legislated into existence, so is it no less obvious that freedom cannot be censored into existence, and any who act as if freedom's defenses are to be found in suppression and suspicion and fear confess a doctrine that is alien to America."

The McCarran Act, we submit, is an instrument of censorship, of suppression and suspicion and fear. We therefore call upon President Eisenhower to direct the Attorney General to withdraw hism petition against the Council on African Affairs and to halt the present proceedings in the Subversive Activities Control Board.

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[Council on African Affairs]

IN THE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD

HERBERT BROWNELL, JR., ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES,	*	
Petitioner,	*	
v.	*	Docket No. 110-53
COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, INC.,	*	
Respondent.	*	

ANSWER TO FIRST AMENDED PETITION

FIRST DEFENSE

The registration provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950, on their face and as attempted to be applied, violate the Constitution of the United States.

SECOND DEFENSE

RESPONDENT asserts, and incorporates herein, all the grounds previously advanced in Respondent's preliminary motions.

THIRD DEFENSE

A. The allegations of the first three unnumbered paragraphs of the petition are denied, except that the Respondent admits that it did not file a registration statement with the Attorney General. Respondent maintains that it is not a "Communist Front Organization", and is therefore not required to file such a statement.

B. In answer to the allegations contained in Section I, the Respondent refers to the FIFTH DEFENSE of this answer (attached statement).

C. The Respondent is without knowledge of any of the allegations contained in Section II of the petition, but avers that it is common knowledge that there is in existence an organization known as the Communist Party of the United States, and that this Board has directed it to register as a "Communist Action" organization. Petition avoids mention of the fact, which Respondent considers of decisive importance, that the Board's finding and order in the case of the Communist Party are now under judicial review, and have not been finally adjudicated.

As to all matters to which the Respondent states it is without knowledge, it does so within the contemplation of Section 201.7 of the Board's rules, which provide that such a statement "shall operate as a denial".

FOURTH DEFENSE

Answers to allegations in Section III.

(1) The allegations of the unnumbered first two sentences of the section are denied; the allegations contained in (1) are denied.

(1)(a) The Respondent has no knowledge of the allegations contained therein.

(1)(b) The affiant has no knowledge of the allegations contained therein, moreover, the affiant hereto asserts the privilege against self-incrimination contained in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

(1)(c) The Respondent denies this allegation.

(1)(d) The affiant hereto asserts his privilege against self-incrimination contained in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

(1)(e) The affiant hereto asserts his privilege against self-incrimination contained in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

(2) The Respondent has at all times willingly accepted contributions from all persons interested in supporting the cause of African freedom, which is its primary aim, and does so without regard to race, color or the religious or political persuasion of the contributor. The Respondent further avers that no contributions are accepted which entail the Respondent's adherence to the political or other program of any organization. The affiant further asserts the privilege against self-incrimination provided for in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

(2)(a) The Respondent accepts contributions from all persons interested in supporting the cause of African freedom and does not question the political affiliations of its donors. No contributions are accepted which entail the Respondent's adherence to the political or other program of any organization. Moreover, the affiant asserts the privilege against self-incrimination provided for in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

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(2)(b) The Respondent refers to and incorporates for its answer the averment contained in subdivision (2) and (2)(a) hereof.

(2)(c) The Respondent refers to and incorporates as its answer the averments contained in (2) and (2)(a) hereof.

(2)(d) In carrying out its work the Respondent welcomes the assistance of all persons interested in promoting knowledge and the welfare and freedom of the peoples of Africa. Respondent does not question the political affiliations of its supporters, nor does it solicit or accept any support which entails Respondent's adherence to the political or other program of any organization. Moreover, the affiant asserts the privilege against self-incrimination provided for in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

(2)(e) The Respondent seeks the widest favorable publicity possible of its work, and its news releases and publications are sent to a large number of publications of every kind and description. The same materials are and have been sent to the New York Times and the New York Daily Worker, for example, but the Respondent had and has no control of the use, if any, of such materials by either publication.

(2)(f) The Respondent refers to and incorporates as its answer the averments contained in (2)(d) hereof.

(3) The Respondent denies the allegation contained in this provision of the petition.

(3)(a) The Respondent denies this allegation contained in the petition and further refers to and incorporates as answer the averments contained in the FIFTH DEFENSE hereof.

(3)(b) The Respondent denies this allegation contained in the petition.

(3)(c) The Respondent admits that it has sought to promote friendly relations between all the people of the United States and the people of the Soviet Union, and has urged a policy of peaceful settlement of the differences between the governments of the two countries. The Respondent avers that it has done this solely in the interest of promoting world peace, and not, as alleged, for the purpose of furthering the objectives of the Communist Party.

(3)(d) The Respondent denies this allegation.

(3)(e) Respondent acknowledges that its representatives have at various times had conferences with governmental representatives of the United States (see FIFTH DEFENSE of this answer), the United Kingdom, India, Pakistan, and the Soviet Union. The Respondent avers that the purpose of these conferences was not, as alleged, to further the objectives of the Communist Party, but to advance information and views of the Respondent of various African problems and in support of the African peoples' interests and demands.

(3)(f) The Respondent denies this allegation.

(4) The Respondent makes a general denial of all the allegations contained in this section of the petition and refers to and incorporates as its answer the averments hereinafter contained in the FIFTH DEFENSE.

(4)(a) The Respondent condemned the shocking display of mob violence at Peekskill, N. Y., in 1949 involving Paul Robeson, and did so without regard to what may or may not have been the views of any other organization. Respondent's position was the product of its own independent judgment.

(4)(b) The Respondent condemned the serious encroachment upon civil liberties by the House Un-American Activities Committee as inimical to the best interests of the American people, and did so without regard to what may or may not have been the views and policies of any other organization with regard to the said Committee. The Respondent's judgment in this matter was independently determined.

(4)(c) The Respondent has presented objective factual reports on the position taken by the Soviet Union, the United States, and other countries with reference to various colonial issues, and has expressed its endorsement of those policies which in the Respondent's independent judgment coincided with the interests of the colonial peoples affected.

(4)(d) The Respondent is unable to give more than a general denial to this allegation because no specific instances are cited.

(4)(e) The Respondent did not advocate or support any position with regard to the Military Assistance Bill. It has, however, stated the self-evident fact that "without the military assistance of the United States already granted or promised, the European powers could not now maintain the imperialist control they exercise in Africa and other colonial areas". And the Respondent does oppose the policy of aiding in the suppression of the liberation struggles of subject peoples. Not knowing what other federal legislation the Attorney General refers to, the Respondent can make only a general denial of this allegation.

(4)(f) The Respondent's statement on the North Atlantic Pact was concerned with the consequences of that program upon the interests of the people of Africa and upon the outlook for world peace. Its statement on the Korean War voiced the thinking of a number of prominent Negro citizens. The interests and views of the Communist Party did not motivate, influence, control, dominate or enter in any way into the making of either statement.

(4)(g) The Respondent's stand on the admission of the Chinese People's Republic into the United Nations is prompted solely by its belief, based upon its own independent judgment, that this is one of the essential prerequisites for a genuine solution of the problems of Asia and the achievement of international harmony and lasting peace in that area.

(4)(h) The Respondent denies this allegation. During the entire existence of the United Nations, the Respondent has called for public support of the world organization's objectives as set forth in its Charter. There has been ample evidence, however--evidence reported by the Respondent and remarked upon by the representatives of Pakistan, India, and other member-states in addressing the General Assembly--of the deliberate intention of the colony-holding members of the United Nations to evade one of the basic purposes for which the organization was founded, namely, "to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples". As long as the demands and rights of subject peoples are neglected by the United Nations, and as long as the organization remains primarily an instrument of power politics, no one, regardless of his political philosophy, can truthfully say it is fulfilling its functions as an instrument for peace.

[Council on African Affairs]

In The Subversive Activities Control Board

No. 110-53

Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General of the United States, Petitioner

V.

Council On African Affairs, Inc., Respondent

PETITIONER'S MOTION TO STRIKE CERTAIN ALLEGATIONS IN THE RESPONDENT'S ANSWER TO THE FIRST AMENDED PETITION

Petitioner, Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General of the United States, moves the Board to strike from Respondent's Answer to The First Amended Petition the following allegations, as captioned by the Respondent:

1. All of the "FIRST DEFENSE" as it is in the nature of a pleading in bar and therefore not properly part on an answer.

2. All of the "SECOND DEFENSE", "A", as irrelevant.

3. In the "THIRD DEFENSE", "A", the sentence reading, "Respondent maintains that it is not a 'Communist-front organization', and is therefore not required to file such a statement." as impertinent and immaterial.

4. In the "THIRD DEFENSE", "B", which refers to the "FIFTH DEFENSE", all of the said "FIFTH DEFENSE" except the first sentence of the fourth paragraph on page seven reading, "These objectives of the Council on African Affairs are a matter of public record in the cerilificate of incorporation of the organization, filed in New York State, October 29, 1941, and in numerous publications of the Council and statements of its leaders.", and that part of the first paragraph on page eight reading"...there is only one single sentence dealing with the actual work of the Council in pursuance of the objectives indicated above, one sentence (I, second paragraph) stating that the Council 'prepared and distributed 'New Africa' and a 'Newsletter' (full title: 'Spotlight on Africa Newsletter'). The Attorney General might have added that this publication has been issued monthly under the two titles for the past ten years, since 1943...", as not responsive to the petition and surplusage tendered to becloud the issue.

5. In the "THIRD DEFENSE", "C", the second sentence of the first paragraph reading, "Petition avoids mention of the fact, which Respondent considers of decisive importance, that the Board's finding and order in the case of the Communist Party are now under judicial review, and have not been finally adjudicated, " as redundant, imperinent and immaterial.

6. All of the "FOURTH DEFENSE","(1)(b)" as not responsive and impertinent.

7. All of the "FOURTH DEFENSE", "(1)(d)" as not responsive and impertinent.

8. All of the "FOURTH DEFENSE","(1)(e)" as not responsive and impertinent.

9. In the "FOURTH DEFENSE" all of the writing designated as (2), (2)(a), (2)(b), (2)(c), and (2)(d) beginning with the words, "(2) The Respondent has at all times willingly accepted..." through and including the words, "Moreover, the affiant asserts the privilege against self incrimination provided for in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States." as not responsive to the corresponding allegations of the petition, redundant, argumentative, immaterial, and impertinent.

10. In the "FOURTH DEFENSE" all of the writing designated as (2)(f) reading, "The Respondent refers to and incorporates as its answer the averments contained in (2)(d) hereof. " as not responsive to its corresponding allegation in the petition, redundant, argumentative, immaterial, and impertinent.

11. In the "FOURTH DEFENSE, "(3)(a)", that part of the sentence reading, "...and further refers to and incorporates as answer the averment contained in the FIFTH DEFENSE hereof." as not responsive, and impertinent.

12. In the "FOURTH DEFENSE", "(3)(c)", that part of the paragraph reading, "...and has urged a policy of peaceful settlement of the differences between the goverments of the two countries. The Respondent avers that it has done this solely in the interest of promoting world peace,..."as not responsive to the petition, argumentative and immaterial.

13. In the "FOURTH DEFENSE", "(3)(e)", that part of the first sentence reading, "...the United States (see FIFTH DEFENSE of this answer), the United Kingdom, India, Pakistan, and ..." and that part of the second sentence reading, "...but to advance information and views of Respondent on various African problems and in support of the African peoples' interest and demands.", as not responsive to the petition, impertinent and immaterial.

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14. In the "FOURTH DEFENSE", "(4)", that part of the sentence reading, "...and refers to and incorporates as its answer the averments hereinafter contained in the FIFTH DEFENSE." as not responsive to the petition and impertinent and immaterial.

15. In the "FOURTH DEFENSE", "(4)(a)", the sentence reading, "The Respondent condemned a shocking display of mob violence at Peekskill, N.Y., in 1949 involving Paul Robeson, and did so without regard to what may or may not have been the views of any other organization." as not responsive to the petition, argumentative, and impertinent.

16. In the "FOURTH DEFENSE", "(4)(b)", that part of the first sentence reading, "...condemned the serious encroachment upon civil liberies by the House Un-American Committee as inimical to the best interest of the American people, and... "as not responsive to the petition, argumentative, and impertinent.

17. In the "FOURTH DEFENSE", "(4)(e)", the second and third sentence reading, "It has, however, stated the self-evident fact that 'without the military assistance of the United States already granted or promised, the European powers could not now maintain the imperialistic control they exercise in Africa and other colonial areas'. And the Respondent does oppose the policy of aiding in the suppression of the liberation struggles of subject peoples." as not responsive to the petition, redundant, impertinent and argumentative.

18. In the "FOURTH DEFENSE", "(4)(f)", the first sentence reading, "The Respondent's statement on the North Atlantic Pact was concerned with the consequences of that program upon the interests of the people of Africa and upon the outlook for world peace. Its statement on the Korean War voiced the thinking of a number of prominent negro citizens." as not responsive to the petition, redundant, argumentative, and impertinent.

19. In the "FOURTH DEFENSE", "(4)(g)", that part of the sentence reading, "...that this is one of the essential prerequisites for a genuine solution of the problems of Asia and the achievemant of international harmony and lasting peace in that area." as not responsive to the petition, redundant, argumentative, and impertinent.

20. In the "FOURTH DEFENSE", "(4)(h)", all of that part of the paragraph reading, "During the entire existence of the United Nations, the Respondent has called for public support of the world organization's objectives as set forth in its Charter. There has been ample evidence, however,--evidence reported by the Respondent and remarked upon by the representatives of Pakistan, India, and other member-states in addressing the General Assembly--of the deliberate intention of the colony-holding members of the United Nations to evade one of the basic purposes for which the organization was founded, namely, 'to develop friendly relations among nations based upon respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples'. As long as the demands and rights of subject peoples are neglected by the United Nations, and as long as the organizerion remains primarily an instrument of power politics, no one, regardless of his political philosophy, can truthfully say it is fulfilling its functions as an instrument for peace." as not responsive to the allegations of the petition, redundant, argumentative, and impertinent.

23-61.35

21. The "FIFTH DEFENSE", except in so far as noted in Paragraph 4 of this motion as in no sense responsvie to the allegations of the petition, redundant, immaterial, impertinent, argumentative, and is designed to lay a foundation for the introduction of irrelevant evidence.

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ David B. Irons
DAVID B. IRONS

/s/ Troy B. Conner, Jr.
TROY B. CONNER, JR.

/s/Max H. Goldschein
MAX H. GOLDSCHEIN

/s/ Francis E. Jordan
FRANCIS E. JORDAN

Attorneys,
Department of Justice

FROM SOUTH AFRICA A DISTINGUISHED AFRICAN LEADER WRITES:

I should like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Council on African Affairs for its work on behalf of the under-privileged peoples of Africa. . .

Africans in this country have benefited directly from its practical interest in their affairs. As far back as 1945 when a severe drought struck the Eastern Cape Province of the Union of South Africa, hundreds of Africans, especially women and children, not far from where I am writing, had cause to be thankful that such a body as the Council on African Affairs was in existence. . . the Council made available financial aid and food supplies of various kinds collected in America to be forwarded to the area for distribution among the needy. Many African children, women and older people in the area concerned owed their lives to the timely assistance given by the Council.

Again in connection with the recent Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws sponsored by the African National Congress, the premier political organization of the African people, and the South African Indian Congress, the Council gave practical assistance, at a time when thousands of African men and women were serving terms of imprisonment, and their dependants were in need of support.

These actions have mad a deep impression upon the minds of those engaged in the struggle for liberation. This impression has been all the more favorable because the assistance given had no strings attached to it. The African people have had so many unfortunate experiences with schemes purporting to be for their benefit that they are inclined to regard with suspicion many so-called 'friends of the native'. . . The Council has at no time made its work on their behalf dependent upon the African people adopting a particular point of view on social, economic or political problems. . .

On the contrary, the Council has endeavored to let the African people speak for themselves on matters concerning their welfare. Through its publications it has provided Africans in different parts of the continent with a forum through which their own views--their side of the question--might be brought to the notice of the world, and when it is borne in mind that the indigenous inhabitants in most African territories have very few media for the free expression of their views, it can be readily perceived how much they have appreciated the work of the Council on their behalf.

In conclusion I should like to say that the peoples of Africa know from practical experience that any individual or group which seeks to espouse the cause of African liberation runs the grave risk of being regarded as 'extremist' or 'subversive' or, worst of all, 'communist-inspired', for unfortunately we have reached the strange position in many parts of the so-called 'free world' where the urge to freedom among those who do not enjoy it is regarded as a communist propensity. . . We understand that action is being taken against the Council on African Affairs under the U.S. Internal Security Act. That is, of course, a matter which will have to be determined in accordance with American law about which we know nothing. All we can do is to express the hope that nothing will be done to destroy freedom of expression of opinion in the country to which the whole world looks to preserve the civil liberties for which millions have laid down their lives in the past and for which millions are hungering in the colonial world today.

(signed) Z. K. Matthews

Alice, South Africa
December, 1953

[Cousens] January 26, 1953

copy sent to Jewish Life

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I do not know exactly how to begin this letter or even why I am writing to you. I hope to find an answer to something which is now bothering me. I have just finished your "In Battle for Peace," and also your book about the world and Africa. On the basis of these readings I feel you are the man most qualified to answer me.

Up until now, I have felt that Russia sincerely meant most of what she said regarding racial and religious prejudice. There actually is no "negro problem" in Russia simply because there are not that many negros. However there are many Jews and for a long, long time there has been a jewish problem in Russia.
I was pleased to learn that the government was trying to abolish anti-semitism by the passing of laws forbidding it.

25-56-11

Now I read in our press of anti-semitic purges and I am puzzled. Allowing for the distortion and exaggeration of these Jewish purges in the American press, I have read several accounts less exaggerated in the liberal Jewish press. I am beginning to feel that there is some basis for these accusations. If there is any basis--Russia is doomed--not by our H bomb, but by the degeneration of her own internal foundation.

As I said before I hope you can understand why I am writing to you.

I also want peace in the world and even if these charges are true I do not think the problem will be solved by war or force of arms.

However as a Jew I will certainly regard Russia in a much different light than I have up to now. I am sure you can understand this.

Although I am sure you have much to keep you busy, I shall feel not only honored but greatly relieved in my mind to hear what you think about the subject. For surrounded by half-truths asmost of us are today, I would like an honest direct answer from a free clear thinker which seems to be very rare in our wold in our time.

25-56-12

Thank you,

Lorraine Cousens

Lorraine Cousens
4902 N. Lawndale Avenue
Chicago 25, Illinois

Copy sent
To Jewish Life

February 9, 1953

Miss Lorraine Cousens
4902 N. Lawndale Avenue
Chicago 25, Illinois

Dear Miss Cousens:

Answering your letter of January 26th, let me say that the best answer to the charge of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union will be found in Louis Harap's pamphlet, "The Truth About the Prague Trials", which can be obtained from Jewish Life, 22 East 17 Street, New York, N.Y.

Meantime, let me call these matters to your attention:

1. The Soviet Union would have no reason to incur the enmity of the ~~powerful~~ Jewish world. Not even the alleged desire for friendship of the Arabs would be sufficient.

2. It is the policy of those who are now in control of the United States to spread every charge possible against the Soviet Union, whether it is true or not.

3. In accordance with this policy, the United States has had on hand for spending during the last year nearly $200,000,000 to be used for subversion, bribery and revolt in the countries beyond the "iron curtain".

4. Without doubt Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union have discovered efforts to sabotage their economy and embarrass their government, incited by outside influences. It is fair to assume that money from the United States has been, certainly in part, the cause of this.

5. In a Socialist country there is a crime not recognized in capitalist countries, which deserves the highest punishment; and that is the attempt to disrupt the economy so that the whole organization of the socialist state would fail. It has been charged that persons have been discovered trying to do this in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia; that they have had a fair trial and have been severely punished.

6. Some of those punished were Jews, but there is no reason to assume that they were punished because they were Jews. They were punished because they were traitors. ~~They were punished~~ The Soviet Union has had a splendid record of opposition to racism for 35 years.

25-56-13

Jews have from the first stood foremost in its leadership and still do. Even in its treatment of religion, after the political and economic power of the church had been broken, Russians were free to worship.

7. There is no doubt but that in the state of Israel rival forces are now in deadly conflict. The power of the organized Jewish church and the power of American capitalism have been so great that the attempt to build a modern socialism in Israel has been made difficult. There is no reason to doubt but that persons favoring reaction in Israel and in America may have easily been induced to try to overthrow Socialism in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, and given money to accomplish this.

I think you might consider these statements which I am sure are true.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh W.E.B. Du Bois

25-56-14

Book

April 23, 1953

Dr. Vojtech Strnad
Czechoslovak Theatrical and
Literary Agency
Jecna 6, Prague II,
Czechoslovakia

My dear Sir:

I should be very glad to have my book the "Souls of Black Folk" translated and published in Czechslovakia. I am sending it herewith under separate cover by airmail. I shall hope to hear if it has been received.

I am enclosing with it a recent photograph of myself and a sort of "preface" which might be used.

I should be glad to have such business arrangements made as you can. I thank you for your interest.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh
enc.

W.E.B. Du Bois

CZECHOSLOVAK THEATRICAL AND LITERARY AGENCY

Telegrams: DILIAG, Prague
Phone: 351-40

JEČNÁ 6, PRAGUE II
Czechoslovakia

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
Color and Democracy,
Colonies and Peace,
23 West 26th Street,
New York 1o, N.Y.

V-

13/V/53.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Thank you for your letter enclosing a photograph of yours and a copy of the preface to THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, and a copy of this book which has reached us safely.

We have passed them on to Messrs. Mír of this city who will consider your book with a view to possible publication in the Czech language. We will let you know as soon as we have their decision.

Yours sincerely,

Czechoslovak Theatrical
and Literary Agency

Dr Vojtěch Strnad

Book

June 8, 1953

Dr. Vojtech Strnad
Czechoslovak Theatrical and
Literary Agency
Jecna 6, Prague II
Czechoslovakia

My dear Sir:

On April 23 I sent you a copy of my book, "Souls of Black Folk". Since then arrangements have been made to issue a jubilee edition of the book in the United States, and for that edition a few changes in wording have been suggested.

If your agency decides to republish the book in Czechoslovakia I should like the same changes made in your edition. I am therefore sending you the revised pages, 126, 127, 152, 169, 170 and 204.

In each case the actual change in phraseology is small but is important, since it will clear up any misapprehension concerning my attitude toward Jews.

Also, under these circumstances, it would not be necessary for you to publish the Preface which I sent.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

CZECHOSLOVAK THEATRICAL AND LITERARY AGENCY

Telegrams: DILIAG, Prague
Phones: 351-40, 346-20, 345-73

JEČNÁ 6, PRAGUE I.
Czechoslovakia

V-

20/VI/53.

Mr. W.E.B. du Bois,
23 West 26th Street,
New York 1o, N.Y.

25-64-3

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter of June 8th enclosing revised pages 126,127,132,169,17o and 2o4. We have passed them on to Messrs. Mír of this city who are examining THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK. We have also advised the publishers that now it is not necessary to publish the preface which you sent us.

We hope to have Messrs. Mír's decision before very long and will then let you know.

Sincerely yours,

Czechoslovak Theatrical
and Literary Agency

Dr Vojtěch Strnad

July 17, 1953

Dr. Vojtech Strnad
Czechoslovak Theatrical and
Literary Agency
Jecna 6, Prague II
Czechoslovakia

My dear Sir:

I venture to send you a copy of the new Preface which will appear in the jubilee edition of the "Souls of Black Folk" to be published in the United States this fall.

It may or may not be suited to the publication which you have in mind in case such publication is decided upon.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

To Czechoslovakia for reprinting & translating in Souls of Black Folk

PREFACE to Souls of Black Folk

FIFTY YEARS AFTER

This book is not a Tract for the Times. It is a picture of conditions in the United States at the beginning of the 20th century; as they affected ~~m~~ American Negroes, descendants of African slaves brought to America in the 16th century and after.

I was born and educated in the United States, going through the public schools and Harvard University. I had had a glimpse of Europe, studying three semesters at the University of Berlin where I was a member of seminars under Adolph Wagner and Gustav Schmoller. I travelled in Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Italy and England.

I had seen in Europe the activities of the Socialist Party and so had come to know something of Socialism. I knew of Karl Marx but had not read the "Communist Manifesto."

The world to which I returned to take up work was to an extent narrow and provincial. My life as I conceived it was to settle the so-called Negro Problem, that is, to find a place in American life for persons of Negro descent, without slavery or caste.

The essays which form the different chapters were written at different times and places between 1896 and 1903 but were finally brought together and put into book form while I was teaching at Atlanta University. This was a private institution carried on for the benefit of Negro students and taught mostly by white Americans from the North, with two or three colored teachers of which I was one. I was head of the Department of Economics and History and most of my time went to making a systematic study of American Negroes, taking up different aspects of the problem from time to time and then repeating study of the same subject in

ten year cycles.

Immersed, therefore, in this particular problem largely peculiar to the United States, I had as yet no broad vision of the development of the world at large. That was to come later as I began to see the connection between the problem of the black worker in America and of all workers of all parts of the world.

There are certain points of view expressed in this book which should be explained: for instance, in chapter 7, Jews are mentioned several times and some have got an impression of anti-Semitism. This at the time I stoutly denied; but as I read the passages again in the light of subsequent history, I see how I laid myself open to this possible misapprehension. What, of course, I meant to condemn was exploitation of black labor, ~~and~~ that it was in this country and at that time in part a matter of immigrant Jews, was incidental and not essential. ~~My further sympathy with the Jewish people was expressed better in the last paragraph of page 207.~~ But this illustrates how easily one slips into unconscious condemnation of a whole group. So too, I had at the time no clear conception of the fundamental relations of Capitalism and Socialism.

The republication of this book a half century after it first appeared is of interest, then, to the world as showing how American slavery developed into serfdom, and what had been accomplished a generation after the slaves had been nominally emancipated by Abraham Lincoln . It is, then, from this historical and biographical point of view that the book may be of interest to readers in 1953.

W.E.B. Du Bois
New York, April 23, 1953

[Czechoslovakia]

In Celebration of the Eighth Anniversary of the Liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army

The Ambassador of Czechoslovakia
and Madame Petrželka
request the honor of the company of
Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and Mrs.
at a reception
on Friday, the eighth of May
from ~~seven~~ five to nine o'clock

R. S. V. P.

2349 Massachusetts Avenue

85-58.23

[Czechoslovakia]

25-58 '25

In celebration of the Eighth Anniversary
of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army
the Acting Permanent Representative of Czechoslovakia
to the United Nations
and
Mrs. Nosek
request the honour of the company of
Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois
at cocktails
on Friday, the eighth of May
from 6:30 to 8:30 o'clock

R.S.V.P.
Trafalgar 9-2020

6 East 67th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

[Czechoslovakia]

May 19, 1953

Dr. and Mrs. W.E.B. Du Bois wish to express their regret at their inability to attend the celebration of the eighth anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet army.

We have been absent during the last month in the Bahamas, and therefore could not have the pleasure of attending your reception.

[Czechoslovakia]

May 19, 1953

25-58.26

Dr. and Mrs. W.E.B. Du Bois regret that they were unable to attend the celebration of the eighth anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet army at 6 East 67th Street, Friday, May 8th.

They were absent on a vacation trip in the Bahamas.

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This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

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=LILLIAN HYMAN , CARE DR W E B DU BOIS=

23 WEST 26 ST=

[Daily Peoples World]

=REQUEST PERMISSION TO REPRINT OF ONE CHAPTER OF DR DU BOIS' BOOK " JOHN BROWN" (GEO W JACOBS AND CO PHILA 1909) DEALING WITH INTERROGATION OF BROWN AT HARPER'S FERRY. PAGES 347 THROUGH 353. CAN YOU CONTACT DR DU BOIS AND LET US KNOW BY WIRE SOONEST=

:AL RICHMOND EDITOR DAILY PEOPLE'S WORLD=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

the Worker

Mar 7/53

JOSEPH STALIN

Let all Negroes, Jews and Foreign-born, who have suffered in America from prejudice and intolerance, remember Joseph Stalin. This son of a slave in Georgia, as Commissar of Nationalities fought prejudice and particularism, and helped build the first modern state which outlawed race discrimination.

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

61-11-24

DAILY WORKER

50 east 13th st., New York 3, N. Y. Algonquin 4-7954

August 19, 1953.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois,
31 Grace Court,
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

The Worker is inviting a number of Marxist and non-Marxist scholars to write us a short piece setting forth their views on the book of "Letters to Americans from Marx and Engels", recently published by International Publishers.

It need not be long -- six, seven hundred words or so. We have already received several, including one from Prof. Robert Morss Lovett. We are extremely eager to get a piece from you.

Could we hear from you at your earliest? The deadline for the piece is a bit elastic -- within the forthcoming month, but, as usual, the sooner the better.

With warmest personal regards to you and Mrs. Du Bois.

As ever,

Joseph North

Joseph North.

ANG:CIO:NY
JN/SK

"THE TRUTH IN THE NEWS"

["Daily Worker"]

August 21, 1953

Mr. Joseph North
Daily Worker
50 East 13 Street
New York 3, N.Y.

My dear Mr. North:

Send me a copy of the book "Letters to Americans from Marx and Engels" and I shall be glad to send you a short statement.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

DAILY WORKER

35 east 12th st., New York 3, N. Y. Algonquin 4-7954

December 18, 1953

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

The Daily Worker is celebrating its thirtieth birthday this coming January. This crusading newspaper stands virtually alone among American newspapers. This has been true since its foundation. As you know it has stood steadfast in the defense of peace, democracy and labor and Negro rights, and for the right to advocate socialism.

Our editor-in-chief John Gates, a lieutenant colonel in the Republican ranks during the war against Franco, and a veteran in the war against Hitler, has been sentenced to five years imprisonment. Our publisher, the eminent Negro leader, twice councilman in New York City, Benjamin J. Davis is in prison, also on a five-year term. Our Pittsburgh correspondent, James Dolsen, 68 years old, has been sentenced to 20 years prison on a framed-up sedition charge in Pennsylvania; our Detroit correspondent, William Allen, is on trial now, and in Philadelphia and Cleveland two others face trial.

The reasons for persecuting us are well known to progressives. This newspaper was in the thick of every fight for the American working class, for the freedom of all people, for international friendship, for world peace.

The paper's policy during Spain is well-known, three of its staff were there during that war; its stand against the partition of Czechoslovakia, and Munich, against the Korean War and the A-bomb threats, won it the enmity of the warmongers. This is not to speak of its exposes and crusades against native fascist shirt organizations.

For these reasons, on this occasion, our thirtieth anniversary, we solicit a statement of greetings from you.

Many of the greetings we are receiving are about 150 to 300 words in length. We are eager to receive yours before January 5th. May we thank you for your expression? It will be received eagerly by our readers who are inspired by your work.

Fraternally,

Alan Max

Alan Max, Managing Editor,
DAILY WORKER & WORKER

ANG:CIO:NY

Miss Rae Dalven

66 WEST 69th STREET - NEW YORK 23, NEW YORK

8/9/53

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Many thanks for your sweet little note advising me not to worry about the third copy of the de luxe edition of "In Battle For Peace" which I promised Shirley I would dispose of.

I have hopes that I will fulfill my pledge in time - here in New York - when I begin to circulate a little more freely again - I have been keeping my nose to the grindstone since my return from Fisk - and haven't really

25-58-5

had a chance yet -

In any case - be assured that I <u>want</u> to fulfill this pledge - for you have made this world a much more livable place for so many people - I cannot help wanting to do what I can. And I will!! Thank you for making it easier until I do.

My love,
Rae

Phone Ta-7-1700
?

October 5, 1953

Mrs. Caroline Robinson Davenport
25 Park Street
Newton, Massachusetts

My dear Mrs. Davenport:

May I grieve with you at the death of Charles Davenport.

He was a sympathetic classmate.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

DB:lh

25-59-6

Copy

31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York
October 30, 1953

Mrs. Eugene Davidson
1333 R Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Friend,

Greetings! Though the Du Bois Foundation is not yet an incorporated body, we are happy to announce an achievement of which the Committee for setting it up can be justly proud: republication of THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK.

Fifty years ago this passionate book came from the pen of the young Atlanta University professor whom THE NATION had described as "coldly intellectual", and burst upon the literary world as "the most thought-arresting challenge in the whole race problem campaign" (LIFE MAGAZINE). In the decade which followed Dr. Du Bois' THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK ran through twenty-four editions in this country, with concurrent editions in Europe. In his American Scene, Henry James refers to the work as "the only 'Southern' book of any distinction published for many a year."

For a long time THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK has been a highly-priced collector's item. Now the combined efforts of several people have made possible this Jubilee Edition. Few authors have enjoyed the privilege of autographing a new edition of his book fifty years after its first appearance. In the eighty-sixth year of his life Dr. Du Bois is today doing just that. The books are off the press, beautifully bound, with an added introduction by the author and a short review essay by one of the editors. Yet the cost to you is just five dollars!

This is a limited edition and we are not going to spend large sums in advertising. But you will want friends and associates to know about this opportunity. And what a rare Christmas present this book will make! For it is valuable not only as a fine library piece but because THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK is a vital, unequivocal challenge to all men. For today the whole world is forced to agree with the young scholar who in 1903 wrote, "The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color-line."

Let me know how many copies of THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK you want.

Sincerely,

35-44-44

[Day, George]

OCCIDENTAL COLLEGE
IN THE CITY OF LOS ANGELES
LOS ANGELES 41, CALIFORNIA

TRIBUTE to DR. W.E.B.DuBOIS

It is an honor and a privilege to be asked to add my word of praise and tribute to this great Sociologist and Humanitarian.

For years I have been an admirer of Dr. DuBois as a person and have had great respect for him as a scholar and I have used his book, entitled "Black Folk Then and Now", in connection with my classes in Sociology at Occidental. This book, written in 1939, is a monumental contribution to the subject of Negro history and social relations.

May he have many, many years granted him for work and reflection in his chosen field of endeavor.

Signed: George M. Day
George M. Day
Professor of Sociology, Emeritus,

February 17, 1953.

DÉFENSE DE LA PAIX

REVUE MENSUELLE INTERNATIONALE

33, Rue Vivienne, 33 - PARIS-2e

Téléphone : CENtral 49-27 et 49-28
GUTenberg 92-20

C. C. P. 8176-91 Paris
R. C. Seine 363.905

Directeur : PIERRE COT

ABONNEMENTS
1 an : 600 fr. — 6 mois : 350 fr.

Paris, le 22 juillet 1953

N/Réf. : 4290R/CM/GA
V/Réf. :
Abonné N° .....

Monsieur le Professeur Du Bois
" The American Peace Crusade "
125 West 72 nd Street
NEW YORK 23 N.Y.
U.S.A.

46-11-20

Cher Ami,

La Revue Défense de la Paix a appris avec plaisir et avec émotion que l'un des Prix Internationaux de la Paix vous a été attribué et elle vous en félicite vivement.

A cette occasion nous serions heureux de publier un texte de vous. Par exemple un texte sur les conditions de la lutte pour la paix aux Etats-Unis, pour qu'on sache en Europe et dans le monde entier avec quel héroïsme les meilleurs des Américains luttent pour la paix.

J'espère que vous voudrez bien nous faire ce grand honneur et ce grand plaisir. Vous nous aiderez ainsi à populariser les prix de la paix.

Veuillez agréer, cher Ami, l'expression de mes sentiments les plus chaleureux.

Le Rédacteur en Chef

Claude Morgan

Claude MORGAN

Vous nous éviterez toute erreur et tout retard :
— En rappelant dans votre correspondance les références de cette lettre.
— En indiquant vos nom, prénoms, adresse complète en majuscules d'imprimerie.
— Lors de vos versements indiquez toujours la nature de votre règlement.

July 29, 1953

M. Claude Morgan
Defense de la Paix
33, Rue Vivienne, 33
Paris, France

My dear M. Morgan:

In answer to your kind letter of July 22, 1953, may I say that I sent to the June meeting of the World Peace Council in Budapest a statement explaining my absence and analyzing the present situation in the United States.

I think that the main part of this paper would be what you would want for publication in the "Defense de la Paix". I am therefore sending you the enclosed copy of this statement, brought up to date because of recent occurrences, and changed in some other particulars.

I am sure that the World Peace Council would have no objection to your publishing this paper thus modified. Nevertheless I am writing them, and I should be glad if you would also get in touch with them.

I trust the paper will meet your needs.

I am, Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

49-11-81

[Dial]

Robert Browning

October 24,1924

MEMORANDUM TO "THE DIAL" ON ROBERT BROWNING:

This office moved into new quarters last year and I am unable to find exact references. Speaking from memory I may say that the Negro descent of Robert Browning rests upon his descent from a ~~father or a~~ grandfather ~~from~~ in the West Indies and a record of the death of ~~that~~ an ancestor showing him to have been a butler in an English family. Of course a butler in the West Indies at that time would have been colored.

It is said that a part at least, of the opposition to Browning's marriage to his wife was based upon this fact of mixed blood and that Browning himself when asked a direct question on the matter replied, "Roi ni suis ni prince aussi suis le seigneur des conti".

W. E. B. Dubois

WEBD/KF

11-1-24

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** REG U.S. PAT. OFF. DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

375 HOWARD AVENUE
BRIDGEPORT 5, CONNECTICUT

January 21, 1953

35-50-13

To Our Maintenance Customers:

You will note our invoice at this time carries forward until April thirtieth instead of the usual full calendar year.

This interim billing is made to allow consideration of price changes later in the year.

Our maintenance prices for acoustic machines have remained unchanged since October, 1948. Present records show that our prices for maintenance of these machines do not represent a fair return considering the increases in wages for our Service Department as well as increases in costs of materials since that date. At present, it would appear that our prices for maintenance of acoustic machines should be increased from $13 to $16, and careful consideration will be given to possible reductions in the maintenance prices on some of our current models.

We ask your consideration in accepting this interim billing, with the assurance that the price increases will be held to the minimum necessary and that, when possible, reduction in charges will be made.

We greatly appreciate the maintenance business you have given us and we pledge you continuance of good service promptly rendered.

Very truly yours,

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

FORM B-3MR REV. 12-49
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

THIS INVOICE COVERS MAINTENANCE AGREEMENT BILLING FOR THE MACHINES LISTED AND FOR THE PERIOD INDICATED BELOW.

CUSTOMER'S ORDER NO. AND DATE.

REQUISITION NUMBER

NUMBER OF MONTHS	FROM INVOICE DATE MO.	DAY	YR.
4	01	01	53

INVOICE NUMBER 919925

SOLD TO W E B DUBOIS
23 W 26 ST
NEW YORK 18 N Y

BILL TO

DIST.	BR.	CUSTOMER NO.
17	0	284000

TYPE AND MODEL	SERIAL NUMBER	UNIT CHARGE	AMOUNT
B10X	005060	4 33	
S7	001400	4 33	
AE	570635	7 33	
			1599*

25-5T-12

PAID
FEB 9 1953
Dictaphone Corporation
For

TERMS: NET 30 DAYS - PLEASE MAIL CHECK TO DICTAPHONE CORPORATION, 375 HOWARD AVE., BRIDGEPORT 5, CONN.

STATEMENT

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

375 HOWARD AVENUE, BRIDGEPORT 5, CONN.

*1·31·53

W. E. B. Dubois

23 West 26th St.

New York City 10, N. Y.

TERMS NET 30 DAYS

DATE

DATE	INVOICE OR CREDIT NO.	CHARGES	CREDITS	PAY AMOUNT IN THIS COLUMN
DEC 1 52	9,120.76	3.99		3.99 *<

25-58.11

PAID
MAR 24 1953
Dictaphone Corporation
Per

IF THE ITEMS ABOVE HAVE BEEN PAID PLEASE DISREGARD THIS STATEMENT

B-163 REV. 10/50

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

CUSTOMER'S COPY

25-58,146

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

INVOICE NUMBER **573676**

FORM B44 REV. 8/50 PRINTED IN U.S.A.

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** REG. U.S. PAT. OFF. DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

PLEASE MAIL CHECK TO DICTAPHONE CORPORATION — 375 HOWARD AVENUE, BRIDGEPORT 5, CONN. — TERMS - NET 3[illegible] DAYS

NAME H. E. Du Bois DATE 11/13/53

ADDRESS 23 W. 26 St DEPT.

CITY New York STATE N.Y.

LOCAL SERVICE STATION New York

NO CHARGE PREPAID MAINTENANCE		INSPECTION OF MACHINES ON DEMONSTRATION	
FIRST PREPAID MAINTENANCE INSPECTION		SPECIAL CALL NO LABOR CHARGE	
CHARGE CALL	✓	SHOP REPAIR	

TYPE AND MODEL	CAUSE FOR CALL CODE	SERIAL NUMBER	PARTS USED ON ACOUSTIC MACHINES QUAN.	PART NO.	PART NAME	PARTS USED ON ELECTRONIC MACHINES QUAN.	PART NO.	PART NAME	AMOUNT
37	48	1400							
B7	49	5060							

INVOICE

CUSTOMER'S PURCH. ORDER NO.

CUSTOMER'S REQUISITION NO.

LABOR CHARGE $4.30 @ [redacted] PER HOUR — TIME CODE 5 — TIME USED 3/4 HRS.

SERVICE RENDERED BY Robert H Ledeffen

APPROVED BY Lillian Hymen CUSTOMER

TOTAL MATERIAL AMOUNT		
LABOR (MIN. CHG. [redacted] $2.15	4	30
SALES TAX		
TRAVEL EXPENSE		
TOTAL AMOUNT	4	30

"We hereby certify that these goods were produced in compliance with all applicable requirements of Section 6, 7, and 12 of the Fair Labor Standards Act, as amended, and of regulations and orders the United States Department of Labor issued under Section 14 thereof."

CUSTOMER'S COPY

FORM B 44-1 REV. 1-51 PRINTED IN U. S. A.

25-58,45 Corrected Copy

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

INVOICE NUMBER 573V43

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** REG. U.S. PAT. OFF. DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

PLEASE MAIL CHECK TO DICTAPHONE CORPORATION 375 HOWARD AVENUE, BRIDGEPORT 5, CONN. TERMS - NET 30 DAYS

NAME Dr Dubois DATE 11-17-53

ADDRESS 23 W 26 DEPT.

CITY NYC STATE

LOCAL SERVICE STATION NYC

NO CHARGE PREPAID MAINTENANCE		INSPECTION OF MACHINES ON DEMONSTRATION	
FIRST PREPAID MAINTENANCE INSPECTION		SPECIAL CALL NO LABOR CHARGE	
CHARGE CALL	✓	SHOP REPAIR	

TYPE AND MODEL	CAUSE FOR CALL CODE	SERIAL NUMBER	PARTS USED ON ACOUSTIC MACHINES QUAN.	PART NO.	PART NAME	PARTS USED ON ELECTRONIC MACHINES QUAN.	PART NO.	PART NAME	AMOUNT
B7	10	5060							

INVOICE

PAID JAN 7 1954 Dictaphone Corporation

CUSTOMER'S PURCH. ORDER NO.

CUSTOMER'S REQUISITION NO.

LABOR CHARGE @ $3.50 PER HOUR TIME CODE 5 TIME USED 1 HRS.

SERVICE RENDERED BY Boyne

APPROVED BY L Hyman CUSTOMER W E B Dubois

TOTAL MATERIAL AMOUNT	
LABOR (MIN. CHG. $1.75)	4 30
SALES TAX	
TRAVEL EXPENSE	
TOTAL AMOUNT	4 30

"We hereby certify that these goods were produced in compliance with all applicable requirements of Section 6, 7, and 12 of the Fair Labor Standards Act, as amended, and of regulations and orders the United States Department of Labor issued under Section 14 thereof."

Nov. 20, 1953

Dictaphone Corp.
375 Howard Av.
Bridgeport 5, Conn.

Gentlemen:

I have been using your Dictaphones now for about ten years. At present I am unable to learn from my correspondence what servicing you are rendering for the upkeep of the machines which I have. I received no further communication since your circular letter January 21, 1953. My last bill, so far as I can see, was paid February 9, 1953 for servicing. I have had another bill, dated November 13, 1953.

Please let me know whether you are charging term service or for specific work. If you are making the latter charge, the men you send here are not always satisfactory. I had, for instance, two men on my dictating machine, but the first did not know his business and the second did it over again.

Please let me know just what your system of charging is. I have a wire recorder at home and if I cannot get satisfaction out of the dictaphone I can change to that.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

R72CC 43 25 PD INTL

[Dover]

N LONDON VIA MACKAY FEB 21 1953 2107

LT DOCTOR DUBOIS

B 31 GRACECOURT BROOKLYNNEWYORK

MY HEARTFELT GOOD WISHES FOR A HAPPY BIRTHDAY COME WITH

CONTINUING PRIDE IN YOUR FRIENDSHIP AND INSPIRATION

CEDRIC DOVER

607P

8E-15-90

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Fredrik A. Dubois,
36, Sussex Street,
Charlestown,
Georgetown, Demerara
27th May, 1953.

Weledele Oam William.

'Met dese gele genheid neem ik myn pen in handen Om U myn oom een paar geerde letter te onderrichten.

Wel Oom ik ben zo bly dat ik U adres gevonden. Want ik wou U al lang schryven.

Maar ik had u adres niet. Oom ik kan u niet veel schryven wand ik ben niet zeker of u dat brief gaat krygen.

Maar of u dat kryg,. verwacht ik op een answoord van u myn oom, dan Zal ik u breedvoerig schryven Het is al een jaar dat ik in Demerara is. Ik ben de laatste zoon van Izaak Dubois of Bleiheidt.

25-58-8

.....

Fredrik. Dubois.

36, Sussex Street,
Charlestown,
Georgetown,
British Guiana,
South America.

Dear Uncle,

I take this opportunity to write you these few lines hoping they may reach you safe.

I would have written you before but I have not your address, only recently I found your name in one of Messrs: Rogers Leaflet.

I would not write anything more until I am quite sure that this letter reaches you and I get reply.

I may mention that I am the last son of Isaac Dubois.

25-58-C

.....
Frederick Dubois
Fredrik. Dubois.

ADDRESS:

Frederick Dubois,
C/O Leo Styke,
36, Sussex Street,
Charlestown,
Georgetown,
British Guiana, South America.

June 5, 1953

Mr. Fredrik A. Dubois
36, Sussex Street
Charlestown,
Georgetown, Demerara

British Guiana
South America

My dear Mr. Dubois:

I think you have mistaken me for someone else. So far as I know I have never had a relative named Isaak Dubois and know nothing about him or his family.

Very sincerely yours,

DBelh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Du Bois, Shirley]

1953?

SHIRLEY GRAHAM DU BOIS

Mrs. Du Bois is taking part in this trip. She usually speaks on the same platform with Dr. Du Bois, by way of introduction, and opening up the general discussion, especially in regard to Peace. Also, she undertakes to deliver separate talks and lectures to larger and smaller groups.

Mrs. Du Bois is the daughter of an A.M.E. minister, was educated at Oberlin and Yale, and has published fivebooks:

George Washington Carver in 1944
There Once Was a Slave, The biography of Frederick Douglass, in 1947
The Story of Phyllis Wheatley in 1949
Paul Robeson in 1946
Your Most Humble Servant, which is the story of Benjamin Banneker, in 1949

Two books of hers will appear soon:

The Story of Jean Baptiste Point de Sable, the Negro founder of Chicago, and Pocahontas.

26-63.7

MISS SHIRLEY GRAHAM

Schedule of Engagements

Sat, Feb. 14

Sun, Feb. 15 Valley. 3:00 P.M. State 9-3514
13455 Valleyheart, Sherman Oaks

Mon, Feb. 16 American Women for Peace 7:30 P.M.
Eastside Settlement House, 1219 E, Adams Blvd.

Tue, Feb. 17 Emma Lazarus 1:00 P.M.
Yablon Center, 7213 Beverly Blvd.

Tue, Feb. 17 Reverend E. A. Anderson 8:00 P.M.
McCoy Memorial Baptist Church, 802 E. 46th St.

Wed, Feb. 18 Eastside Peace Group 1:30 P. M.
134 No. Soto Street

Thu. Feb. 19 A. S. P. – One o'clock

46-10-818

Denmark
Vesey

Koch

Koch
Hallen

Laundry
Street

Shirley Graham

(1953?)

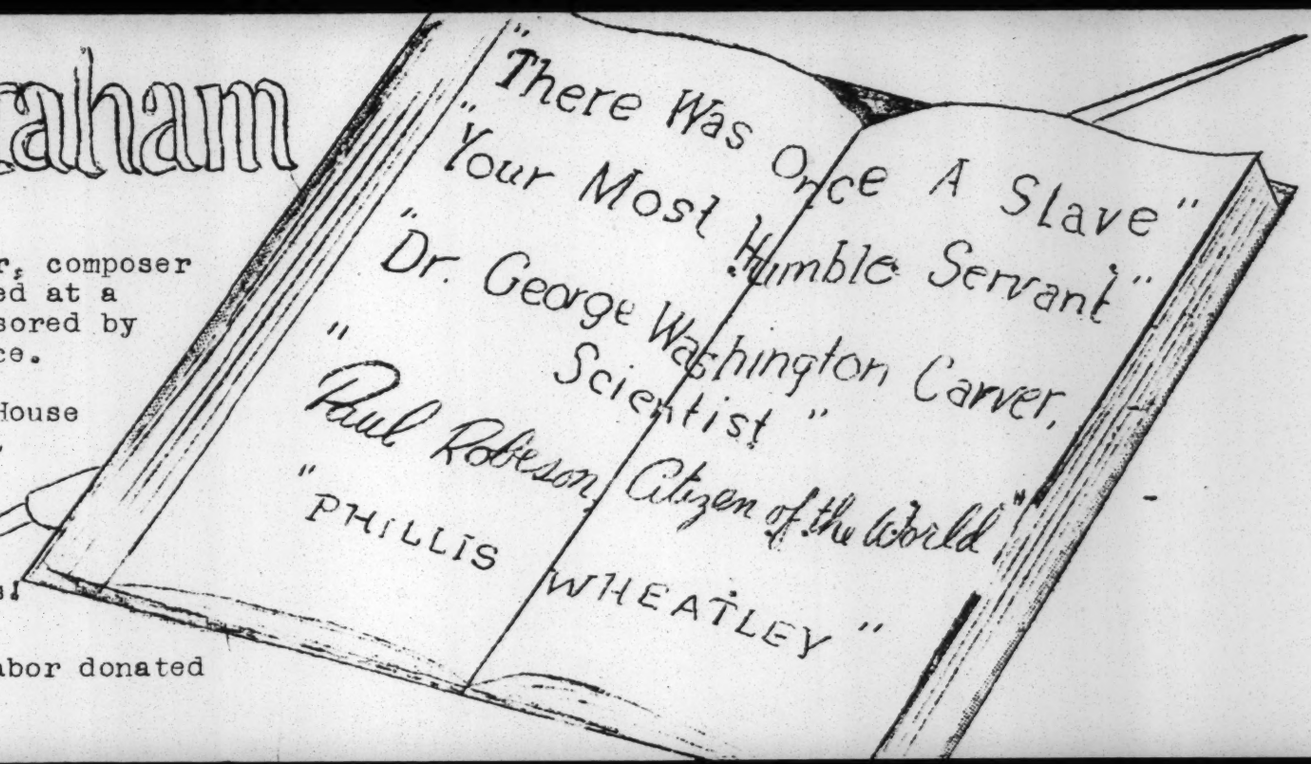
author, playwright, teacher, composer and lecturer will be honored at a program and reception sponsored by the American Women for Peace.

Place-Eastside Settlement House
1219 East Adams Blvd.

Time- Monday, Feb. 16th
Program at 7:30 P.M.

Come and bring your friends!
Donation 75¢

labor donated



March 6, 1953

Mrs. Ethel A. Dunn
General Delivery 52
Los Angeles, California

My dear Mrs. Dunn:

I am returning the card and the transit pass which you sent me.

I thank you for the information and for your interest, and am sorry that I did not have time to write you while in Los Angeles.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Hear . . .

THE WORLD-RENOWNED SCHOLAR HISTORIAN AND AUTHOR

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois

- ☆ *Author of* "THE WORLD AND AFRICA", "IN BATTLE FOR PEACE", and other books.
- ☆ *Former professor of Atlanta University.*
- ☆ *Former Minister to Liberia.*
- ☆ *One of the founders of the N.A.A.C.P.*

Speak on . . .

Africa and World Peace

On the Occasion of His 85th Birthday

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23, AT 8:00 P. M.
TAYLOR MEMORIAL METHODIST CHURCH
12TH AND MAGNOLIA STREET, OAKLAND

ADVANCE TICKETS AVAILABLE
Dr. Le Grand Lawson Coleman, *Chairman*

EAST BAY DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS SPONSORING COMMITTEE
4112 Market Street, Oakland, OL 2-1005

100

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SIDNEY ROGER
PAUL SCHLIPF
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MRS. CHLORA HAYES SLEDGE
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JOHN E. WALKER
BOOKER T. WALLACE
REV. CHARLES L. WARREN
MRS. ALIA T. WASHINGTON
DR. E. RICHARD WEINERMAN
MRS. BRUNETTA REED WOLFMAN

THE OBSERVATIONS below from the works of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois signify his participation in the people's struggles for peace, democracy and equality throughout the turbulent years of the Twentieth Century:

☆ **1910**

"We (the Negro people) will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil, and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone, but for all true Americans."

☆ **1950**

"The most sinister evil of this day is the widespread conviction that war is inevitable and that there is no time left for discussion. It is doubtful if the mass of Americans who accept this judgment realize just what its implications are. . . . As civilization has progressed and included larger and larger masses of men and portions of the earth, two things have become increasingly clear: one, that the costs of war have become too great for any nation to pay no matter what the alternative; and two, that in war as now carried on, there can be no victorious party."

EAST HOLLYWOOD

Haynes

Dear Dr. DuBois

I have been asked by the East Hollywood Interracial Council to write to you for information on the Scottsboro Case. Our concern is to get the latest information on the case and any suggestion as to how best we might serve her cause. We have planned a rally to send her some clothes and also money for her defense on this Mother Day. We are familiar with the case only in the last detail as far as the legal understanding & how things stand and what is planned. Information out here on the Coast is unobtainable. C.R.C. Negro Labor Council and the N.A.A.C.P. all refer us to the East. (I'm a Negro member of this Council and it has been my observation that our membership which is almost all white are keyed up more than some what. It thrills my heart to see so much real interest in a Negro in distress by so many whites that I can not express my joy. These people are serious minded and I wish you were here to sit in with us and if you ever come out here we will be happy to welcome you.)

I personally hope that this request puts you in no imposition.

Happy Days Dear Doctor

John Haynes

1183 N. Virgil Ave.

Hollywood, Calif.

[Egypt - Consulate]

May 19, 1953

The Consul of Egypt
350 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Sir:

I have been conducting this year a seminar of from fifteen to twenty students who are studying Africa.

Each student has taken one particular country and made an intensive study of that country, and then during the latter part of the course we have discussed the government, economy and future prospects of the nation.

On Monday night, May 25th, 1953, I want to have this group of young persons meet and talk informally with the representatives of several African countries. There will, of course, be no publicity concerning this meeting, but I should like to have my students talk face to face with representatives of Africa. I am inviting to this meeting representatives from Egypt, France, Ethiopia, Liberia and Haiti.

May I ask you, Sir, if you could send to this meeting, which will take place in the library at 23 West 26th Street, some member of your staff, your representative to the UN, or some consular official? We will meet at 8 o'clock and have informal discussion for about an hour. I think such a meeting could be of interest to all attending.

Concerning myself, you may find my biography in the American or British Who's Who.

May I hear from you at your convenience, or can I call you by telephone?

I am, Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

WEBDB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

May 21, 1953

Egyptian Delegation to the UN
350 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Sir:

I have been conducting this year a seminar of from fifteen to twenty students who are studying Africa. Each student has taken one particular country and made an intensive study of that country, and then during the latter part of the course we have discussed the government, economy and future prospects of the nation.

On Monday night, May 25th, 1953, I want to have this group of students meet and talk informally with the representatives of several African countries. There will, of course, be no publicity concerning this meeting, but I should like to have my students talk face to face with representatives of Africa. I am inviting to this meeting representatives from Egypt, France, Ethiopia, Liberia and Haiti.

25-3-1

May I ask you, Sir, if you could send to this meeting, which will take place in the library at 23 West 26th Street, some member of your staff, your representative to the UN, or some consular official? We will meet at 7:30 P.M. and have informal discussion for about an hour. I think such a meeting could be of interest to all attending.

Concerning myself, you may find my biography in the American or British Who's Who.

May I hear from you at your convenience, or can I call you by telephone?

I am, Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Emergency Civil Liberties..]

Rights

VOL. I, NO. 3-4 PRICE 20c OCT.-NOV., 1953

McCarthyism Challenged

32-35-55

4 Witnesses Charge Probes Violate First Amendment

High Court Agrees To Hear Issue

In 1947, the Supreme Court refused to review contempt-of-Congress convictions in the "Hollywood Ten" and Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee cases in which witnesses before Congressional committees refused to answer questions on political affiliations on grounds that the questions violated First Amendment guarantees of free speech and association. By thus refusing to rule on the right of Congressional investigators to inquire into political beliefs, the Court opened the way for the subsequent practices which have come to be known as "McCarthyism."

As opposition to the Inquisition has mounted in the past several months, however, the basic challenge to McCarthyism—that it violates traditional American freedoms and the Bill of Rights—again has been asserted by a series of witnesses before Congressional committees. The Supreme Court, reversing its previous position, has finally agreed to hear the First Amendment challenge in at least one case.

Because of the vital importance to all Americans of the outcome of these new tests and because these cases have received scant treatment in the press, ECLC is devoting this entire issue of RIGHTS to these new developments in the fight against McCarthyism.

HARVEY O'CONNOR

Risks Jail to Test McCarthy Power

On October 16, 1953, biographer Harvey O'Connor was indicted for contempt of the Senate. The larger metropolitan newspapers gave the incident a few paragraphs; most papers ignored it. It didn't seem to them to be "newsworthy." Yet the outcome of O'Connor's trial—for good or evil—will have vastly greater bearing on the lives of millions of Americans than most well-publicized news events of recent years.

The indictment stemmed from a deliberate act of O'Connor: he unequivocally challenged the authority of the McCarthy Investigating Committee to inquire into his personal beliefs and political asso-

ciations. He did this with full knowledge that his action may jail him. Because he voluntarily placed his liberty in jeopardy, it is fitting to know precisely what O'Connor did, and why.

On July 14 O'Connor appeared before the McCarthy Committee. He was "wanted" by the Committee because his books were on the shelves of the State Department's Overseas Libraries. Just which of his books, O'Connor did not know, still does not know. That his books were in official U. S. libraries overseas was news to him. He knew of no royalties coming from such distribution.

O'Connor's books include *"Mellon's Millions," "The Guggenheims," "The Astors,"* and, more recently, *"History of the Oil Workers International Union,"* a CIO union whose newspaper he edited. (It subsequently developed that the union has honored many requests from various government agencies for free copies of the history.)

Cites First Amendment

WHEN he was asked whether he was a member of the "Communist conspiracy" at the time his books (unspecified) were "purchased by the old Acheson State Department," O'Connor refused to answer on the ground that:

"Under the First Amendment to the Constitution, my writings, my books, and my political opinions are of no legitimate concern to this committee. If I have violated any laws in the writings that I have written, that is a proper concern for the law enforcement agencies and not the proper concern for this committee." (The First Amendment states: "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press.)

His second objection was that under constitutional limitation of Congressional powers, the Committee had no right to make such an inquiry.

"In the third place," he told the Senators, "I would object to the authority of the committee, under the statute by which it was created by Con-

---

Three distinguished attorneys will represent Harvey O'Connor in his trial. They are Leonard Boudin, noted Constitutional and labor lawyer and member of ECLC's National Council; Lindsay Walden, general counsel of the CIO Oil Workers Union; and Gerhard Van Arkel, general counsel of the AFL International Typographical Union and former general counsel of the NLRB.

O'Connor (r.) presents OWIU President O. A. Knight with copy of union history in 1950.

gress, to inquire into my writings or my political views." The McCarthy Committee actually is authorized to study only "economy and efficiency" in government operations.

Twice McCarthy suggested that O'Connor could refuse to answer on grounds of possible self-incrimination by using the Fifth Amendment. O'Connor refused, insisting that "my political affiliations or lack of political affiliations are no legitimate concern to this committee."

In an interview with Providence, R. I., reporters when he returned from Washington, O'Connor amplified his views:

"I am not a communist. I have never been a communist. I am perfectly willing to tell anyone how I stand except on demand from such a legislative group. They have no right to inquire into my politics."

As a voter, he said, he has a right to know the politics of his inquisitors. "It is they who are running for office. I'm not."

It seems evident that if O'Connor wins, McCarthy will be considerably hamstrung; if he loses, however, McCarthy will have received, in effect, the sanction of the Supreme Court.

Gets Labor Backing

THE O'Connor challenge has aroused considerable support in the labor movement. The Oil Workers' official organ gave strong editorial backing:

"He (O'Connor) is known, both personally and for his work with the union, by literally thousands

of OWIU members. These members admire and respect O'Connor. They believe him to be a good man and a good citizen.

"We believe Harvey O'Connor did a good thing in refusing to answer Joe McCarthy. We believe that McCarthy served no good purpose by asking the question. We believe that he had no legal right to do it. We believe more citizens should boldly oppose, as O'Connor has, the McCarthy witchhunt and smear campaign.

"We hope that when O'Connor stands trial, the jury sees fit to endorse his stand. We are on Harvey O'Connor's side in this argument every inch of the way."

The CIO's *Latin Affairs Bulletin* featured the story prominently with a striking cartoon (see page 8). Sympathetic stories were published in *CIO News*; *The Advance*, organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CIO; *The Packinghouse Worker*, publication of the CIO Packinghouse Workers; and other union publications.

JULIUS EMSPAK

32-35-57

Court Takes 1st Amendment Case

IN point of time, the constitutionality of Congressional investigations into political beliefs and associations may be determined by the Supreme Court even before Harvey O'Connor goes on trial. In another action also largely unnoticed by the press, the Court agreed on Oct. 12 to review a contempt-of-Congress conviction in which the authority of the House Committee on Un-American Activities was specifically challenged on grounds that it violates First Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech, press and association.

The defendant in the current challenge to the House Committee is Julius Emspak, secretary-treasurer of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, who was convicted of contempt and sentenced to six months imprisonment for refusing to answer questions when he was subpoenaed to testify in 1949.

ALTHOUGH the case was originally thought to rest on applications of the Fifth Amendment, the Supreme Court granted certiorari on five questions,

EMSPAK

two of which clearly involve the First Amendment:

"Whether House Resolution 5 (establishing the Un-American Activities Committee) . . . abridged the petitioner's freedom of speech, press and assembly in violation of the First Amendment?

"Whether the First Amendment protects a witness before a Congressional Committee against the compulsory disclosure of the identity of trade union officials with whom he is associated and of his political views and affiliations?"

Emspak had refused to answer, on both First and Fifth Amendment grounds, scores of questions about himself and other officials of his union. At many points in his testimony he challenged the Committee's right under the Constitution to ask questions concerning political affiliations.

"I think it is my duty," he told the Committee, "to endeavor to protect the rights guaranteed under the Constitution, primarily the First Amendment, supplemented by the Fifth. This Committee will corrupt these rights . . . I don't think this Committee has a right to pry into my associations."

His conduct was characterized by the trial judge in these words: "He quickly made it apparent that his concern for the Union was uppermost in his mind."

POINTING up the issue, Emspak's appeal brief argues:

"The Court cannot ignore the fact that the obtaining of information for legislative purposes, the power in aid of which the Resolution (5) was passed, has become a hollow pretext for the compilation of a vast *index expurgatorius,* the systematic destruction of political dissent and the subjection of thousands of citizens not merely to ruthless invasion of privacy but to serious sanction without due process of law.

"Congressional committees now sit in judgment over the political liberty of the American people—teachers, writers, trade unionists, editors, preachers, doctors and just ordinary Americans. We have reached the stage where a 'clearance' from the Committee is often indispensable to one's livelihood, career and good name. The assertion by Congress of these powers to sit in political judgment must be reviewed by this Court."

Oral argument is scheduled for Jan. 4. Thus the stage may be set for a long-sought—and long over-

due—judicial test of the limits of Congressional investigatory powers.

What hangs in the balance was summed up succinctly by *The Nation* magazine: "McCarthyism may well stand or fall upon the Supreme Court's decision in this case."

CORLISS LAMONT

Threaten Citation For Contempt

SEN. MCCARTHY has announced that when the Senate reconvenes in January, he will ask it to cite for contempt Corliss Lamont, author, philosopher, Columbia University lecturer and long-time board member of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Lamont was called to an executive session of the McCarthy group in September because his book, *Peoples of the Soviet Union*, and one article on the USSR were listed in the bibliography of an Army Intelligence pamphlet.

32-35-58

In a statement filed with the Committee, Lamont said that "to dispose of a question causing current apprehension" he has never been a Communist, directly contradicting testimony of ex-Communist Louis Budenz. Lamont then refused to answer further questions about his associations and writings.

Personal Beliefs Inviolate

HE based his stand clearly on the First Amendment, citing recent Supreme Court holdings that the powers of Congressional investigatory bodies are limited and that "inquiry into personal and private affairs is precluded."

"Under the First Amendment," Lamont said, "the power of investigation into matters involving freedom of speech and freedom of the press cannot be used in the absence of legislative intent or power. Congress . . . has no constitutional right to legislate with regard to prior restraint on utterance in either form . . ."

LAMONT

He charged the Committee with violating the principle of the separation of powers by invading the prerogatives of the

CIO tells Latin America about the O'Connor Case. Cartoon, published in Sept.-Oct. issue of CIO Latin American Bulletin, shows arm of Fascism pulling

Judiciary which under the Constitution has sole power to inquire "into personal conduct, personal beliefs, associational activity."

"Under the rules of the Senate and the statutes organizing the appointment of this Standing Committee," he continued, "this Committee has no authority to examine into the personal and private affairs of private citizens. Any action with regard to my books by officials of the government was done without my prior knowledge . . . I took no part in any proceedings involving any governmental authority and therefore this Committee is without power to examine me under the rules and statute governing it."

Lamont's final ground was a challenge to the competency of the committee because all of its Democratic members had resigned earlier in the year as a result of the infamous smear of the Protestant clergy by J. B. Matthews, then a committee aide.

At this writing, Lamont faces a contempt citation and trial when the Senate reconvenes. In the meantime, however, newspapers and magazines which virtually ignored other civil liberties cases have published sympathetic editorials lauding his courage in bringing the issue of McCarthy's power to a head.

"As a private citizen, without public office," said the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, "he has a right to refuse to answer questions involving his personal affairs and his writings . . . It may well be that he has given a new direction to the opposition to the snoopers and pryers."

the strings of a puppet who asks, "What are you thinking?" O'Connor, pointing to the First Amendment, replies tartly: "It's none of your business!"

Noting that the Budenz accusations failed to impress President Eisenhower when he was at Columbia, the P-D added:

"If there is a case against him, the thing to do is to take it to a grand jury and ask indictments. Until that is done, many Americans will applaud Corliss Lamont for having, in effect, spoken up for them and their right to be secure in their thoughts and in their personal lives."

The *Washington Post* termed Lamont's challenge "substantial and significant" and declared:

"The basic issue, of course, is whether the courts, which have been understandably reluctant to impose broad, general checks upon the power of Congress to investigate, will be more willing to impose checks upon individual committees attempting to exercise powers which Congress has not conferred upon them."

The *N. Y. Times* observed that "the ultimate disposition of this case may help define the area in which privacy of the individual is still protected."

Truman on 1st Amendment

"It is writen into the Constitution that the Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. If Congress can make no laws prohibiting freedom of worship, it is certainly not entitled to investigate the beliefs of church groups or their leaders."

—Former President Truman, to Alumni Assn. of City College, Nov. 10, 1953

LEO HUBERMAN

Balks McCarthy Opinion Probe

STILL ANOTHER writer chose recently to lay down a challenge to the McCarthy Committee in an effort to set up a test case of the Committee's powers. The results illuminate the Committee's trepidation at the prospect of a judicial review of its activities.

Leo Huberman, author and editor of the *Monthly Review*, an Independent Socialist Magazine, was hailed before the McCarthy Committee in July in connection with its ostensible investigation of the State Department's overseas information program. Several of Huberman's books (*Man's Worldly Goods; We, the People; The Truth About Unions; The Truth About Socialism*) had been purchased in McCarthy's words, by "the old Acheson State Department" for use in U. S. libraries abroad.

In a prepared statement read to the Committee, Huberman described himself as a "Marxist and a socialist" who believes "in working together with others, including Communists, to the extent that their aims and methods are consistent with mine." He denied ever having been a member of the Communist Party, but added that he did so, not because he conceded the Committee's right to ask for such information, "but because I want to make it crystal clear that Communism is not an issue in this case and to focus attention on what is the issue—my right as an author and editor to pursue my occupation without interference from Congress or any of its committees."

Huberman declined, however, to answer further questions about his beliefs or associations, declaring that the First Amendment bars Congress from inquiring into those areas.

'Uninterested' Committee Asks Views

McCARTHY and other committee members, somewhat unprepared for this response, said that Huberman could only refuse on grounds that his answers might incriminate him. They claimed, too, that they were not interested in his beliefs, despite the fact that committee counsel Roy Cohn asked:

"Do you believe in our form of government? Do you believe in capitalism?"

Other questions included whether isolated sen-

tences from his books implied advocacy of revolution, how his "viewpoints deviate from those of the Communist Party" and similar matters of opinion.

HUBERMAN

McCarthy insisted that this did not constitute interrogation into Huberman's beliefs. "We do not care what his beliefs are," the Senator averred, "except in so far as he tries to put those beliefs in a book which is purchased by our taxpayers."

HUBERMAN persisted in his First Amendment stand. Implicit in the numerous repetitions of McCarthy's "answer-or-take-the-Fifth" warning was the threat that Huberman would be cited for contempt if he disregarded the alternatives offered by McCarthy.

But the threat never materialized. Apparently reluctant to face a court test in the case of a writer who says he has never been a Communist but refuses to answer other questions on political beliefs, the committee declined to cite Huberman because, it said, he had answered the "$64 question" on Communist membership.

The 1st Amendment... *And the 5th*

THE Supreme Court's refusal in 1947 to hear and sustain First Amendment challenges of the right of Congressional inquisitors to probe into political beliefs and associations led, in the past few years, to increased invocation of the Fifth Amendment by witnesses who would not cooperate with the committees. For the Court's refusal to assert the validity of traditional First Amendment guarantees left as the only recognized legal recourse the use of the Fifth Amendment right of a person not "to be a witness against himself."

Defenders of civil liberties welcome the new First Amendment challenges laid down in the cases described in this issue and hope that the courts will thus be moved to impose long-needed limits on the inquisitors. Until that is done, however, they recognize the practical situation created by the Court's earlier trifling with basic American freedoms. They

are concerned, therefore, at the recent intensification of official efforts to eliminate the last remaining legal bulwark against the inquisition—the Fifth Amendment.

Over the summer months, the campaign initiated by Sen. McCarran to pass a statute that would deprive witnesses of the Constitutional privilege against self-incrimination by granting them a spurious "immunity" from prosecution met with increasing success.

'Immunity' Bill Passed Senate

McCARRAN's bill passed the Senate despite opposition from many prominent attorneys and officials. In September, Attorney General Brownell threw the Administration's support behind the measure, making it almost certain that the bill will be adopted at the next session unless a powerful opposition movement is mobilized.

McCarran's campaign has been aided by widespread propaganda and official actions designed to malign those who use the Fifth.

To counteract the officially sponsored but erroneous impression that those who use the Fifth are "guilty," two recent developments are significant:

1. 40,000 reprints of a special 8-page article in *The Nation* by two distinguished attorneys entitled "Does Silence Mean Guilt," were distributed. The lengthy and scholarly article, written by Laurent B. Frantz, law librarian at Drake U., and Norman Redlich, a member of the New York bar, reviewed the history of the Fifth Amendment in the struggle against religious persecution, outlined the legal, moral and practical reasons for use of the privilege, and concluded:

"In an era of ever-expanding Congressional inquiry into personal beliefs, the privilege . . . is the only effective legal weapon now available for the protection of witnesses."

Law Dean Defends Privilege

2. In a detailed letter to the N. Y. Herald Tribune of Oct. 26, Paul Shipman Andrews, Dean Emeritus of Syracuse U. College of Law, one-time Justice Department official, vigorously defended use of the Fifth Amendment.

Describing in detail the case of a professor falsely accused of vague "Communist affiliation" in the '30s who decided to plead the privilege, Andrews criticized those who would infer the Professor's guilt from this action.

"There may be many different sets of circumstances under which a man, knowing himself to be

innocent of any wrong, might nevertheless wish to invoke the Fifth Amendment," Andrews wrote. "Perhaps he cannot afford the heavy cost of defending himself, nor afford the time; perhaps he dreads the strain of a possible prosecution, the humiliation, the black mark against him in the eyes of his friends, even though he should be acquitted, the risk of being unjustly found guilty.

"Why should an innocent man be expected to answer questions and thereby build up a chain of evidence which . . . would seem to connect him with some crime or wrong or expose him to a criminal prosecution? Why in the world should he be presumed guilty of something just because he uses, to protect himself, a right guaranteed him by the U. S. Constitution?

'A Basic Freedom'

"ACTUALLY the Fifth Amendment was a statement of a right that had long existed in the common law . . . It is a basic freedom. It is no accident, I believe, that this fundamental right was becoming embedded in the law several hundred years ago at about the same time that the early and abominable practice of torturing men to make them give the right answer—the answer the prosecutor wanted—was dying out. For if you can compel men to answer questions . . . the temptation on police and prosecutors to use third-degree and mental tourture methods, if not physical abuse amounting to torture, becomes almost irresistible . . ."

Freedom and National Security

In times of war, or near-war, such as the present the issues raised by the Bill of Rights are usually stated in the form of a conflict, or a supposed conflict, between the Freedom of the People and the Authority of those Government Agencies which are given responsibility for the Security of the Nation. And the contention which runs through all the ten provisions of the Bill of Rights is that the constitutional powers of the Agencies which guard our security are specific and limited. These agencies may, and must, do what they can to ensure the national safety. But they may never serve that purpose by limiting the Freedom of the People in certain ways which are specifically forbidden by the Constitution. It is within that general limitation of the governing powers that the Bill of Rights sets limits to Congressional and executive action. The founders of our government knew, at least as well as we, the dangers of hostility abroad and of disaffection at home. And, with those dangers vividly in mind, they formed our political institutions. They established a government, not of general and unlimited powers, but of powers so limited as to prevent specified invasions of the Freedom of the People, for whom and by whom, in the last resort, the governing of the nation is carried on.

Alexander Meiklejohn

HATS OFF... *to Ed Murrow*

MURROW

A nation-wide TV audience last month witnessed a vivid picture of the Government's loyalty program in action when Ed Murrow presented the case of Lt. Milo Radulovich on his "See It Now" program. Radulovich was threatened with revocation of his reserve Air Force commission because of anonymous charges of pro-Communist sympathies against his father and sister, although Air Force officials conceded that the Lieutenant's loyalty itself was not in question. Neither he nor his attorney was permitted to examine the evidence against him, which was kept in a sealed envelope during his "trial."

Radulovich's appeal which aroused widespread support and bared the use of the odious principle of "guilt by blood relationship" has been upheld by Air Secretary Talbott.

Over the Summer

Exercise of the right to associate was rarely so strained as in the summer of 1953 for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Its survival and indeed growth is a testament to the worth of its objectives; perhaps also to the gregarious instinct which conquers even personality problems.

ECLC was confronted in June by these problems: It had no money. Many of its leading members were on vacations. Some wanted to reach an agreement on a detailed libertarian philosophy before acting; others wanted to hold meetings and write articles forthwith. One philosophical statement after another was prepared, circulated and not adopted. Tempers were high, resignations some, public meetings none.

A kitchen cabinet did function in the absence of both a Chairman and Executive Director. It agreed upon the formation of community councils and campus organizations, the continuation of *Rights*, and research and literary projects including pamphlets and law review articles. Some of this was begun, not very much completed.

The continuous meetings had the effect of bringing common-minded, though diverse individuals

together, of holding the organization together, of attracting new people. The ECLC was able to oppose formally the witness "immunity" bill, the investigations of the clergy and several other invasions of fundamental rights.

The O'Connor, Huberman and Lamont cases showed that the Committee could meet a serious responsibility when confronted by it. The Committee became the only civil liberties group in the U.S. to support First Amendment opponents of McCarthy.

SRO at Emerson Luncheon

Late in August the Executive Committee voted to ask Dr. Clark Foreman to come back as Executive Director and to arrange for a luncheon in honor of Professor Thomas I. Emerson of Yale Law School on his departure for Europe. The luncheon, held at the Fifth Avenue Hotel in September, was so well attended that some people had to be turned away. Mr. Carey McWilliams, editorial director of *The Nation* presided. Mr. L. M. Rabinowitz, philanthropist and friend of civil liberties, spoke as did Mr. Joseph Crown, Treasurer of the National Lawyers Guild. Prof. Emerson devoted most of his remarks to his and the Committee's opposition to the smear attack made by Attorney-General Brownell against the National Lawyers Guild.

At the National Council Meeting following the Emerson luncheon Mr. John M. Pickering was elected Chairman; Mrs. George G. Kirstein, Treasurer; Mr. Franklin Reeve, Secretary; and Dr. Clark Foreman, Director. Since then a most successful meeting has been held in the Fraternal Clubhouse at which Mr. Harvey O'Connor made the principal address. Prof. Broadus Mitchell of Rutgers presided, and Messrs. Matthew Josephson and I. F. Stone also spoke.

Dinner for Lamont Dec. 15

On the anniversary of the enactment of the Bill of Rights—Dec. 15—ECLC will give a dinner at the Hotel McAlpin at which Dr. Corliss Lamont will be cited for courage in his uncompromising support of the Bill of Rights.

Today the committee can be said to be on the road to financial recovery, with a cohesive Executive Committee meeting regularly and plans for a widely expanded membership organization. But it still needs all the help you can give.

An excellent account of Harvey O'Connor's case by Josephine Herbst—MIND OF YOUR OWN—is available at the office for 10c a copy, $5 a hundred and $25 a thousand. Send your order in.

THE EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee was formed in 1951 to give uncompromising support for the Bill of Rights and the freedom of conscience it guarantees.

The governing body of ECLC is the National Council of 51 members from 16 states and D.C. All who agree with our aims are invited to join as Associates by paying $3.00 a year. Associates receive *Rights* and other literature distributed by the Committee.

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1953

Risk for Risk

By JUDGE LEARNED HAND

Our nation is embarked upon a venture, as yet unproved; we have set our hopes upon a community in which men shall be given unchecked control of their own lives. That community is in peril; it is invaded from within, it is threatened from without; it faces a test which it may fail to pass. The choice is ours whether, when we hear the pipes of Pan, we shall stampede like a frightened flock, forgetting all those professions on which we have claimed to rest our polity. God knows, there is risk in refusing to act till the facts are all in; but is there not greater risk in abandoning the conditions of all rational inquiry? Risk for risk, for myself I had rather take my chance that some traitors will escape detection than spread abroad a spirit of general suspicion and distrust, which accepts rumor and gossip in place of undismayed and unintimidated inquiry. I believe that that community is already in process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy, where non-conformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation, without specification or backing, takes the place of evidence; where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists to win or lose. Such fears as these are a solvent which can eat out the cement that binds the stones together; they may in the end subject us to a despotism as evil as any that we dread; and they can be allayed only in so far as we refuse to proceed on suspicion, and trust one another until we have tangible ground for misgiving. The mutual confidence on which all else depends can be maintained only by an open mind and a brave reliance upon free discussion. I do not say

that these will suffice; who knows but we may be on a slope which leads down to aboriginal savagery. But of this I am sure: if we are to escape, we must not yield a foot upon demanding a fair field, and an honest race, to all ideas. "Blame not before thou hast examined; understand first and then rebuke. Answer not before thou hast heard; interrupt not in the midst of speech." Those words were written nearly 2000 years ago; they came out of an experience already long, and refined in the fires of passion and conflict; they are the product of a wisdom, bought by ages of bitter trial; and by that wisdom alone shall we be saved, we, who boast ourselves to be the apostles of a faith in the eventual triumph of Wisdom.

Extract from Speech of Judge Learned Hand at the University of the State of New York, October 24, 1952—reprinted by permission

Conference

THE BILL OF RIGHTS—SUBLIME RISK OF FREE MEN

Wars and emergencies have always been acid tests for democracies. Unfortunately we now face the prospect of endless emergencies. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee agrees with President-elect Eisenhower that all our problems can be solved within the framework of our Constitution but we hold that they will be so solved only if the people actively insist on their traditional rights.

It is to meet the challenge of our generation, so nobly stated by Judge Learned Hand, that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has been organized. The Committee now calls liberty-loving Americans to attend a conference in New York on January 30th and 31st, 1953. The conference will re-emphasize the importance of the Bill of Rights in our society. Distinguished speakers will recommend ways of regaining the full protection of individual liberty guaranteed in our Constitution. The conference will also draft a petition of grievances to be presented, in accordance with the First Amendment, to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Attorney-General and the Congress.

"Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light."

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

PAUL L. LEHMANN, *Chairman*
JAMES IMBRIE, *Sec'y-Treas.*
MALCOLM R. EVANS, *Chairman, Program Committee*
CLARK FOREMAN, *Director*

Program

FRIDAY EVENING 8:30 at Carnegie Hall — SUBLIME RISK OF FREE MEN

"The First Ten Amendments" ..... Dramatization
"The Bill of Rights" ..... Musical Number
"The Bill of Rights in American History" ..... An Address

SATURDAY MORNING 10-12 — Forums at The First Presbyterian Church, 12 West Twelfth Street

Forum I—*Academic Freedom*

Report on current infringements of academic freedom.
Who is behind the attacks on public schools?
What can we do to maintain freedom in education?
Participants: Prof. Derk Bodde, Dr. Scott Buchanan, Prof. Robert S. Cohen, Prof. H. H. Wilson.

Forum II—*Freedom of the Arts*

Current limitations on the arts.
Cultural cost of censorship and blacklisting.
What can be done to restore freedom in the arts?
Participants: Matthew Josephson, Author, Merle Miller, Author, Ben Shahn, Artist, James T. Soby, Art Editor, J. Raymond Walsh, Economist.

Forum III—*The Political Use of Fear*

The psychological explanation.
Current curbs on our freedom.
What we can do to hold to our constitutional rights.
Participants: Rev. Malcolm R. Evans, Carey McWilliams, Editor, Canon Robert D. Smith, I. F. Stone, Author, Dr. Lawrence J. Roose, Psychiatrist.

Forum IV—*Loyalty and the Fifth Amendment*

Loyalty tests in government service, unions, professions and private enterprise.
The Fifth Amendment as a protection for the innocent.
Participants: Judge Hubert Delany, Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, Educator.

SATURDAY 12 noon-1:30 P.M. — Bufflet Lunch

SATURDAY 1:30 P.M.

General Session—*What We Can Do To Uphold The Bill Of Rights*

Religious and moral foundations for the Bill of Rights.
Religious and moral necessity for freedom of conscience.
Constitutional limits to Congressional inquiry.
Organized expression of support for the Bill of Rights.
Participants: Rev. Prof. Paul L. Lehmann, Frank Lloyd Wright, Architect, Hon. Walter White.

SUNDAY MORNING—There will be no session on Sunday but the churches and synagogues in the Greater New York area are asked to give such attention to the Conference and its theme as their own situations and programs permit. Members of the Conference are invited to the services of worship.

Sponsors

Rabbi Michael Alper
Prof. Stringfellow Barr
Scott Buchanan
Rev. George A. Buttrick
Prof. Hadley Cantril
Rev. J. Henry Carpenter
Rev. C. Lennart Carlson
Dean Frank Carthy
Rev. Rufus Cornelson
Rev. Henry Hitt Crane
Earl Dickerson
Prof. Albert Einstein
Rabbi Ira Eisenstein
Rev. Phillips Packer Elliott
Prof. Thomas I. Emerson
Rev. Malcolm R. Evans
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild
Rev. Milton A. Galamison
Jess Gitt
Prof. Fowler Harper
James Imbrie
Rev. Prof. Paul L. Lehmann
Leo Lionni
Carey McWilliams
Rev. John A. Mackay
Clarence E. Pickett
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Ben Shahn
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William L. Shirer
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I. F. Stone
Rev. Gardner C. Taylor
Rev. Prof. Paul Tillich
J. Raymond Walsh
Walter White
Prof H. H. Wilson
Frank Lloyd Wright

Please send me _____ reservations for the Conference.

Enclosed find $_____ covering (please check):

Friday evening at Carnegie Hall and the Saturday Conference* including lunch	$5.00	_____
Tickets for Carnegie Hall only	1.50	_____
(Balcony Student Tickets)	.50	_____
Saturday Conference* including lunch	4.25	_____

*Please designate here the Forum which you wish to attend _____
(see page three for subjects of forums)

If you are unable to attend you can still help make the conference a success by:
1. Giving volunteer help to the arrangements committee _____
2. Sending us a contribution _____

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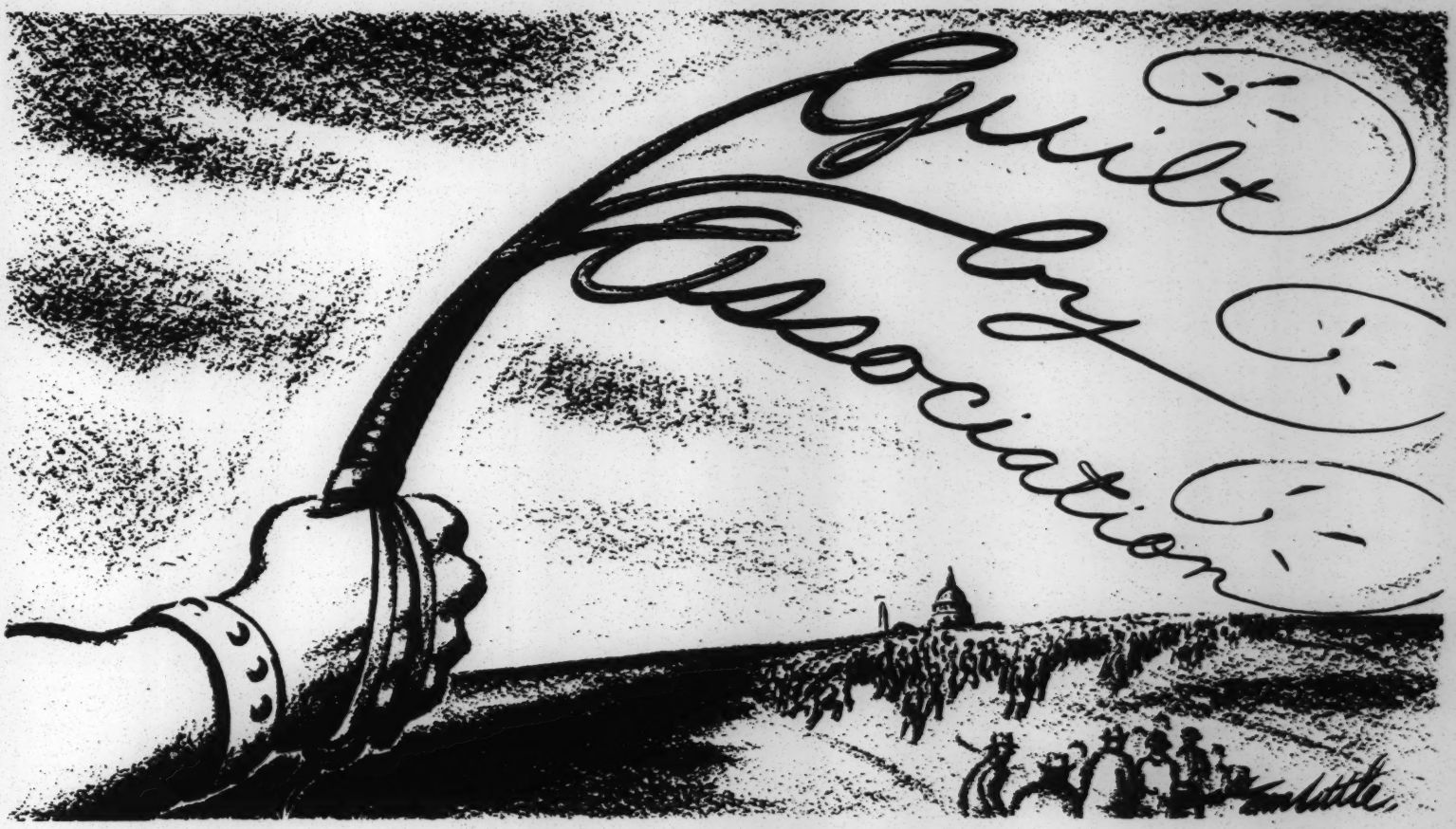

Drawing by Tom Little

Guilt—and Innocence—by Association

Should a man be judged by the company he keeps? Or by the organizations he joins? What is the letter and the spirit of the law?

By HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

WHEN Bishop Oxnam was called before the un-American Activities Committee it was charged not that he was himself a Communist or even a fellow traveler, but that he had lent his name to organizations that the committee considered subversive. He was guilty, in short, of the new crime of improper association. The Bishop succeeded in clearing himself of this stain on his character, though not to the satisfaction of all. Not, for instance, to the satisfaction of the Rev. Daniel Poling, editor of the Christian Herald, who deplored, in THE NEW YORK TIMES, the habit of ready association with miscellaneous organizations, and concluded with the observation that "a man is known by the company he keeps."

This crime of guilt by association made its first appearance in Federal law in the Alien Registration Act of 1940; it became not merely a crime but a disability and a sin by virtue of President Truman's Loyalty Order of 1947—an order which set up as one standard for employment or dismissal "membership in, association with, or sympathetic affiliation with any * * * organization, movement, group or combination of persons, designated by the Attorney General as * * * subversive." Since then this cloud no bigger than a man's hand has grown until it fills the whole horizon.

Soon not only the Attorney General but almost everybody else was busy compiling lists—Congressional committees, state Attorneys General, state legislative committees, and scores of private organizations as well. The lists themselves, needless to say, grew longer and longer, for increasingly their compilers followed the principle implicit in Franklin's story of the two Quaker sisters: "I know not how it is, sister, but the older I get the more I find that no one is right but me and thee, and sometimes I am troubled about thee." And the standard of "affiliation" grew vaguer and vaguer.

TO the witch-hunters of our time no more plausible test was ever devised than this one, for sooner or later almost every man or women who is active in public affairs joins some organization that somebody considers subversive. And the notion that "birds of a feather flock together," that "there is no smoke without fire," is so widespread that it affects even the most level-headed.

Yet no more pernicious doctrine has ever found its way into law or into popular acceptance than this doctrine of guilt by association. It is pernicious in principle, in application, and in consequences. It confesses a gross and palpable misreading of our history and subverts vital parts of our democracy and our constitutional system. It is essential that we examine this doctrine critically so that we may see what it has cost us and what it may yet cost us.

First, then, the doctrine of guilt by association is unsound in logic. It is unsound because it assumes that a good cause becomes bad if supported by bad men; perhaps it assumes the reverse as well—as it logically should—that a bad cause becomes good if supported by virtuous men. But truth stands on its own merits; it may be made more acceptable with proper sponsorship, but it is neither enhanced nor impaired by the authorities who support it. If all the subversives in the land asserted that two and two made four, two and two would still make four. If a particular cause is worthy of support, it does not cease to merit support because men we disapprove support it.

There is a persuasive reason why conservatives and liberals alike should subscribe to this principle, and that is a practical one. For if bad support could damage a good cause, then all that would be needed to tarnish the Declaration of Independence or destroy the Constitution would be the endorsement of these documents by the Communist party; all that would be needed to ruin the Republican party or the American Legion or the American Bar Association would be approval of their objectives by The Daily Worker. The doctrine that a good cause can be damaged by disreputable support means that all that is necessary to ruin a good cause is bad support.

SECOND, the doctrine is wrong legally. In Anglo-American law guilt is personal, not collective. It does not spread, by a process of osmosis, from the guilty to the neighboring innocent. And guilt attaches itself to illegal acts, not to dangerous thoughts or suspicious associations. There is, of course, such a thing as collective guilt in a conspiracy, but the laws dealing with conspiracy are ample to take care of this. It is a far cry from joining the World Federalists or the Civil Liberties Union to a conspiracy, and a climate of opinion that befogs the distinction is one in which the most fundamental rights can be lost.

The Supreme Court has itself repeatedly repudiated the notion of guilt by association, and repudiated, too, the notion that any one man can decide what organizations are illegal. Furthermore, in *(Continued on Page 66)*

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, *Professor of History at Columbia, wrote "America, Story of a Free Nation" and many other books.*

(Continued from Page 1)

our legal system, guilt is not retroactive, and the Constitution specifically prohibits the Congress from passing a bill of attainder or an ex post facto law. "An ex post facto law," the Supreme Court has said "is one which renders an act punishable in a manner in which it was not punishable when it was committed."

IT would be difficult to find a more succinct description of the malpractices in which our Congressional committees are now engaged. To punish, either by law or by destruction of character or by forfeiture of job, the joining of an organization in 1937 or 1945 which was not held to be subversive or even suspect until 1950 is a violation of the spirit if not of the letter of the Constitution and revolts anyone familiar with the history of Anglo-American justice.

Third, the doctrine is wrong practically. It is, after all, neither possible nor desirable that we engage in a check of the membership, past as well as present, of all organizations to which we belong or which we are asked to join. What a shambles our society would be if we actually did this. We should be careful what we join, we are told; we should be careful in lending our name. But how do we go about being careful? Do we start with our church? with our labor union? with our fraternal society? with our veterans' organization? with our professional group? If the presence of subversives in an organization is enough to persuade us to drop our membership, all that the Communists need to do to destroy any society is to join it.

PERHAPS the most curious thing about this principle of collective contamination is its selective character. It operates, indeed, on a double standard. No one suggests the danger of association with the Daughters of the American Revolution or the American Legion or the Democratic party. Yet it is easy to make out a case against each of these—a case quite as plausible as that made out against such organizations as the Civil Liberties Union—for at one time or another each of these has been guilty of intolerance, or of encouraging the violation of the First or the Fourteenth Amendment. And, after all, if Republicans can associate with a McCarthy or a Velde and Democrats with a McCarran or a Talmadge, without ostentatious infection, it is difficult to know where we are to draw the line or establish our moral quarantine.

There are needless to say, dangers in promiscuous joining or name-lending. But we must leave something to the individual judgment, something to common sense, something to the operation of the natural law of diminishing returns. Those who join organizations without proper inquiry into purpose or direction, or who lend their names indiscriminately to causes and organizations, will soon discover that they are tagged as "joiners," that they suffer embarrassment and confusion, and that they forfeit whatever influence they once commanded.

Certainly no one should give his name to an organization gratuitously without some investigation or assurance of its character. But clearly there are practical difficulties here, for we cannot spend all of our time investigating each organization that appeals to us, nor do we want an official body to

make investigations for us. On the whole, if we must err—as we will—it is probably better for society that we err on the side of generosity than on the side of caution.

And we must beware, too, lest we erect a double standard in this matter of lending our names and our support to causes and organizations. It ill becomes a society that applauds the stars of the film, television, radio, sports world when they "lend" their names —for a price—to the endorsement of breakfast food they do not eat, soap they do not use, whisky they do not drink —to become indignant when misguided idealists lend their names to what they think are good causes.

A MORE serious problem arises in the divorce—or gap —between membership and responsibility. On the whole it is certainly desirable that those who join an organization take part in its activities and assume some share of responsibility for its direction. If its character is not what it purports to be, if its activities are not in fact those they had originally supported, they should either work to change it, or, if they are unable to do this or do not care enough to try, they should get out. If they fail to do either they may expect to be charged with irresponsibility.

Here again, however, we must beware of a double standard. When our whole society operates to divorce membership from responsibility it is not fair to require that reformers or liberals be entirely different from the rest of us. After all, all those who own shares in a corporation—and there are millions of them—own the corporation and are ultimately responsible for its conduct. Yet how many shareholders interest themselves in the labor policies or the taxation policies of their corporations?

For that matter, how many of those who insist—and quite rightly, too—that those who join organizations should take an active part in them, themselves take an active part in the political party to which they belong, in their church or their professional organization? If we applied to the average person who belongs to many organizations the tests we are now asked to apply to a Bishop Oxnam or a Helen McAfee Horton, a great many of our parties, our churches, and our fraternal and professional organizations would collapse overnight.

FOURTH, the doctrine is wrong historically, for it flies in the face of the whole of our experience. If there is a basic American principle and practice, it is the principle and practice of voluntary association. The voluntary association is at the basis of our constitutional system, of our democracy.

Our democracy has functioned through voluntary associations ever since the days of the Mayflower Compact and the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut.

Our churches are private voluntary associations. Our political parties, our labor unions, our professional societies, our fraternal orders, our educational and charitable societies, all are private voluntary associations. Most of our major reforms, political, social, moral, were carried through by private voluntary associations: women's rights, temperance, educational improvement, the attack on slavery, prison and penal reform, slum clearance—these and a hundred others all got their original impetus from such organizations.

BUT it is needless to elaborate on anything so obvious. We are a nation of joiners, and it is by joining that we get most of the business of democracy done. We have not yet learned to turn automatically to the Government to do what we want, though the McCarthys and the Jenners are the deadly enemies of private enterprise in the social, the intellectual and the spiritual realm. A government that may decide what organizations are safe and what are unsafe must be strong enough to impose its ideas and principles on everyone. Is it that kind of government that we want?

Our great tradition of voluntary democracy is now in peril. For the logical consequence of the doctrine of guilt by association is of course that men will cease to join new organizations and will drop away from old ones. Already ordinary men and women are timid about joining—and who can blame them? Already college students refrain from political or reform activity—and who can blame them? You never know which organizations may be found subversive twenty years from now.

Nor need we delude ourselves that it is only the lunatic fringe, the expendable, organizations that will suffer. We are all of us members of many societies, and we may say with John Donne that when the principle of association is attacked we ask not for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for us. Already the Uni-

tarian Church is suspect in some quarters; elsewhere it is the Civil Liberties Union or the World Federalists or the friends of UNESCO or the American Library Association, which has courageously opposed book censorship, or the entire teaching profession. In time it may be a major

on some one point, will nevertheless display the same vigor on all others; * * * After having exhausted your strength in vain efforts to put down prohibited associations, you will be surprised that you cannot persuade men to form the associations that you encourage."

THUS our present - day wrecking-crew may knock out one of the props of our democ-church or a major party, for a committee that can hire a man who imagines seven thousand Communists among the Protestant clergy, is capable of anything.

ONCE the notion that joining may be dangerous is firmly established, all of our organizations will be affected, and the American democracy will dry up at the roots. For as Tocqueville said in one of the most astute of all his prophecies:

"When some kinds of associations are prohibited and others allowed, it is difficult to distinguish the former from the latter beforehand. In this state of doubt, men abstain from them altogether, and a sort of public opinion passes current, that tends to cause any association whatsoever to be regarded as a bold and almost illicit enterprise.

"It is therefore chimerical to suppose that the spirit of association, when it is repressed cratic system. And while they are about this, they are engaged in a related and equally subversive activity. That is the attack upon the right of petition, a right so important that it occupies an honored place in both English and American Revolutions. The right of petition is not openly attacked, to be sure; even the McCarthys are not quite that impudent. But the attack upon it is no less deadly for that. After all, if a petition for clemency for the Rosenbergs, for example, or for the abolition of the Un-American Activities Committee is to expose men and women to investigation, to the charge of subversion, they will think twice before signing anything.

A year or so ago a Wisconsin paper had the notion to get signatures for the preamble of the Declaration of Independence; it got precious few, for the majority of those approached regarded the request as dangerous and the document as subversive—which of course it was! If only George III could have inculcated that attitude of mind in the Americans of that day, there never would have been any nonsense about signing the Declaration of Independence.

FINALLY the doctrine of guilt by association is wrong morally. It is wrong morally because it assumes a far greater power in evil than in virtue. It is based therefore on a desperate view of mankind. It rests on what may be called the rotten apple theory of society—the theory that one wicked man corrupts all virtuous men, and that one mistaken idea subverts all sound ideas.

Why is there no doctrine of innocence by association? Why is it that our present-day witch-hunters pay this matchless tribute to the power of communism or radicalism, that they think its doctrines and its proponents irresistible?

It is, of course, because they are men consumed with fear and hatred, they are men who know nothing of the stirring history of freedom, they are men of little faith. We may go further and say that they are hypocrites in that they do not even believe in the doctrines that they proclaim. For if they did believe them, they would not need to fear counter-argument, but would be willing to submit their beliefs to the competition of the marketplace of ideas.

The doctrine of guilt by association is wrong morally for other reasons as well. It assumes that it is possible to divide mankind between the saved and the sinners (or, if you will, the loyal and the disloyal, the patriotic and the subversive, the Americans and the un-Americans), and that the saved must never associate with the sinners.

It is, needless to say, a very old attitude. It is the attitude which the Pharisees took when they asked of the Disciples "Why eateth your Master with publicans and sinners?" The Pharisees are still with us, even in the clergy; they are still prepared to divide us all into the saved and the sinners, and they are still sure that it is wicked to consort with sinners.

WHO are these men to whom all truth is revealed? Who are they that know so surely which causes are good and which are bad, what motives are noble and what are ignoble?

There is one consolation here, and that is that the society of the saved gets more and more exclusive, and the society of the damned larger and larger. Just as each new party that came to power during the French Revolution thought it essential to send its predecessors to the guillotine for the lack of true zeal, so the hatemongers of our day are spreading their nets wider and wider until in the end hardly anyone can escape.

The doctrine of guilt by association, then, is deeply immoral. It rests on a low view of human nature. It confesses a lack of faith in truth and in virtue. It makes us into the kind of men and women who are very conscious of their own importance and very careful never to expose that self-importance to the risks of battle or of life, the kind of men and women who never support any but the most respectable causes, read any but the most approved books, associate with any but the most distinguished people.

IT is perhaps well to remember that in the beginning and for a longer time than the United States has existed, Christianity itself was the most disreputable of causes and it is well to remember what the Rev. Samuel J. May said of the Abolitionists:

"We Abolitionists are what we are—babes, sucklings, obscure men, silly women, publicans and sinners, and we shall manage this matter just as might be expected of such persons as we are. It is unbecoming in abler men who stood by and would do nothing, to complain because we do not do better."

It is time that we see this doctrine of guilt by association for what it is: not a convenient device for detecting subversion, but a device for subverting our democratic principles and practices, for destroying our constitutional guarantees, for corrupting our faith in ourselves and in our fellow men.

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THE EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE is pleased to reprint the above article by Professor Commager. We believe it to be a brilliant discussion of a vital issue. We support the views which Professor Commager expresses and hope that people throughout the country will benefit from the clarity of his analysis.

The ECLC was founded in 1951 by a group who felt that not enough was being done to preserve the liberties won for us by our ancestors. The Committee is not competitive with other civil liberties organizations but hopes to supplement their efforts toward uncompromising support of the Bill of Rights for all.

Aware of the need for national security, we do not believe that our freedom as individuals must be sacrificed to keep our country safe. Our civil liberties have helped win the hot wars of the past, and there is no reason why we should give up those liberties in the cold war.

Every day brings increasing evidence of the evils which ride with hysteria. Our greatest danger as a country of free men is at home. Demagogues and authoritarians thrive on the fear which they create. They cannot succeed in a country where people are free to speak their mind. As Jefferson so eloquently said in his first inaugural address: "If there be those among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

There are people in our country today who have recently jumped from one authoritarian belief to another, and now renounce their former faith as a conspiracy. Beliefs cannot be made criminal by the names they are called, but on the conspiracy theory and the idea of guilt by association, our country is now beset with snoopers, informers and professional perjurers. On the same theory some people high in the present Administration in Washington are advocating the legalizing of wiretapping.

As has often been said, our government is coming perilously close to adopting the ways of a dictatorship on the pretext of preserving democracy. We must recall the words of Justice William O. Douglas: "Tyranny is the same, whatever mask it wears."

When the public insists that our Constitution guarantees everyone the right to his own beliefs, then the chief weapon will be removed from those who are trying directly and indirectly to force all the people to conform to one set of beliefs. The understanding of everyone's right to his own conscience and his own way to God will cause the whole business of snooping and informing to be treated with the scorn it has borne in the past.

Additional copies of this reprint may be obtained from the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 Seventh Avenue, New York 1 at 10 cents a copy, $5 a hundred and $25 a thousand.

Other literature available:

"Mind of Your Own" by Josephine Herbst. 10 cents each, $5 a hundred.
"Why I Said No to Joe" by Harvey O'Connor. 5 cents each, $3 a hundred.
"Why They Voted for McCarthy" by H.H. Wilson. 5 cents each, $2 a hundred.
"Black Silence of Fear" by Justice Wm. O. Douglas. 5 cents each, $2 a hundred.
"Master Plan of U.S. Thought Control" by I.F. Stone. 5 cents for two
$1 a hundred.
June 1952 Civil Liberties Issue of The Nation. 20 cents each.
December 1953 Civil Liberties Issue of The Nation. 20 cents each.

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

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_____ I would like the above literature, as indicated.

_____ I would like to subscribe to RIGHTS at $2 a year.

_____ I would like to be an Associate (includes all literature) at $3 a year.

I enclose $_____ as a contribution for the work of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in defense of the Constitutional rights of Americans.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone ____ State _____

[Ethiopia - Consulate]

May 19, 1953

The Consul of Ethiopia
4 Hanover Square
New York, N.Y.

Sir:

I have been conducting this year a seminar of from fifteen to twenty students who are studying Africa.

Each student has taken one particular country and made an intensive study of that country, and then during the latter part of the course we have discussed the government, economy and future prospects of the nation.

On Monday night, May 25th 1953, I want to have this group of students meet and talk informally with the representatives of several African countries. There will, of course, be no publicity concerning this meeting, but I should like to have my students talk face to face with representatives of Africa. I am inviting to this meeting representatives from Egypt, France, Ethiopia, Liberia and Haiti.

May I ask you, Sir, if you could send to this meeting, which will take place in the library at 23 West 26th Street, some member of your staff, your representative to the UN, or some consular official? We will meet at 8:30 o'clock P.M. and have informal discussion for about an hour. I think such a meeting could be of interest to all attending.

Concerning myself, you may find my biography in the American or British Who's Who.

May I hear from you at your convenience, or can I call you by telephone?

I am, Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Fahnestock]

317 North 8th St.
Richmond, Indiana
March 3, 1953.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois.
% Masses and Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York. 3 N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois: —

25-62-12

Several days ago I saw across an old Book published in 1860 and entitled —

"The History of Slavery
And the Slave Trade —
Ancient And Modern —
The African Slave Trade
and the Political History of
Slavery in the United States"

This book ends with the investigation of John Brown And the "impending Crisis".

This book Contains eight hundred
And fifty seven pages And is in
Very good Condition.

The Author is a W. O. Blake.

I suppose that you have
investigated practically every book
on the subject but I am
writing to you about this book,
feeling perhaps that it might be of
Value to you in your Research.

I got it from a man nearly
Ninety years of age, living alone,
out in the Country.

Sincerely, Respectfully.

MR. KAROL Fahnestock.

25-42-13

P.S. I have enjoyed "In Battle For Peace"
And have let others Read it also ___

March 6, 1953

Mr. Karol Fahnestock
317 North 8th St.
Richmond, Indiana

Dear Mr. Fahnestock:

I know of Blake's "History of Slavery in the United States". It is valuable, although often found in second-hand stores.

I would, of course, be glad to possess it, if you could afford to give it to me, as I am afraid I would not be able to buy it at its proper price.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-62-11

[Fahnestock]

317 North 8th St.
Richmond, Indiana
March 25 - 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.
23 West 26th St.
New York 10 N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:—

Concerning the "History of Slavery in the United States" of which I wrote you Recently. I want to send it to you, as a gift, if I am able to do so.

25-62-8

It is owned by an old gentlemen who lives some miles from here whom I have visited on occasion when I have been out hunting for Indian Relics.

He wanted too much for it the last time I was there (I am only a prairie teacher) but I think may be I can "persuade" it.

Yesterday, I happened to pick

(over)

up a Rather interesting book, for several dollars, entitled "Reminiscences of Levi Coffin" — "History of the Under-ground Railroad" by Levi Coffin — "the Reputed President of the Under-ground Railroad" Published in 1899 by the Robt Clark Co. of Cincinnati. It is very interesting Reading and Contains Nearly a thousand pages. Not so long ago I went through the old Levi Coffin home, North of ~~two~~ here in a little town called Fountain City.

Dr. DuBois, why cannot the progressives and decent people of America take a stronger offensive against the Fascist and pro-fascist forces in Washington and elsewhere?

It is quite obvious that the Red-Baiters are not protecting Democracy but the defunct war—

Breeding system of Wall St Capitalism.—
some quite openly admit it. For
instance on the Radio tonight, Senator
Mundt showed his deep concern over
"Capitalism as opposed to Communism".

Several years ago I went through
practically every book on economics that
I could lay hands on, Checking on
and extracting those statements pertaining
to Capitalism, Fascism and Nazism
and I was surprised to learn that
a great many of the writers on the
subject of economics (even non Marxist)
in the U.S. equated the systems of
Capitalism, Nazism and Fascism.

I compiled three Note Books full of
such statements and even got
permission from around 25 American
publishers such as Harpers, MacMillan
and many others, to Reprint these
statements in pamphlet form, something
I have never done as I have never

25-62-9

been in the position to do so.

I am sending you an example of these statements in a Repeated letter I sent to the Editor of the New York times some months ago.

By the Way I want to tell you how much I enjoyed your small article on the subject of Stalin in the March 16th Guardian. Even as a many generation American the knowledge of Stalin and his great Character has given me great Courage for the past 15 years. I say honestly that I know of no other man whom I have loved and admired so much. — I will send you the book when I see my way clear.

With great Respect to you and Mrs Du Bois.

Mr Karol Jahnestock.

P.S. You wouldn't Remember but I shook hands and talked with the two of you in the Starlight Room at the ward Rehee Conference after every one had left several years ago. I came home and told my wife and some friends about it.-

P.S. I am getting "Freedom" tonight. I Ready & mail out a hundred copies & tell your wife that one of my pupils lives next door & her brother on Sheridan Ave - here in Richmond —

April 21, 1953

Mr. Karol Fahnestock
317 North 8th Street
Richmond, Indiana

Dear Mr. Fahnestock:

I thank you for the copy of your letter to the New York Times, which I am returning to you herein.

Any time you can spare that copy of the "History of Slavery in the United States" I shall be glad to receive it, catalog it, and keep it in my library.

I know about the book by Levi Coffin on the underground railroad, but do not own a copy.

Thank you for your kind words as to my Guardian article.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

April 27, 1953

Mr. & Mrs. Karol Fahnestock
317 North 8th Street
Richmond, Indiana

35-62134

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Fahnestock:

We have received the book, "The History of Slavery and the Slave Trade" by W.O. Blake, which you sent.

As Dr. Du Bois is out of town at the present time, I will catalog and keep the book in the library. When he returns I will bring it to his attention.

Very sincerely,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

May 19, 1953

Mr. and Mrs. Karol Fahnestock
317 North 8th Street
Richmond, Indiana

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Fahnestock:

On my return from a vacation trip I find the very kind gift which you have made me, Blake's "History of Slavery and the Slave Trade."

I have catalogued it and will put it on my shelves. I have a rather notable collection of literature concerning the Negro and Africa, and this will be a valued addition.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-62-1

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This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

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DR W E B DUBOIS=
326 WEST THIRD ST PETER HYUN RM 310 LOSA=

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR BIRTHDAY MAY YOU HAVE MANY MANY MORE=
HOWARD & BETTER FAST=

Oct. 15-55

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

July 29, 1953

Mr. Howard Fast
43 West 94 St.
New York, N.Y.

25-54-41

My dear Howard:

I shall be very glad to take part in the reception for Paul Robeson.

I believe the date is Thursday, August 13th. I will keep that date open and be ready to hear further details.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

HOWARD FAST
[redacted]

1 West 68 Street
New York 23, N.Y.

August 13, 1953

Dr. W.E. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Due to certain circumstances, we have had to postpone the presentation to Paul Robeson of the gold medal and citation representing the International Stalin Peace Prize, from August 13 to September 23.

The reception will be held at the Hotel Theresa between 5:00 - 7:00 p.m. on September 23. We would like you to introduce the situation and the circumstances of the award with a few words, and then to present me to the people there. I will then present Paul with the award, and he will speak briefly on the question. That is the whole program, and we most earnestly hope that you will agree to this suggestion.

Sincerely

Howard Fast

25-54-39

August 17, 1953

Mr. Howard Fast
1 West 68 St.
New York 23, N.Y.

Dear Howard:

I shall be glad to take part in the ceremony September 23rd at the Hotel Theresa.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-54-410

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[Fast]

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35-60-31

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DR W E B DU BOIS, CARE ROBERT MORSE LOVETT=
166 WEST WASHINGTON ST ROOM 212 CHGO= B

I OFFER NOT ONLY MY CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU AS GREAT MAN AND INDOMITABLE FIGHT FOR PEACE BUT MY RESPECT AND ADMIRATION FOR YOUR COURAGE AND GALLANTRY IN THIS FIGHT FAR BEYOND THE CALL OF DUTY=
HOWARD FAST=

DR W E B DU BOIS,

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

HOWARD FAST
1 WEST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 23, N. Y.

December 18, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

25-44-5

I thought you would be interested to see the account of the Chicago meeting where you were awarded the International Peace Prize. I am sending it to you just in case you may have missed it.

Sincerely

Howard Fast

PS: Note address above. I prefer to get mail at this address rather than at Blue Heron Press.

(FICIP)

April 20, 1953

Miss Sue Warren
23 West 26 St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Miss Warren:

I am conducting at the Jefferson School a seminar on Africa. There are about twenty members.

I should like on May 25th to have them meet and talk to such representatives of African countries as I can get hold of in New York City.

Would it be possible for me to use the library on the first floor for such a meeting at 8p.m. on May 25th? Kindly let me know.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

June 10, 1953

Mr. Frederick Field
23 W.26 St.
New York, 10, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Field:

Shirley wrote you some time ago about a reception to my students of Jefferson School. She made a mistake about the date. It is to be held from 8 - 10p.m. Monday, June 22 instead of June 15 as she told you.

25-57-8

I have been conducting a Seminar at Jefferson School on the problems of Africa, in which some twenty students have taken part this year. They have written reports and theses. Through them I am inviting a dozen or more African students studying in and near the city so as to have an informal talk on the future of Africa. I think it might prove interesting.

We will be very glad to have you and Mrs. Field come over if you have the time.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Field]

23 WEST 26th STREET • MUrray Hill 4-3734 • NEW YORK 10

June 16, 1953

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you so much for inviting Mrs. Field and me to the reception at your home for the members of your Jefferson School seminar. Unfortunately we shall be out of town on Monday.

Our life this summer is complicated. Deportation orders have been issued against my wife and our two youngest children as one consequence of which we are taking all the time we possibly can to be together in the country during the weeks or months that remain before we lose our final appeal. Under other circumstances I would surely have come back to town for your reception; I know you will understand.

25-59-15

Very sincerely yours,

Frederick V. Field

23 WEST 26th STREET • MUrray Hill 4-3734 • NEW YORK 10

July 16, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10 New York

25-59-34

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

This will acknowledge receipt from you of a check for $250.00 endorsed to me and a $1,000.00 (face-value) County of Westchester bond of 4% due June 1, 1965, together with coupons numbers 50 through 74. One of these coupons for $20.00 is already due.

Assuming the bond can be sold for par, the items listed above would represent a total payment of $1270.00 covering rent from April 1, 1953, for twelve and a fraction months. If I can dispose of the bond for more than face value I shall, of course, credit your account accordingly and so inform you.

With many thanks, I am

Sincerely yours,

Frederick V. Field

File Field

23 WEST 26th STREET • MUrray Hill 4-3734 • NEW YORK 10

August 11, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10 New York

25-59-35

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

This is to supplement my letter to you of July 13th. We were able to sell the Westchester Bond at the price of 109 which, together with accrued interest, credited our account with $1095.67 on this transaction.

May I, therefore, amend my previous receipt to you by stating that you have paid a total of $1365.67 toward your rent calculated from April 1, 1953. This covers thirteen and a fraction months from that date.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick V. Field

[Field]

Received of AMERICAN PEOPLES FUND, INC. 1 Westchester County Park Bond, No. 34883, due June 1, 1965, of face value of $1000, and check in the sum of $250, constituting the grant made to me in the sum of $1500.00.

35-59-34

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH
STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN, Minister

January 4, 1953

Telephone DUnkirk 9-1356
2936 West Eighth Street
Los Angeles 5, California

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Brooklyn, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I should have added to my recent letter in which I expressed our great pleasure that you were to be at the First Unitarian Church on the evening of February 15 the fact that Mrs. Fritchman and I should be very happy indeed if you and Shirley - if she is to be with you - could have a light supper with us between your afternoon and evening appointments, or if you prefer, after your evening lecture. I do not know how much you take on and whether such social occasions are an opportunity to relax or simply a further burden. I leave this to you, but we would be extremely happy if you could make it. I would, of course, be free to drive you from the city to our home in Glendale, which is a half-hour ride.

With every good wish to you both, I am

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Fritchman

Stephen H. Fritchman

SHF:pw

25-54, 30

January 12, 1953

Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman
First Unitarian Church
2936 West 8th St.
Los Angeles, 5, California

Dear Mr. Fritchman:

We have your kind letter of January 4.

I think it would be better if on the evening of February 18th I rested between lectures, and went to bed immediately after the talk at your church.

I am very sorry not to accept your kind invitation and hope that while we are in and near Los Angeles we may have the opportunity of seeing you and Mr. Fritchman.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B.Du Bois

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH
2936 WEST 8th STREET
LOS ANGELES 5, CALIFORNIA

Return Postage Guaranteed

28

DATE SET FOR 2nd ANNUAL ART FESTIVAL...MAY 8th TO 17th

With Katherine McTernan again directing the Second Annual Unitarian Festival of the Arts will be held on two successive week-ends, starting May 8 and ending May 17th at this church. Paintings, etchings, engravings, sculptures and porcelains by outstanding artists will be exhibited and sold. A year ago more than 5000 visitors attended our first Art Festival.

HOME-COOKED FOOD SALE TO BE REGULAR MONTHLY EVENT

Mrs. Herda Kent (Phone NOrmandy 6505) announces that on the third Sunday of each month hereafter there will be a sale of home-cooked foods at the church, proceeds to be given to the church. Mrs. Kent is seeking donors who will help in this way to carry their share of our financial burden. She will appreciate calls from all who will help.

Newsletter

WEEK OF FEBRUARY 14, 1953
VOL. 1 • NUMBER 21

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH

2936 WEST 8TH STREET
LOS ANGELES 5, CALIF.
DUNKIRK 9-1356

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN, *Minister*
LOIS GARDNER, *Church Secretary*
WALDEMAR HILLE, *Organist-Choir Director*
LAWRENCE WILKINSON, *Church School Coordinator*
ALEX KAUFMAN, *Custodian*
AL HOLMBERG, *Assistant Custodian*

SUNDAY, Feb. 15

10:00 a.m. **"The Unitarian and His Bible"**
Discussion group led by Minister, Severance Room.

10:45 a.m. Church School.

11:00 a.m. **"Forgotten Americans: Our Debt To Jack London and Eugene Debs."**
Address by Stephen H. Fritchman.
Guest Soloist, Mimi Sharon, Mezzo-Soprano.

12:15 p.m. Coffee Hour, benefit Willowbrook Cooperative Nursery School.

EVENING SERVICE ($.50)

8:00 p.m. **"The Challenge of Africa Today."**
Address by DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS.
ODETTA FELIOUS with CHOIR OF FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH.

CALENDAR

SUNDAY, Feb. 15. See Page 1

MONDAY, Feb. 16

8 to 10:00 p.m. GREAT BOOKS CLUB
"MILTON—AREOPAGITICA."

THURSDAY, Feb. 19

12:00 noon Box Lunch—Women's Alliance.

1:00 p.m. Great Unitarian Women Series. "Elizabeth Cady Stanton" by Mrs. John Marshall of Chicago, Ill.

7:30 p.m. Choir practice.

NEXT WEEK

SUNDAY, Feb. 22

"THE PREVALENCE OF TERROR, THE REVERSE OF REVERENCE FOR LIFE." Address by Stephen H. Fritchman.

8:00 p.m. "THE PLACE OF SCIENCE IN AN IDEAL WORLD." Address by DR. LINUS PAULING of California Institute of Technology.

THANKS TO OUR DECORATORS OF UPSTAIRS OFFICE, NURSERY

Appreciative thanks of all our members are due to Kenneth Lipton and his crew of volunteers who have lately re-decorated our upstairs office. It is a much brighter and pleasanter place than it was.

The fathers of children in the Willowbrook Cooperative Nursery School are responsible for the painting and decorating of the Nursery Room... to them, also, thanks.

ARE YOU HELPING?

Have you yet spoken to a friend about joining our church on April 5th? If you haven't then please do so. You will be surprised to find how many non-member friends we have in the community . . . and if you do your share of talking about our work the church goal of 100 new members on that day will not only be realized . . . it will be surpassed.

DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS, ODETTA FELIOUS TELL IN WORDS AND MUSIC OF AFRICA'S CHALLENGE

One of America's truly great figures, a man whose eighty-odd years of ceaseless study and struggle have earned him world-wide respect as a novelist, historian, defender of the Negro people and fighter for peace . . . Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, is the highly honored guest of this church this Sunday evening. He will speak at 8:00 o'clock on The Challenge of Africa Today. Few subjects need understanding as much as does the problem of the Dark Continent as it struggles to right the bloody wrongs of centuries of past imperialisms. Dr. DuBois, co-founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples, is preeminently qualified to talk with authority about the homeland of his own people.

Odetta Felious, backed by the choir of this church, will bring us the stirring songs of Africa and its oppressed peoples. The contrast between the veteran DuBois, steeled by eight decades of tireless and bitter struggle, and the very young, courageous and highly talented Miss Felious, with her rare gift for stirring people through her music, should make this Sunday evening one of the most memorable events ever held in our Auditorium.

NEW SOCIAL GROUP TO ORGANIZE

On Feb. 22nd during the coffee hour after morning service, persons interested in a new social club for married and unmarried adults are invited to meet in the Severance Room for a brief planning session.

SEMI-ANNUAL CHURCH MEETING AND DINNER

Coming February 27th at 6:30 P.M. will be the Semi-Annual Church Meeting and Dinner. Save the date, details next week.

[Fisk Univ.]

January 12, 1953

Mr. Arna Bontemps, Librarian
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Bontemps:

25-31-71

William Hannibal Thomas' book The American Negro created a sensation when published.

Thomas was disgruntled by his treatment by Negroes and took a pamphlet which he had published on Negro Education and turned it into one of the most virulent attacks upon the Negro race that has ever been published.

Someone financed it, Macmillan published it, and it was distributed to all the chief libraries in the United States. His point of view was certainly unique for a Negro at that time.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

1621 Park St.
Flint 3, Mich.
Jan 25, 1953

Dear Miss Hyman,

As President of the Flint Negro History Club I am interested in the possibility of sponsoring Dr. DuBois here in Flint (70 miles north of Detroit).

Yours truly.

Edgar B. Holt

35-54-25

Jan 28

Feb 12 — $150 +

or Mich — swap

February 9, 1953

Mr. Edgar B. Holt
1621 Park St.
Flint 3, Michigan

Dear Mr. Holt:

Replying again to your letter of January 25th and your telephone call, may I say that Mrs. Du Bois and I probably can stop for a lecture in Flint on our return from the Pacific coast, some time early in March.

We cannot now give you a precise date, but ask you to communicate with us:

c/o Mr. Peter Hyun
Southern California Peace Crusade
Room 310
326 West 3rd Street
Los Angeles, 13, California

some time before February 20th.

The charge, as I said before, will be $150, plus hotel expenses and plus such extra travelling expense as will be necessary to make the appointment.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

L

1621 Park St.
Flint 3, Mich.
Feb. 18, 1953

Dear Dr. Dubois.

In reply to your letter of the 9th I am still desirous of having you and Mrs. Dubois appear in Flint for the Negro History group.

I hope we will have time to give the publicity the attention it deserves in a lethargic community as ours. A date in March will be more satisfactory.

25-54.84

If it is possible could I write the New York address for cuts (pictures)?

Very sincerely yours.

Edgar B. Holt

REV. KENNETH RIPLEY FORBES
P. O. Box 1345
Philadelphia 5, Pa.

January 24, 1953

35-65-9

Dear Sir or Madam:

I want to express my appreciation, as well as the appreciation of the other initiators of the Open Letter to President Truman urging amnesty for the leaders of the Communist Party of the United States, for your cooperation in signing our Appeal.

This letter, signed by 280 persons, has been forwarded to the President and has been released to the press.

I am enclosing a complete list of the 280 persons who signed this Appeal.

With many thanks for your assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth Ripley Forbes

Kenneth Ripley Forbes

dpowa

Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes
Post Office Box 1345
Philadelphia 5, Pa.

25-65-6

SIGNERS TO THE OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN ON AMNESTY

Samuel Hopkins Adams, author, Auburn, N. Y.
Paul F. Albright, Hollydale, California
Rev. Gross W. Alexander, Methodist Church, Redlands, Calif.
Walter Allmendinger, educator, Royal Oak, Michigan
Rev. Paul J. Allured, Presbyterian Minister, retired, Lansing, Mich.
Rabbi Michael Alper, New York City
Mrs. Bertha Anderson, Minneapolis, Minn.
R. W. Angle, general chairman, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Anoka, Minn.
Hilda D. Armin, social worker, Chicago, Ill.
Robenia Anthony, educator, Provincetown, Mass.
Dr. Victor Arnautoff, President, Russian American Society, San Francisco, Cal.
James Aronson, editor, National Guardian, New York City
Dr. Jacob Auslander, New York City
Rev. William T. Baird, pastor, Essex Community Church, Chicago, Ill.
Rev. Edward Baker, Portland, Oregon
Emily G. Balch, Nobel Prize winner, Wellesley, Mass.
Rev. Frederic E. Hall, Ottawa, Ill.
Dr. Gerald Barnes, Boston University, Boston, Mass.
Prof. Stringfellow Barr, Charlottesville, Virginia
Alice Barrows, East Blue Hill, Maine
Prof. Bernard Baum, Adams, Mass.
Dr. Russell J. Baker, dean, Kalamazoo College, Mich.
Dr. Leona M. Bayer, San Francisco, Calif.
Norman B. Brice, counselor, University of Chicago Counseling Center
Dr. Vincent Bellafiore, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Jean J. Bellefeuille, Sr., Whitman, Mass.
Mrs. Elden J. Bemis, Bloomfield Hills, Mich.
Herbert Biberman, Hollywood, Calif.
Dr. L. Bigelman, Los Angeles, California
Dr. Algernon D. Black, New York Society for Ethical Culture
Elsa Blackwell, Carmel, California
Dr. James A. Blaisdell, Claremont, California
Rev. Charles Bemis Bliss, West Brookfield, Mass.
Mrs. Anita Block, author, New York City
Peter Blume, artist, Gaylordsville, Conn.
Prof. Theodore Brameld, Lyme Center, New Hampshire
Prof. G. Murray Branch, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia
James L. Breuer, attorney, Rochester, N. Y.
Dr. Dorothy Brewster, Columbia University, New York
Prof. Charles F. Brooks, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Dr. Louise Fargo Brown, Norfolk, Va.
Sam Brown, Detroit, Mich.
Dr. Alice Hill Byrne, Palo Alto, Cal.
Rev. Raymond Calkins, Cambridge, Mass.
Rev. Frank D. Campbell, Del Rosa, Calif.
Robert Carse, author, New York City
Rev. Howard R. Carey, Altadena, Calif.
Rev. J. R. Case, Vergennes, Vermont
Rev. Mark Chamberlin, Gresham, Oregon
Russell N. Chase, attorney, Cleveland, Ohio
Marcus B. Christian, poet, New Orleans, Louisiana

SIGNERS TO THE OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN ON AMNESTY

Prof. Edith F. Claflin, Columbia University, New York City
John M. Coe, attorney, Pensacola, Florida
Prof. Russell J. Compton, Greencastle, Indiana
Prof. Florence Converse, Wellesley College, Mass.
Rev. Clair M. Cook, Lisbon, New Hampshire
Rev. Robert M. Cook, Elmira, N. Y.
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Rev. William C. Cravner, Vicar, St. James Church, Alexander City, Alabama
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Prof. Ephraim Cross, New York City
Harry Cumpson, pianist, New York City
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Prof. Leonidas Dodson, University of Pennsylvania, Phila., Pa.
Dr. James A. Dombrowski, New Orleans, Louisiana
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Prof. Arnold Dresden, Swarthmore, Pa.
George Z. Dreyfous, attorney, New Orleans, La.
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, author, New York City
Arnaud D'Usseau, playwright, New York City
Dr. Lewis A. Eldridge, Rennselaerville, New York
Dr. Robert H. Ellis, Portland, Oregon
Philip Evergood, artist, East Patchogue, New York
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Fyke Farmer, attorney, Nashville, Tenn.
Dr. H. D. Fasnacht, President, La Verne College, Cal.
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Dan Gillmore, author, New York City
Prof. Josephine M. Gleason, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York
John T. Gojack, United Electrical Workers, Fort Wayne, Indiana

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B. Z. Goldberg, newspaper columnist, New York City
Dr. Marcus I. Goldman, Alexandria, Va.
Chester A. Graham, radio commentator, Jamestown, North Dakota
Shirley Graham, author, Brooklyn, New York
Abner Green, New York City
Prof. William C. Greene, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Rev. L. A. Gross, Chicago, Ill.
Prof. Harry Grundfest, Columbia University, New York City
Prof. Albert L. Guerard, Stanford University, Calif.
Dr. Ralph H. Gundlach, New York City
Robert Gwathmey, artist, New York City
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Rev. Robert E. Hamill, minister, Ottawa St. Methodist Church, Joliet, Ill.
Rev. Frank A. Hamilton, minister, Trinity Methodist Church, Evansville, Ind.
Prof. C. H. Hamlin, Wilson, North Carolina
Prof. Talbot Hamlin, Prof. of Architecture, New York
Dashiell Hammett, author, New York City
Louise D. Harding, Brisbane, Cal.
Rev. Sidney E. Harris, Woodburne, Oregon
William Harrison, associate editor, Boston Chronicle, Mass.
Prof. C. Sheldon Hart, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.
Pearl M. Hart, attorney, Chicago, Ill.
Ken Hartford, business manager, Los Angeles, Cal.
Prof. Robert J. Havighurst, University of Chicago, Ill.
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Dr. A. Eustace Haydon, Leader, Chicago Ethical Society, Illinois
Willard T. Hazen, Jr., artist, Pigeon Cove, Mass.
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Rev. Elmer J. Hostetler,minister,Claridon Congregational Church, Chardon, O.
Prof. William G. Houk, St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York
Daniel Howard, Retired Supt. of Schools, Windsor, Conn.
Elsie A. Huffman, Spokane, Washington
Rev. Kenneth Hughes, Rector, St. Bartholomew's Church, Cambridge, Mass.
Miss M. Louise Hunt, vice-chairman, Progressive Party of Maine, Portland, Me.
Rev. Donald P. Hurlburt, pastor emeritus,First Christian Church of Bangor, Me.
Claude W. Hurst, Portland, Oregon
Arthur Hurwich, cable editor, New York Post, New York City
Leo T. Hurwitz, film director, New York City
Alfonso Iannelli, Industrial Designers Institute, Park Ridge, Ill.
Rev. Prof. Fleming James, Sr., North Haven, Conn.
Lenora Peters Job, director, School of Dance, San Francisco, Cal.
Rev. H.T.S. Johnson, pastor emeritus, Taylor Memorial Meth. Ch., Oakland, Cal.
Prof. Paul Barton Johnson, University of Chicago, Ill.
Rev. Dr. William Safford Jones, Portsmouth, New Hampshire
Albert E. Kahn, author, Croton-on-Hudson, New York
Francis Fisher Kane, attorney, Peace Dale, Rhode Island
Rev. David O. Kendall, Dobbs Ferry, New York
Stetson Kennedy, author, Switzerland, Florida
Robert W. Kenny, former Calif. State Attorney General, Los Angeles, Cal.
Rockwell Kent, artist, Ausable Forks, New York

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Prof. Oliver S. Loud, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio.
Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Chicago, Ill.
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Albert Maltz, author, Hollywood, Cal.
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Rt. Rev. Walter Mitchell, Rancho Santa Fe, Cal.
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Rev. Paul L. McClure, Las Vegas, Nevada
Mrs. Grace McDonald, farm editor, Santa Clara, Cal.
Mary S. McDowell, educator, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rev. Warren H. McKenna, Epping, New Hampshire
John McLaren, president, Stoneman's Union, Boston, Mass.
Rev. Jack McMichael, secretary, Methodist Federation for Social Action, N. Y.
Dr. Scott Nearing, author and lecturer, Cape Rosier, Maine
Gaspare Nicotri, author, New York

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Shaemas O'Sheel, North Tarrytown, New York
Rev. George L. Paine, Boston, Mass.
Prof. Constantine Panunzio, U. of California, Los Angeles, Cal.
Dr. Michael Pargment, professor emeritus, U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Dr. Solbert Permutt, University of Chicago, Ill.
Jennings Perry, author, Nashville, Tenn.
Prof. John P. Peters, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Arthur Pollock, drama critic, New York City
George D. Pratt, Jr., farmer, Bridgewater, Conn.
Willard B. Ransom, pres., Indiana State Conference of Branches, NAACP, Indianapolis, Ind.
Anton Refregier, artist, Woodstock, New York
Dr. Bertha C. Reynolds, social worker, Stoughton, Mass.
Dr. J. B. Rhine, director, Parapsychology Laboratory, Duke U., Durham, N. C.
Rev. James L. Rhinesmith, Central Islip, New York
Dr. Harry W. Roberts, Virginia State College, Ettrick, Va.
Dr. Holland Roberts, director, California Labor School, San Francisco, Cal.
Earl Robinson, composer, Brooklyn, N. Y.
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Sidney Rosen, businessman, Grosse Point, Michigan
Prof. Robert A. Rosenbaum, Reed College, Portland, Oregon
Nathan Rosenshine, builder, Detroit, Michigan
James P. Russell, attorney, Pocahontas, Iowa
Rose Russell, Legislative Representative, Teachers Union, New York City
Prof. Ernest Samuels, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois
Alexander Saxton, author, Sausalito, Cal.
Earl F. Schumacher, attorney, Beaver Dam, Wisconsin
Rev. John R. Scotford, former editor ADVANCE, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
Rev. Randall B. Scott, Temple City, Cal.
Prof. Vida D. Scudder, Wellesley, Mass.
Ben Shahn, artist, Roosevelt, New Jersey
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William Schneyer, president, Jewish Young Fraternalists, New York City
Prof. Mulford Q. Sibley, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Dr. R. A. Simmons, Boston, Mass.
Prof. Preston Slosson, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan
Dr. Randolph B. Smith, New York City
Rev. Walter A. Smith, pastor, Union Congregational Church, Rio, Wisconsin
Gale Sondergaard, actress, Hollywood, Cal.
Rev. Lawrence A. Stahl, Ellwood City, Penna.
Rev. Frederick K. Stamm, author, Plumsteadville, Pa.
Rev. E. Lester Stanton, Chicago, Ill.
Isabel F. Starbuck, librarian, Boston University, Boston, Mass.
Rev. Philip H. Steinmetz, pastor, The Ashfield Churches, Ashfield, Mass.
Dr. George G. Stern, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois
Maurice Sugar, attorney, Detroit, Michigan
Paul M. Sweezy, co-editor, "Monthly Review", Wilton, New Hampshire
Prof. W. Lou Tandy, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kansas

25-65-4

SIGNERS TO THE OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN ON AMNESTY

Dr. Alva W. Taylor, Nashville, Tenn.
Rev. I. Paul Taylor, minister, St. Matthew's Methodist Church, Detroit, Mich.
Rev. George Teague, Teaneck, New Jersey
Judge Edward P. Totten, San Clements, Cal.
Miss K. L. Trevett, Portland, Oregon
Rev. Ernest J. Troutner, First Methodist Church, Redding, Cal.
Mrs. F. H. Tyndale, retired City psychologist, New York City
Edward W. Ullrich, Minister, Gospell Evangelical and Reformed Church, Miami, Fla.
Rev. Willard Uphaus, co-director, American Peace Crusade
Katherine A. Van Orden, Verona, New Jersey
Mrs. Clara M. Vincent, People's Institute of Applied Religion, Farmington, Mich.
Bishop W. J. Walls, Chicago, Illinois
Prof. Francis R. Walton, Tallahassee, Florida
Rev. Harry F. Ward, professor emeritus, Union Theological Seminary, Palisades, N.J.
Prof. Goodwin Watson, Rye, New York
John M. Weatherwax, Bryant Foundation, Los Angeles, California
J. Daniel Weitzman, Washington, D. C.
Prof. Frank W. Weymouth, Stanford University, Cal.
George H. Wharam, member, Iowa Farmers Union, Mason City, Iowa
Dr. Paul L. Whiteley, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.
Dr. Roy M. Whitman, University of Chicago, Illinois
Henry Willcox, president, Willcox Construction Co., Inc., New York City
Rev. David Rhys Williams, minister, First Unitarian Church, Rochester, N. Y.
Dr. Hyman Willinger, New York City
Rev. Albert J. Wilson, Portland, Oregon
Dr. H. M. Wilson, Princeton University, New Jersey
Prof. Robert R. Wilson, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Dr. Ernest Wolff, physician, San Francisco, Cal.
Rev. Evans A. Worthley, Sterling, Colorado
Rev. Sam Wright, director, American Unitarian Youth, Boston, Mass.
Rev. James D. Wyker, director, Rural Church Extension, Columbia, Missouri
Alfred B. Yeomans, Southern Pines, North Carolina
Rev. Ernest J. Zizka, St. Procopius College, Lisle, Ill.

BOOK

James W. Ford
21 East 109th St, New York City

October 21, 1953

Dear Shirley:

It happened by chance that I was at George Murphy's office today when you called and told him about the re-publication of Dr. Du Bois' "The Souls of Black Folk". I told George that I was going to drop you this note telling you how glad I am to hear this.

Among my books I have a copy of the August 1, 1903 edition of the book which I have treasured over the years. In fact it was among the first basic books on the social problems of Negroes that I read, and I am sure it will be fresh and valuable for the present generation.

1/29/11C

And I hope it will have a deservedly wide circulation to bring added light on present-day problems, beneficial to Negroes and white progressive forces alike.

Congratulations to Dr. Du Bois on its re-publication.

Sincerely yours,

James Ford

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M

[France]

May 19, 1953

The Consul of France
4 East 79 St.
New York, N.Y.

Sir:

I have been conducting this year a seminar of from fifteen to twenty students who are studying Africa.

Each student has taken one particular country and made an intensive study of that country, and then during the latter part of the course we have discussed the government, economy and future prospects of the nation.

On Monday night, May 25th 1953, I want to have this group of students meet and talk informally with the representatives of several African countries. The government of France has large possessions in Africa and we have thought that perhaps there would be someone connected with the French consulate or the delegation to the UN who could converse with us on French West Africa or French Equatorial Africa.

There will, of course, be no publicity concerning this meeting, but I should like to have my students talk face to face with representatives of Africa. I am inviting to this meeting representatives from Egypt, France, Ethiopia, Liberia and Haiti.

May I ask you, Sir, if you could send to this meeting, which will take place in the library at 23 West 26th Street, some member of your staff, your representative to the UN, or some consular official? We will meet at 7:30 P.M. and have informal discussion for about an hour. I think such a meeting could be of interest to all attending.

Concerning myself, you may find my biography in the American or British Who's Who.

May I hear from you at your convenience, or can I call you by telephone?

I am, Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[France]

Consulat Général de France
à New York

MK/sb for Jefferson School Jans

May 22, 1953

25-63.25

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Due to an erroneous address, your letter of May 19th reached me only today.

Thank you very much for your kind invitation to speak to the meeting which will take place on Monday night, May 25th. I would have been very happy to send one of my representatives to discuss with your students on African countries; unfortunately, due to the short notice, it will not be possible for any of my Assistants to attend that meeting, as they all have an assignment on that day.

On the other hand, it is also too late to find someone among the staff of the French Delegation to the United Nations as they request a two weeks' notice for a speaking engagement.

Very truly yours,

J de Lagarde

Jean de Lagarde
Minister Plenipotentiary
Consul General of France.

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois
Vice-Chairman
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York 10 N.Y.

Freedom
Where one is enslaved, all are in chains!

53 WEST 125 STREET, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. · ENright 9-3980

January 8, 1953

25-64, 8

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The enclosed check for fifty dollars ($50.00) is to pay for your article, "One Hundred Years In The Struggle For Negro Freedom." Because of our financial problems here both the check and the January issue of Freedom have been delayed. However, you should receive your paper within the next few days. Thanks, again, for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Louis E. Burnham

Freedom
Where one is enslaved, all are in chains!
53 WEST 125 STREET, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. · ENright 9-3980

June 1, 1953

25-64.7

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This is to express our appreciation for your article which appears in the June issue of Freedom. A copy of the paper is enclosed. Also, attached is a check for $25.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,
Louis E. Burnham
Louis E. Burnham

You are cordially invited to attend

A CHAMPAGNE SIP

honoring the birthday of

LOUIS E. BURNHAM

Editor of **FREEDOM**

Saturday, October 10, 1953 - 9 p. m.

17 West 24th Street

Contribution $2.50

Benefit of **FREEDOM**

15-59-31.

[Freedom Associates]

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1953 JAN 2 PM 2 54

(26)

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

[illegible] BROADWAY, P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

The [illegible] time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

MU 3-3530

NA233 DL PD=CHICAGO ILL 2 903A=

1953 JAN 2 PM 12 29

W E B DUBOIS=

:23 WEST 26=

SORRY WE COULD NOT ANSWER YOUR LETTER SOONER. FREEDOM ASSOCIATES OF CHICAGO WANT YOU AND MRS DUBOIS HERE N FEB 10 WOULD LIKE AN ANSWER WITHIN THE COMING WEEK AS TO THE AVAILABILITY OF THIS DATE=

GLORIA WAILES 6054 SOUTH DORCHESTER OR 4859 SO WABASH AVE CHICAGO=

Mrs DuBois + myself will speak Feb 10 Letter follows

WEDS

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

January 5, 1953

Mrs. Gloria Wailes
Local 25
United Packinghouse Workers of America CIO
4868 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, 15, Ill.

35-54-91

Dear Mrs. Wailes:

I have your telegram of January 2nd, and the same night I wired you as follows:

MRS DU BOIS AND MYSELF WILL SPEAK FEBRUARY 10.
LETTER FOLLOWS.

This is the letter:

We propose leaving here by air Monday, February 9th and speaking for you on the 10th. We shall leave the 11th or 12th for Detroit where we speak the 13th.

As I said before, our terms will be $300 and no other expenses, and we would attend to travel arrangements and hotel accommodations from this end.

We would speak on "World Peace and Revolt in Africa".

If convenient to you we would be glad to have advance payment of $100, which we would use toward our expenses, before February 8th.

Kindly let us know if our understanding is satisfactory.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Galston]

323 W. Montana St.
Pasadena, Calif
February 15, 1953

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

As a resident of the greater Los Angeles area, I am thrilled to know that you will be visiting here on the occasion of your ~~84th~~ 85- birthday. I want to send you my warmest personal greetings and congratulations on this occasion. I have long admired your literary ~~endeavours~~ achievements and your role in bringing into being the NAACP; most recently I have come to admire your unrelenting efforts for the cause of international peace and good will.

Many happy returns of the day!

Sincerely,
(Dr.) Arthur W. Galston
(Associate Professor of Biology)

25-51-5

304 Seventh Ave.
Peoria, Ill.
March 22, 1953

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I am writing to ask if you will be kind enough to give me the answer to two questions if it is at all convenient.

Can you tell me where the original letter from George Washington to Phylis Wheatley commending her on her poetic talents is now located?

Is there any truth to the statement that Coca-cola was the invention of a Negro who sold it to a white man for a mule and wagon?

Your answers to these questions will be tremendously appreciated and I shall be happy to pay whatever your charges may be.

You have my best wishes for your continued success, health and happiness.

Sincerely yours,

Romeo B. Garrett

Romeo B. Garrett

25-52-9

March 26, 1953

Mr. Romeo B. Garrett
304 Seventh Av.
Peoria, Ill.

Dear Mr. Garrett:

Shirley has already written you concerning the George Washington letter to Phyllis Wheatley. You will probably find it in some of the repositories which she has named.

So far as Coca-cola is concerned, I know of no proof that the story which you relate is true.

Thank you for your kind words.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-52-10

CHARLES R. GARRY
ATTORNEY AT LAW
68 POST STREET
SAN FRANCISCO 4

TELEPHONE DOUGLAS 2-1678

March 25, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I regret very much having missed you when you were in San Francisco recently.

Enclosed is a letter from Wesley Robert Wells, confined at condemned row in San Quentin, to whom you autographed a copy of In Battle for Peace in Los Angeles and gave to my wife. After you have read the letter, please return it to me in the enclosed envelope.

I lent my copy of your book to a friend, who is a member of the Fellowship Church of All Peoples. He in turn had given it to Dr. Howard Thurman, who commented that he hadn't read anything so touching and vivid in years.

Very truly yours,

Charles R Garry

Charles R. Garry

crg:ns
encls.

25-52.9

1953
J874
74

April 17, 1953

Mr. Charles R. Garry
68 Post Street
San Francisco, 4, Calif.

My dear Mr. Garry:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 25th enclosing Wesley Robert Wells' letter.

Greet him for me.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

June 26, 1953

G. A. Georgopulo & Co.
48 Stone Street
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

Someone has made me a present of a Egyptian cigarette with gold tip manufactured by you especially for the "King of the Sea" of New York.

I should like to order some of these cigarettes for myself. Please tell me what the cost would be per hundred.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

35-52-8

Ordered July 3 52

$1/5 5s

CABLE ADDRESS "GEORGOPO"

G. A. GEORGOPULO & CO.

INCORPORATED

MANUFACTURERS OF THE

"ANDRON"

HIGH GRADE EGYPTIAN CIGARETTES

48 STONE STREET

TELEPHONE WHITEHALL 4-7073

WAREHOUSE
CAVALLA, GREECE

NEW YORK June 30, 1953

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

It was a pleasure to receive your letter of June 26 with reference to our special Egyptian cigarettes.

We would be pleased to supply you direct with a similar cigarette and packed under our trademark of Andron.

Andron, manufactured from only the finest imported selections of Macedonian and Turkish leaf, are handpacked in distinctive boxes of 10's and 20's as well as in humidor tins of ~~50's~~ and 100's with either ~~plain~~, cork, gold or straw tips. Andron are priced at $3.10 per 100, post and tax paid.

6/17/14

WEBD

Andron are also available in a special "Black & Gold" packing consisting of black cigarette paper with gold tips in special boxes of 10's. They are priced at $4.00 per 100, post and tax paid.

On minimum orders of 500 Andron cigarettes, we would be pleased to imprint any set of initials at no additional charge.

We appreciate your writing us and look forward to the pleasure of being of service.

Very truly yours,

G. A. GEORGOPULO & CO., INC.

PBG/t

G. A. Georgopulo

[Giscome]
1953?

ČESKOSLOVENSKÉ HOTELY
NÁRODNÍ PODNIK
HOTELY
ALCRON PRAHA
TELEF.: 262-40-7, INTERURB 262-48-9. TELEGR. ALCRONOTEL
280 APARTEMENTS - GARAGE

TELEFON: 262-40-49
MEZIMĚSTSKÝ TELEFON 262-47-49
TELEGRAMY: ALCRONOTEL PRAHA

Czechoslovakia

Lucille Giscome
Telepress Limited
P.O. Box 119
Praha, Czechoslovakia.

85-58.21

1) Material from U.S. progressive movement in struggle for civil rights, housing, jobs, etc.

2) Material from colonial sources on struggle for national liberation.

3) List of colonial newspapers which could be sent us, in exchange for which we would send Telepress Daily Airmail Bulletin and Weekly Review.

4) Please (a) cable Telepress collect, thru Daily Worker, N.Y., or National Guardian (with both we have collect arrangements) or (b) airmail us any ~~mob~~ news items of worldwide interest, or on which you need resolutions and support—

(over)

ČESKOSLOVENSKÉ HOTELY
NÁRODNÍ PODNIK
HOTELY
ALCRON PRAHA
TELEF.: 262-40-7, INTERURB 262-48-9. TELEGR. ALCRONOTEL
200 APARTEMENTS - GARAGE

TELEFON: 262-40-49
MEZIMĚSTSKÝ TELEFON 262-47-49
TELEGRAMY: ALCRONOTEL PRAHA

25-58-22

also any news items showing advances in the struggle for democracy, or cases of infringements on people's democratic rights, and particularly, any items connected with the Negro American people.

5) Books for Review on Negro life in U. S. Africa, colonial questions.

April 9, 1953

Mr. Sol Gitman
508 City Center Bldg.
121 N. Broad St.
Philadelphia, Pa.

35-52-1

Dear Mr. Gitman:

Please send me as soon as possible the "Report of Governor's Commission on Industrial Race Relations".

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[Glasey]

69 Lincoln Road
Brooklyn 25, N.Y
Oct 20, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Ct.
Brooklyn 2 N.Y

25-52.2

Dear Sir:

I'm writing this letter as per your request in our telephone conversation of Oct. 13, 1953.

Our class meets in Brooklyn 570 Eastern Parkway. - The dates are Nov 27, December 1st and 8th. 9 P.M. TO 11 P.M.

Since we are a small group we can pay only $25.00 a session.

If you wish me will pick you up by car, at your home, and return you there after the lecture.

Respectfully yours

S. H. Glasey

October 21, 1953

Mr. S. N. Glasey
64 Lincoln Rd.
Bklyn 25, NY

25-62 1/6

My dear Sir:

You do not mention the subject on which you wish me to speak, but if it is something within my knowledge I shall be glad to lecture for your class November 27, December 1, and December 8 at 9 o'clock.

I usually speak for one-half hour and then give from 30 to 60 minutes for questions.

The compensation is to be $25 for each lecture and transportation from my home: 31 Grace Court, Brooklyn, and back, must be provided.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Nov 24 3 Tues

January 15, 1953

Mrs. Grace Goens
503 E. 10 St.
Wilmington, Delaware

Dear Grace:

I am going to be speaking in Philadelphia on Sunday, January 25th.

Since Wilmington will be nearer than New York, I plan to come down there after the lecture and have breakfast, returning here Monday.

This, of course, depends absolutely upon your having nothing in the way, because I could either stay over in Philadelphia or come back to New York the same night.

Yours, with love,

DB:lh W. E. B. Du Bois

25-52-7

25-041-22

10X1509
HAND COLORED
McNICOL BOSTON USA

Easter

Dear Folks,

Have resumed practicing of the piano and find myself overworked with this extra burden. I'm still pushing the ~~color~~ race cause, and am living to see the walls slowly crumbling. The Dupont hotel is now open (imagine?).

How did you leave the West?

Dave Sangston on television befor the Undemocratic Activities

[Goens]

Just to greet you
Just to say
A very happy Easter
Day

Committee last week. Have you escaped an invitation to appear before them?

I hope to get to New York next month. Next time you are this way let me know.

Grace

April 17, 1953

Mrs. Grace Goens
503 East 10 St.
Wilmington, Delaware

Dear Grace:

I am so glad to hear that you have returned to the piano. After all, one has to get out of this world and get into something real at least now and then. My refuge is that eternal novel which I have been working on for some time.

On the 25th of this month Shirley and I plan to go down to the Bahamas for three weeks and get a little sunshine. I wish you could come with us.

Love to yourself and husband,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-64-21

[Gold Coast Student's Ass.'n]

January 5, 1953

Mr. Albert Kofi Prempeh, Asst. Secty.-General
Gold Coast Students' Association of U.S. & Canada
Room 301, International House
500 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Prempeh:

Answering your letter of December 31st, may I say that I will be very glad to be listed as one of the Patrons of the Gold Coast Students' Association of the United States and Canada.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-32-17

CIRCULAR LETTER SENT RDSO TO

Pauline Taylor 313 Chicago Av Youngstown 11 Ohio
Mrs Frankie Lee Senior 236 East 102 St Los Angeles 3 Calif

September 24, 1953

Mr. Marcus I. Goldman
1234 Rebecca Road
Hollin Hills,
Alexandria, Va.

Dear Mr. Goldman:

May I thank you very much for your generous response to the appeal of the Council on African Affairs for South Africa.

I am sorry to be so late in writing you, but absence during the summer is the only excuse.

I hope we shall continue to have your sympathy and cooperation.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

January 6, 1953

Mrs. Helen Gordon
2196 South Ash St.
Denver, Colorado

Dear Mrs. Gordon:

I am writing the New York office of the Womens International League for Peace and Freedom telling them of our trip to the west.

I shall also send the general notice to the NAACP, but not asking them specifically to move, because they stuck their necks out before. I do not want to expect too much.

I trust you and your family are in good health.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

8-52-3

25-5-2-9

Best wishes for New Year

Helen & Bill Gordon

understand you can come
west and again. Do write
Tonaca P. Also can you
make contact waterside
with women - with Women
for Peace + Freedom. which
is suggesting steps to
all sectors? appreciate
selection! They might
organize meeting for you.

Helen Gordon

It's as simple as one and one
make two.
Do unto others as you'd have
them do unto you.
It's the only way that wars
will cease
And men of good will can walk
in peace.

from Sir Lancelot
Calypso songs.

May 19, 1953

Dr. Manuel Gottlieb
2 East 54 St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Gottlieb:

We arrived Monday from the Bahamas safe and sound after a very successful and happy vacation.

I am at your service at any time you say.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Great Barrington, Town of]

NEW YORK June 18 1953 No. 3869

CORN EXCHANGE BANK TRUST COMPANY

1-45
210

FIFTH AVENUE BRANCH
FIFTH AVENUE AND TWENTIETH STREET
6

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Town of Great Barrington $10 50/100

Ten 50/xx Dollars

Shirley Graham DuBois

A

45-62.32

[Great Neck Peace Forum]

STANLEY FAULKNER
COUNSELOR AT LAW

LEXINGTON 2-7780

9 East 40th Street
New York 16, N.Y.

April 24, 1953

25-68 .2

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have been asked to extend an invitation to you to speak at a meeting of the Great Neck Peace Forum on May 21, 1953.

This is a community organization which was formed about a year ago, bending all of its efforts towards educating the community of the benefits of peace over war.

At two previous meetings, Prof. Fairchild spoke, and a leader of the Quakers Society. If you could possibly arrange to accept this invitation I would like to have you and Shirley to dinner, at my home, that evening.

With kindest regards,

I am,

Sincerely yours,

Stanley Faulkner Esq.

Stanley Faulkner

SF/m

May 7, 1953

Mr. Stanley Faulkner
9 East 40 St.
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Faulkner:

Dr. Du Bois is out of town at the present time. He is expected back about May 18th.

I have written to him concerning your letter of April 24th. He will be able to speak for the Great Neck Peace Forum on May 21st, providing his fee of $50 is arranged, and also transportation to and from Great Neck.

Sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

STANLEY FAULKNER
COUNSELOR AT LAW

LEXINGTON 2-7780

9 East 40th Street
New York 16, N.Y.

May 18, 1953

25-621

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

During your absence, I received a letter from your secretary, Miss Lillian Hyman, advising me that you would be available to speak before the Great Neck Peace Forum on May 21st.

Unfortunately, because of your absence from the City and the unavoidable delay in learning that you would be available, the meeting was postponed.

The organization is planning a meeting for the Fall and I will be in touch with you at that time to see whether you are available.

Remember me to Shirley and with kindest personal regards,

I remain

Sincerely yours,

Stanley Faulkner

SF/m

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1220

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
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VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NB494 LONG NL PD= NEW YORK NY 15=

1953 OCT 15 PM 9 47

B

DR W E B DUBOIS, CARE DR R M LOVETT=
ROOM 312 166 WEST WASHINGTON CHGO=

PROUD TO ADD OUR WORD OF GREETING AND CONGRATULATIONS TO THE EMINENT AND COURAGEOUS DOCTOR DUBOIS THIS MOMENTOUS OCCASION. HIS PERSISTENT AND UNCOMPROMISING EFFORTS BEHALF WORLD PEACE AND FREEDOM FOR COLONIAL PEOPLES GREAT FORCE OF STRENGTH AND GUIDE FOR ALL TO EMULATE. WORLD PEACE NECESSARY FOR SUCCESSFUL FIGHT FOR EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGROES AND ABUNDANT EMPLOYMENT FOR ALL AMERICAN WORKERS=

GREATER NEW YORK NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

GREATER NEW YORK NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

53 WEST 125th STREET • NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

Telephone: SAcramento 2-0880

EWART GUINIER, Chairman
PEARL LAWS, Treasurer

ROY McLEOD, Director of Organization
TOM SULLIVAN, Recording Secretary
VICKI GARVIN, Executive Secretary

December 22, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N.Y.

25-64-17

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

On Friday, February 12th our Council is planning an affair in celebration of Negro History Week, to be held at the Elks Imperial Lodge, 160 West 129th Street. Instead of confining ourselves to a review of our past, we hope to project some of the current problems facing our people nationally and internationally, and to launch formally our campaign for democratic hiring on the railroads.

We have not yet completed all the details for the meeting, but our first concern is to find out whether it will be possible for you to participate in our program as our featured speaker. Needless to say, the members of our organization not only have the highest esteem for you personally and your life-time devotion to our cause; we consider any observance of Negro History Week on our part incomplete without full recongition to you. We would indeed be honored if you could join us. May we hear from you soon?

Sincerely yours,

Vicki Garvin

Executive Secretary

dpowa#65

December 31, 1953

Miss Vicki Garvin, Exec. Secy.
Greater N.Y. Negro Labor Council
53 West 125 St.
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Miss Garvin:

I can speak for you on Friday, February 12th, at the meeting which you outlined in your letter of December 22nd.

My charge would be $50. I shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-63-38 [Grimké]

Dear Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois: 1953

I will be present Tuesday evening, February 3rd, to meet and greet Professor and Mrs. Z. K. Matthews.

Name Angelina W. Grimké

Address 208 W. 151st St. Apt. 6J New York 39 N. Y.

☐ I cannot attend but I am enclosing a contribution for the cause of freedom and justice in South Africa.

January 24, 1953

Mrs. Emma Groves
30 Peacevale Road
Dorchester, Mass.

Dear Emma:

I am rushing in to Boston to talk at the Community Church Sunday, February 1st. I shall arrive Saturday night and leave Sunday afternoon.

I will, of course, not have time enough to come out, and I hate to ask you to leave your celebrated breakfast, but if you could have breakfast with me Sunday morning at the Copley Plaza I shall be so glad.

If you cannot, I realize the difficulties.

My love to you and the family,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

October 8, 1953

Miss Emma Groves
30 Peacevale Road
Dorchester, Mass.

My dear Emma:

I have not heard from you in a long time, although I wrote last. Drop me a line if possible, and tell me how you are and what the world is doing to you.

I have been in good health during the last month and am still at work on my novel and doing a little talking now and then.

I am going to Chicago for a lecture on the 16th.

Shirley is well, and her book which she had been trying to place for a year or more has at last been accepted, so that she is quite happy.

Let me hear from you.

Yours with love,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-52-4

Groves Nov. 2, 1953

Dear Doctor:

This is just a "quicky" to let you know that trouble still pursues. Mason's baby boy was born September 27th. Alice is still in the hospital (some better, but still quite ill) with inflammation of the uterus. I have the baby. Am glad to be able to help, but am finding it a tough job. You understand now why you have not heard from me. I am glad all is going so well with you and Shirley. My love to her and congratulations on the success of her book

Love
Emma

25-52-2

The baby is a fine, healthy darling

[Groves]

Nov. 5, 1953

Dear Emma:

You surely get picked out for splendid work in this world. I am glad the baby is fine in health and so forth.

I hope, however, you will not entirely work yourself to death.

Give my love to the young mother and hope for her recovery.

I was beginning to get a little alarmed at not hearing from you at all, so that your letter gave me a great deal of pleasure.

We are both well and getting on far better than we had hoped.

Do not disturb yourself by trying to write. Once in a while I shall drop you a note.

Love from myself and Shirley,

Very

W.E.B. Du Bois

Mrs. Emma Groves
30 Peacevale Rd.
Dorchester, Mass.

[Guatemala]

May 26, 1953

25-52-4

Secretaria de Propaganda Y
Divulgacion de la Presidencia
de la Republica
P.O. Box 107
Guatemala City
Central America

Gentlemen:

Please change my address to:

31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N.Y.
U.S.A.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Haiti]

May 19, 1953

The Consul of Haiti
32 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

Sir:

I have been conducting this year a seminar of from fifteen to twenty students who are studying Africa.

Each student has taken one particular country and made an intensive study of that country, and then during the latter part of the course we have discussed the government, economy and future prospects of the nation.

On Monday night, May 25th 1953, I want to have this group of students meet and talk informally with the representatives of several African countries. We are asking a representative from Haiti because of the historical origins of Haiti and because of your known interest in African subjects.

There will, of course, be no publicity concerning this meeting, but I should like to have my students talk face to face with representatives of Africa. I am inviting to this meeting representatives from Egypt, France, Ethiopia, Liberia and Haiti.

May I ask you, Sir, if you could send to this meeting, which will take place in the library at 23 West 26th Street, some member of your staff, your representative to the UN, or some consular official? We will meet at 7:30 P.M. and have informal discussion for about an hour. I think such a meeting could be of interest to all attending.

Concerning myself, you may find my biography in the American or British Who's Who.

May I hear from you at your convenience, or can I call you by telephone?

I am, Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

May 28½ 1953

Mr. Vincent Hallinan
Ross, California

Dear Mr. Hallinan:

Under separate cover I have sent you a copy of Mrs. Shirley Graham Du Bois' new book on the life of De Sable, and also a photograph of Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois and a sketch of Shirley Graham's life.

Since the mail situation is so uncertain, I would appreciate it if you would let me know as soon as you receive it.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

Nov. 16, 1953

Mrs. Vivian Hallinan
535 Geary Street
San Francisco, California

My dear Vivian:

Shirley and I hasten to send you our deep regrets, and also our congratulations. We are glad to know that you have been freed, but distressed at the disgraceful indictment hanging over your husband. This, of course, is characteristic of our times.

We hope you will fight the Appeal, as much as it distresses and costs you, not simply for yourselves but for the rest of us.

You have, as you know, our deepest sympathy.

Our love to you both,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-59-13

ELLA HANFORD
HERSHEY, PENNSYLVANIA

"GOOD THINGS TO EAT GROWN ORGANICALLY"

August 12, 1953

Dear Mr. DuBois

Being a Guardian fan I have always been interested in what you have been doing, and I was particularly interested in your article in the last issue on Senator Taft, as it covers what is of vital interest to me.

We don't need any money for research on cancer, Mr. DuBois, because it is simply a nutritional deficiency disease and it is being successfully cured, whenever vital organs have not been too much damaged, in Europe and in this country by various agencies frowned upon by the medical trust who do not want to have anything to do with any cure which does not include drugs, radium, ex-rays, surgery, etc. The medical trust, headed by the Rockefellers, who subsidize the medical schools, controls Washington the press, the radio, and the thinking of the American people.

25-63-4

The first release of any information in a magazine outside the poorly circulated health magazines appears in thecurrent issue of "Man's Magazine" and covers the Hoxey Clinic at Dallas, Texas, which has been curing cancer for years. The article begins "We consider this one of the most important articles published in recent years by any magazine in the country." and I agree with the editor.

A Dr. Koch of Detroit developed a cure for cancer years ago , has been jailed and so hounded by the AMA that he fled to South America, turning over his formula to the Christian Medical Research League, which I believe is a Luthern Church affiliation which the AMA cannot touch because it is covered by religious freedom. Through them doctors all over the country are quietly using the Koch treatment, many of them being disbarred by the AMA for doing so.

I am enclosing a small agricultural paper which covers the work of Dr. Nolfi in Denmark, as well as a reprint of the Lee Foundation for Nutritional Research on Cancern, a Nutritional Deficiency Disease. Sorry, I hace just checked and find I am all out of the latter. The Lee Foundation is fi-

ELLA HANFORD
HERSHEY, PENNSYLVANIA

"GOOD THINGS TO EAT GROWN ORGANICALLY"

nanced by Dr. Royal S. Lee, a Milwaukee dentist who has made a fortune with his inventions of dental equipment, and who is spending that fortune in spreading information on the importance of nutrition. Dr. Lee finances the Drozy-Lazenby Clinic in Pittsburgh which also cures cancer.

The New York library should have a copy of Morris Beale's "The Drug Story" and I urge you to read it. If you are unable to get a copy, let me know and I will see that one is sent you.

I believe that getting information to the people on the importance of food is as important as clearing up politics. I am also enclosing a copy of my price list, not because I want to sell you anything, but because I believe wholeheartedly in Sir Albert Howard8s statement on the cover.

25-63-5

If you are interested, and I can be of any help in supplying you with further information, I would be very glad to hear from you.

Sincerely
Mrs. Ella Hanford

Did you know that Bernard Baruch gave $1,100,000 for the study of what was being done by the drugless physicians, and the report of the committee which was headed by the president of Leland Stanford began with something like "The day of pills and potions is at an end. The medical schools must include therapy in their curriculum". I can't help but wonder if that is why Mr, Barruch has not been given a post in the Rockerfeller dominated administration in Washington.

February 5, 1953

Harcourt, Brace & Company
383 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

I 1920 you published my book, "Darkwater". Recently a colored weekly newspaper in Baltimore, "Afro-American", 628 N. Eutaw Street, re-published in three installments a story from this book, called "The Comet".

I wrote and suggested courteously that some compensation should be paid me. February 3rd they wrote, "The right to publish the "Comet" was purchased by the "Afro-American" in 1923".

Could you, without too much trouble, tell me if this is true? I realize that the ocpyright has probably expired, and still I think they should pay something for re-publication.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

49-30-3

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY, INC.
PUBLISHERS
383 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

February 13, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

On receipt of your letter of February fifth, we made a search of our records in respect to the sale of "The Comet" to Afro-American.

We enclose copy of their letter to us dated October 6, 1922, in which you will note they state they received your permission to reprint as many short stories as they wished from DARKWATER at $5.00 per story. In accordance with their request, we wired our approval as follows:

"You may reprint DARKWATER chapters according to your letter of sixth"

Our records show that on October 13, 1922, we received from them the sum of $5.00 for the use of "The Comet." Nothing in the exchange of correspondence mentioned that they were to have a continuing right to use this material, and although, as you point out, the copyright has expired, we do think they should pay for republication.

Would you like us to write at this point? Or would you prefer to carry on yourself? The 1922 letter was signed by Carl Murphy, editor, as you will see.

We shall look forward to hearing from you again in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
Harcourt, Brace and Company

Catherine McCarthy

Catherine McCarthy

wm

49-30-9

February 18, 1953

Catherine McCarthy
Harcourt Brace & Co.
383 Madison Av.
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Madam:

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois is out of town. I will communicate with him concerning your letter.

Sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

49-30-12

Feb. 24, 1953

Harcourt, Brace and Company
383 Madison Avenue
New York, 17, N.Y.

Attention: Miss Catherine McCarthy

Dear Miss McCarthy:

I received an answer from Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois concerning your letter on the republication of his story, "The Comet" in the Afro-American.

He would appreciate it if you would write to them at this point. They can well afford to pay for the republication.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

11-20-47

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY, INC.
PUBLISHERS
383 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y

April 17, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

You will remember our correspondence in regard to the use by Afro-American of "The Comet" from DARKWATER. We wrote to Afro-American, and on following up the matter, we learn from them that they mailed a check* to you on April second. Will you let me know if you have received their check so that we may now close out the matter in our records?

Yours sincerely,
Harcourt, Brace and Company

Catherine McCarthy

wm

Catherine McCarthy

*for $25.00

49-30-12

April 21, 1953

Miss Catherine McCarthy
Harcourt, Brace and Company
383 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Miss McCarthy:

I have received from the Afro-American for their reprinting of my story "The Comet" a check for $25.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

49-30-13

October 27, 1953

Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc.
383 Madison Avenue,
New York 17, NY

Dear Sir:

Will you kindly send me five copies of COLOR AND DEMOCRACY.

Also, will you please change my address on your statement from 409 Edgecombe Avenue to:

31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

I have not lived on Edgecombe Avenue for three years, as your books will show.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-55-141

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY, INC.

PUBLISHERS

383 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

WHEN WRITING OR REMITTING, PLEASE REFER TO THIS NUMBER

INVOICE NO. 52580

3 RG AUTHOR

SOLD TO W E B DU BOIS
23 W 26 ST
NEW YORK CITY

SHIP TO

CUSTOMER'S DEPT. ORDER NO.

INVOICE DATE 10/28/53 TERMS 2% 30 DAYS NET

[redacted]

QUAN.	TITLE		PRICE	DISCOUNT	AMOUNT
5	COLOR AND DEMOCRACY X 88C2		2.75	40	8.25
	3% SALES TAX				.25
				SUB-TO	[redacted]
				INSURA	
			WAGON FEE		
			TRANSPORTATION		
			PLEASE REMIT THIS AMOUNT →		

NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR BOOKS SENT OR RECEIVED FOR ENCLOSURE. ALL CLAIMS MUST BE MADE IMMEDIATELY UPON RECEIPT OF BOOKS.
DO NOT RETURN ANY BOOKS UNLESS AUTHORIZED TO DO SO.

*EXPLANATION
O.P.-Out of Print. Cancelled.
O.S.-Out of Stock. Ready about. Back Ordered.
N.O.-Not our Publication.
T.O.P.-Temporarily out of Print. Cancelled.
N.Y.P.-Not yet published. Ready about. Back Ordered.

2315 LOS AMIGOS
LA CRESCENTA
CALIFORNIA

To Dr. W.E.B.DuBois on October 16, 1953.

When the despoilers and oppressors, now
So panic-stricken that they seem insane
As they rush down the hill to blazing death,
The Duponts, Rockefellers, Krupps and Thyssens,
Are buried in the pyre of their own building,
And the last writers hired to praise their greed
As virtue, change scarcely perceptibly
To maggots, in that day so near at hand
That the red banners of the dawn are bright
In all the eastern sky, that glorious day
In which men everywhere will stand upright,
Hands clasped in brotherhood around the world,
Two names will be enshrined in every heart
In Africa, the names DuBois, Morel.
These are the men, the incorruptible,
The fearless, clear of eye and clear of thought,
Who sought no wealth, no honor save to serve
The poor and the oppressed, shining like stars
Through our dark night in token of the day
Now dawning, who gave courage to endure
The last long hours of torment while they worked
With tongue and pen, tools of the obstetricians
Aiding the birth of freedom for mankind.

Hugh Hardyman

With love, with honor and with reverence, to Dr DuBois.
Hugh Hardyman

25-60-2

October 20, 1953

Mr. Hugh Hardyman
2315 Los Amigos
La Crescenta
California

Dear Mr. Hardyman:

Thank you very much for your poem and kind words which you sent me on the occasion of my receiving the Peace Prize.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

["Harlem Speaks"]

January 12, 1953

25-649

Mr. Melvin Tapley
76 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, N.Y.

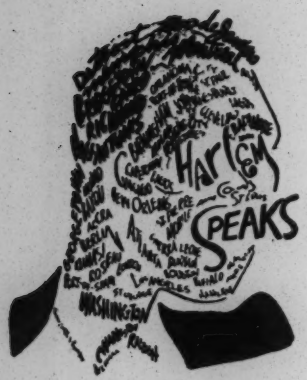
Dear Mr. Tapley:

I should be glad to give you a date for recording my voice when I return from my western trip in March.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois



GLADYS H. MAC DONALD
CONVENER

HARLEM SPEAKS

76 EDGECOMBE AVE., NEW YORK 30, N. Y. AUDUBON 3-9058

March 29th, 1953

Doctor, we're still plugging away! By-the-way, whenever it's convenient for that recording — just let us know! MST.

Dear Doctor!

Dear Friend,

We would be very pleased to have you join us around another "cracker barrel" session of HARLEM SPEAKS, Sunday afternoon at 3:30 pm, April 12th, 1953, at the New York Press Club, rooms 1007-1009, Hotel Theresa, 125th Street at Seventh Avenue, New York.

Our topic is THE WOMEN SPEAK ON AFRICA. Our panel will include Mrs. Z. K. Matthews, who will be leaving our shores shortly, and Miss Margaret T. Hills, Associate, Department of Translators, American Bible Society. Miss Gladys H. MacDonald will serve as Moderator.

The admission to this meeting will be a bundle, large or small, of clean warm clothing which will be sent to our friends in Africa. No admission has ever received so much for so little.

Cordially yours,

Melvin Tapley

P.S.

This invitation is being sent to both the members and friends of HARLEM SPEAKS. A self-addressed stamped envelope is enclosed for the convenience of those members who may want to renew their membership, and for those friends who may wish to make a contribution to HARLEM SPEAKS' Building Fund. Kindly make checks payable to Hans Stefan Santesson, Treasurer.

[Harlem Speaks]

April 17, 1953

Mr. Melvin Tapley
Harlem Speaks
76 Edgecombe Av.
New York 30, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Tapley:

When Shirley and I return from the West Indies in the middle of May, I shall be glad to have you come down and make that recording.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

January 12, 1953

Mrs. Jessie S. Hathcock
407 West 5th St.
Dayton, Ohio

Dear Mrs. Hathcock:

Thank you for your Christmas greeting and good words.

If quietly you can get someone to take up the agency for my book, they might make considerable pocket money. If you find anyone interested ask them to write to Dr. Herbert Aptheker, c/o Masses & Mainstream, 832 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

Our best love to you and the family,

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

85-56 2

November 10, 1953

Mrs. Mason R. Hawkins
1532 Druid Hill Avenue
Baltimore, Md.

My dear Mrs. Hawkins:

I have heard of Gregory's illness and am very, very sorry.

I hope he is not too unhappy and showing some signs of recovery.

Please let me hear about him at your convenience and also let me know how you are.

Mrs. Du Bois joins me in best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-59-18

63-3

Hawkins

Baltimore, Maryland
1532 Druid Hill Ave.
December 15, 1953.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I cannot find words with which to thank you for your kindness and thoughtfulness in sending me a letter of sympathy in my distress.

Gregory is still in the hospital and as yet I do not know what the outcome will be although he has improved very much. The doctors there do not make any very definite statements.

I am carrying on the best I can with the strong help of mason and Idlady. Gregory was so good to me — he never said an unkind word to me and was my main support.

The future alone will tell the outcome. I shall never forget your kindness.

My kind regards to Mrs. Du Bois.

Very sincerely
Margaret G. Hawkins.

25-52

[Haynes]

October 27, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois and Shirley Graham send their deep condolence to Dr. George E. Haynes on the death of his wife, Elizabeth Ross Haynes.

We knew her as a woman of insight and courage.

43 Britain Street
Saint John - N.B.,
Canada
11, December, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
New York City, USA.

27-6-5

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In January, I am giving a series of talks on "Africa" to the members of a group To which I belong in one of the Anglican Churches here.

The books I have been able to procure give no information as to the early history of the African people, and I am very anxious to procure a copy of your "World and Africa" — the Viking Press, the "Crisis" and other publishers cannot supply it.

I have been wonder-

ing whether you would
have a copy I could buy
(new, or second hand) or,
if you do not wish to
part with the book and
would lend it to me for
a week, I would take
the best care of it and
pay postage both
ways.

May I hear from

you in reply, at your
early convenience?

Thanking you,

Very sincerely yours

(Miss) Anna M. Henderson

February 2, 1953

Hermes Portable Typewriters
201 East 41 St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I have a Hermes portable which needs overhauling, oiling, and a new ribbon.

I have once or twice tried ordinary typewriter repair shops and they have not done a good job.

Will you please recommend a place where I can have this work done?

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

March 6, 1953

Dr. T. B. Higgins
2243 Madison Avenue
Baltimore, Md.

Dear Dr. Higgins:

My granddaughter has written me and she thinks that her mother is not well and needs attention.

Of course, as she says, Yolande's chief need is rest, and I am hoping to do something about that this summer. But meantime, could you manage, without alarming her, to giver her a thorough check-up?

Perhaps you already have, but if so, please let me know.

Perhaps her chief trouble is mental. She worries a great deal, and she is pretty lonesome.

I would be under deep obligation if you would give me a frank opinion and advice.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-59-11

October 21, 1953

Mr. Perry Howard
c/o Cobb, Howard & Hayes
613 F Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Howard:

While I was in Chicago recently I read in the Tribune of your victory in the Federal courts over the attempt in Mississippi to take control of your party.

May I congratulate you.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

25-31-92

Republican national committee
1625 I Street, Northwest, Washington 6, D. C.
NATIONAL 8-6800
10

LEONARD W. HALL
CHAIRMAN

PERRY W. HOWARD
MEMBER FOR MISSISSIPPI
613 F STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

October 23, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street,
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I want to thank you most kindly for your letter of the 21st inst. Congratulations from you are congratulations indeed. I want you to know how very much I appreciate it.

I trust this finds you in good health and vigor, carrying on in your usual way.

Sincerely yours,

Perry W. Howard

Perry W. Howard

25-31-93

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

25-60 -41

(07)

EY 1201

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

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CDU261 26 PD INTL=CD PRAHA VIA MACKAY 15 1820=

LT ROBERT M DOVETT=

166 WEST WASHINGTON ST RM 312 CHGO=

B

MANY GOOD WISHES TO DR DUBOIS PEACE PRIZE CELEBRATION

IN HEART WITH HIM=

PROFESSOR HROMADKA=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

January 5, 1953

Mr. Leo Huberman
218 West 10 St.
New York, 14, N.Y.

25-56-19

My dear Mr. Huberman:

Answering your letter of December 16th, may I say that I would be glad to write an article on the subject of the "Critical place of the American Negro in United States Capitalism".

If the subject is suitable, how long do you want the article to be, and when do you wish to have it in your hands?

I shall expect $50 for it.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

by WESTERN UNION

LSA430

1951 FEB 19 7 26

L.NB420 BDA NL PD=NND NEW YORK NY 19=

:DR W E B DUBOIS, CARE PETER HYUN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PEACE

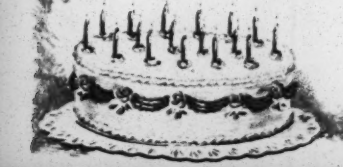
SW CRUSADE=ROOM 310 326 WEST 3 ST LOSA=

HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO OUR GREAT AMERICAN LEADER. FROM THE ONE WHO IS PRIVILEGED TO BE HIS SECRETARY=

LILLIAN HYMAN=..

[Hyman]

OE-15-26



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WESTERN UNION

25-60-43

FX-1201

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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KB010

K CDU043 40 PD INTL FR=ZL WARSZAW VIA WUCABLES 16 1115=

1943 OCT 16 AM 9 34

DR ROBERT MORN LOVET=

166 WEST WASHINGTON ST ROOM 312 CHGO C O=

CONGRATULATIONS ON RECEIVING THE WELL DESERVED PEACE PRIZE YOUR UNFLINCHING WORK FOR THE CAUSE OF PEACE IS AN INSPIRATION TO MILLIONS ALL OVER THE WORLD=

LEOPOLD INFELD=

[Infeld]

166 312 DSTN RDS CHGO C O CFND TO US=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

September 5, 1952

25-43-5

Inostrannaja komissia Sojusa
Sovetskich pisatelej
ul. Vorovskogo, 52
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly change the enclosed address to:

Mrs. Shirley Graham Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

We have asked you to do this before, but the paper, which we greatly appreciate, goes to St. Albans and is delayed.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
enc.

[1953?]

[Internat.'l Conf. in Defense of Children]

Message.

The American delegation to the International Conference in Defense of Children greets you, Dr. Dubois, on your 84th. birthday. In Vienna your name was on our lips, and in our hearts, and in the hearts of innumerable delegates from the Western and colonial countries. We Americans were humble, but proud, to be associated with the great name of unconquerable spirit of so stalwart and valiant a fighter.

We salute you tonight, and hope that your struggle for the Peace, without which our children cannot live, will continue. May your health and strength be preserved, that the American people, for many years to come will be privileged to enjoy, through you & with you, the Peaceful world for which you have made a life-long fight.

Molly Lucas
Ray Wechsler
} Co-Chairmen, Am. Delegation to International Conference in Defence of Children.

25-38-3

(INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S...)

BRIDGES-ROBERTSON-SCHMIDT DEFENSE COMMITTEE

150 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 2, Calif. PRospect 5-0533 • PRospect 6-4815

May 6th, 1953

Dear Friend:

On April 27th the American Civil Liberties Union through its Executive Director, Patrick Murphy Malin, issued the attached statement on Harry Bridges. The case will be argued before the United States Supreme Court May 4th. The ACLU said in part:

> "This is the third time that the government has raised the question of such membership in legal proceedings instituted against Bridges. On two occasions, the government attempted to deport Bridges on this charge, but the charge was not sustained in either case, even though one case reached the Supreme Court...
>
> "It seems to us that this continual harassment on the same issue over a period of ten years amounts to a violation of that due process of law required by the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Three legal proceedings brought against a man, always involving the question of past membership in the Communist Party reflects an attitude of persecution which is not consonant with American democratic concepts... It (the ACLU) hopes the Supreme Court will reverse the conviction."

25-65-111

The statement of the ACLU concurs with the position we have taken since the inception of this case four years ago - that the trial of Bridges on the same charge three different times is harassment and persecution.

Since the beginning of this case we have called on the President of the United States and the Attorney General to withdraw the charges and to dismiss the case. The statement of the ACLU has renewed our determination to continue in our campaign.

We ask you, therefore, to support this campaign by immediately writing and wiring President Eisenhower and Attorney General Brownell to dismiss the case and end this 20 year-old persecution.

Sincerely yours,

Louis Goldblatt

Louis Goldblatt
Secretary

LG:mjs
uopwa-34
Enclosure

100

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS

FOUNDED IN 1893

Suite 412 — Tabor Building 16th and Curtis Denver 2, Colorado Keystone 7211

JOHN CLARK, President • ORVILLE LARSON, Vice President • CHARLES H. WILSON, Vice President • M. E. TRAVIS, Secretary-Treasurer

August 25, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Council on African Affairs
53 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

25-59-10

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Our International Union will hold its 60th Anniversary Convention in the De Soto Hotel in St. Louis, Missouri, during the week of September 14. This convention is an important milestone in the history of our organization.

I know the delegates to our convention would be highly honored to receive a message of greeting from you on that occasion.

Sincerely and fraternally,

John Clark

John Clark
President

jc/v

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS

FOUNDED IN 1893

Suite 412 — Tabor Building 16th and Curtis Denver 2, Colorado Keystone 7211

JOHN CLARK, President • ORVILLE LARSON, Vice President • CHARLES H. WILSON, Vice President • M. E. TRAVIS, Secretary-Treasurer

September 30, 1953

25-59-11

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
23 West 26th Street,
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:-

On behalf of the International Union Officers, Executive Board and delegates to the 49th Convention of our Union, allow me to extend to you our thanks for your greetings to our Convention held recently in St. Louis.

Your communication was very well received, and we look forward to keeping in touch with you.

Sincerely and fraternally,

M. E. Travis,
Secretary-Treasurer.

MET/mt

March 16, 1953

International Union of Students

Mr. Paolò Pescetti, Gen. Sec.
Praha 11,
Vojtesska 12, CSR
Prague, Czechoslovakia

85-59-9

My dear Mr. Pescetti:

I should be glad to give my support to the celebration of the International Day of Solidarity with the Anti-fascist Youth and Students of Spain, and to send the Spanish students my best greetings.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS
МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЙ СОЮЗ СТУДЕНТОВ
UNION INTERNATIONALE DES ETUDIANTS
UNION INTERNACIONAL DE ESTUDIANTES
MEZINÁRODNÍ SVAZ STUDENTSTVA
國際學生聯合會

PRAHA II, VOJTĚŠSKÁ 12. ČSR TEL.: 450-47, 487-97, 485-79, 466-01 TELEGR.: STUDINFOR PRAHA

DEPT.: PRAHA,

S/16

14th April, International Day of Solidarity with the Anti-fascist Youth and Students of Spain

Dear Sir,

We are taking the liberty of writing to you on the subject of the 14th April, International Day of Solidarity with the Anti-fascist Youth and Students of Spain.

The International Union of Students has organised the observance of this day since 1946, in order to express the solidarity of the students of the world with their colleagues in Spain who have suffered under the yoke of fascism since 1939. This date was chosen as it is the anniversary of the proclamation of the 1931 Spanish Republic.

This year, at the suggestion of the Spanish anti-Franco students, this Day will be devoted to demanding the liberation of Gregorio Lopez Raimundo, leader of the Barcelona strikes and demonstrations of March 1951, against whom, a new trial is being prepared, the liberation of the 4[illegible] young people who will shortly be judged by a military tribunal in Barcelona, and who have been in gaol since 1949, and of all the anti-Franco political prisoners, among whom are dozens of students and intellectuals.

It is therefore necessary to give this celebration even greater importance than has been done in former years, and it is for this reason that we take the liberty of asking if you will give your support to the celebration of this day, and if you will consider sending greetings to the Spanish students. Kindly let us know of your agreement, so that we may inform the Spanish students.

Thanking you for your cooperation,

We remain,

Yours faithfully,

Paolo [illegible]
Acting General Secretary

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS

[Int. Union of Students]

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS
МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЙ СОЮЗ СТУДЕНТОВ
UNION INTERNATIONALE DES ETUDIANTS
UNION INTERNACIONAL DE ESTUDIANTES
MEZINÁRODNÍ SVAZ STUDENTSTVA
世界學生聯合會

PRAHA II, VOJTĚŠSKÁ 12. ČSR TEL.: 450-47, 487-97, 485-79, 466-01 TELEGR.: STUDINFOR PRAHA

DEPT. LB/BB/LO 1214 PRAHA, 23. IV. 1953

Mr. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
NEW YORK 10 New York
United States

35-64-12

Dear Sir,

The IIIrd World Student Congress will be held in Warsaw from 7th August to 3rd September of this year.

The Congress is open to student organisations both member and non-members of the IUS. It will be a great forum in which more than 1000 students representatives from all parts of the world will participate. It will be a living proof that students regardless of their differences in nationality, background, religious or political belief, can meet tofind ways of working together for the satisfaction of the needs and interests which they share.

The IUS believes that it would greatly help in the work of the Congress, especially in creating a climate of responsiblity, understanding and good-will if a number of out-standing professors, scientists, artists and men of letters were to come to Warsaw at the time of the meeting, personally to meet the students participating and to address them on some aspects of their particular subject.

We t herefore have the honour to invite you to come to Warsaw at the time of the Congres and to meet and address the participants.

We should also be very much obliged if it would be possible for you to write a short article or message to the same effect for the monthly magazine " World Student News " which is published in eight languages and read by students thruughout the world.

We look forward to receiving your reply at your earliest convenience.

Yours sincerely,

Paolo [illegible]
Acting General Secretary

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS.

[Int. Union of Students]

June 22, 1953

Mr. Paolo Pescetti, Gen. Secy.
International Union of Students
Praha II Vojtesska 12
Czechoslovakia

My dear Mr. Pescetti:

Answering your kind letter of April 23, 1953, I am enclosing an article which you may want to use at the time of the Third World Student Congress in Warsaw next August.

I regret to say that I cannot address the Congress as I should be unable to obtain a passport.

I wish you all success.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS
МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЙ СОЮЗ СТУДЕНТОВ
UNION INTERNATIONALE DES ETUDIANTS
UNION INTERNACIONAL DE ESTUDIANTES
MEZINÁRODNÍ SVAZ STUDENTSTVA
國際學生聯合會

PRAHA II, VOJTĚŠSKÁ 12. ČSR TEL.: 450-47, 487-97, 485-79, 466-01 TELEGR.: STUDINFOR PRAHA

DEPT.: SEC/GB/LO 1086 PRAHA 7-8. VII 1953

Mr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10 N.Y.

25-64.14

Dear Mr. DuBois,

With regard to your letter of June 22, 1953, we were very sorry to learn that you will not be able to address the Congress.

We wish to express you our thanks for the article which you kindly sent us and which will be certainly used at the time of the Third World Student Congress in Warsaw.

With friendly greetings,

Yours sincerely,

G. Berghauer
General Secretary.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS.

PRAHA-ČSR

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER • *Policyholders Protective Committee*

80 EAST 11th STREET • ROOM 337 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • Telephone: GRamercy 7-8846

November 6, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I wish to extend an invitation to you to address a mass meeting on the I.W.O. case on Monday, November 16th, at St. Nicholas Arena.

As you are undoubtedly aware, the attempt to liquidate this great fraternal society is now approaching its climax. We regard this mass meeting as tremendously important not only to mobilize our members in defense of their interests, but also to sound a warning to America on the implications of this crime.

Would it be possible for you to speak at this gathering.

Fraternally yours,

J. Trauber

Jerry Trauber
Executive Secretary

JT:vn

25-54-54

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER • *Policyholders Protective Committee*

80 EAST 11th STREET • ROOM 337 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • Telephone: GRamercy 7-8846

November 12, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Doctor DuBois:

This is to confirm our telephone conversation the other day about your speech at the St. Nicholas Arena meeting this coming Monday night.

We expect to get the meeting under way at 8 o'clock and hope you will be able to be there that time or shortly thereafter.

The committee arranging the program, upon hearing your desire to make your remarks brief, has put you down for ten minutes. Is this okay with you?

I might add that Rockwell Kent was very pleased to hear that you will be a speaker. He is flying down from Northern New York to attend the meeting in spite of a recant illness.

Looking forward to seeing you on Monday night, I remain

Fraternally yours,

J. Trauber

Jerry Trauber
Executive Secretary

JT:vn

69 W 66

November 24, 1953

Mr. Jerry Trauber, Executive Secretary
International Workers Order
80 East 11 St.
Room 337
New York 3, N.Y.

To W.E.B. Du Bois, Dr.,

FOR TALK AT ST. NICHOLAS ARENA,

November 16, 1953 $25.00

PLEASE REMIT

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER • *Policyholders Protective Committee*

80 EAST 11th STREET • ROOM 337 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • Telephone: GRamercy 7-8846

December 2, 1953

25-59 .52

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed please find our check for $25.

May I express once again our sincere thanks for your address to our mass meeting on November 16.

With best wishes for your health and continued leadership in the struggle for decency, I remain

Fraternally yours,

Jerry Trauber
Executive Secretary

JT:vn
encl

Dec. 3, 1953

Mr. Jerry Trauber
IWO, Room 337
80 East 11 St.
New York 3, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Trauber:

You invited me on November 6th to speak November 16th at the St. Nicholas Arena.

I told you later over the telephone that my charge would be $25, to which you assented in your letter of November 12th.

I spoke November 16th, and hearing nothing from you on November 24th sent a bill for $25. I have had no answer.

I shall be under obligations if you will remit immediately.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

25-60 42

(21)

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

CDU228 20 PD INTL FR=CD ROMA PO VIA WUCABLES 14 1815=

ROBERT MARSS LOVETT= 1953 OCT 14 PM 1 25

166 WEST WASHINGTON ST ROOM 312 CHGO=

CONGRATULIAMODI VIVAMENTE CONCESSIONE PREMIO PACE
PROFESSORE DUBOIS=
COMITATO ITALIANO PACE=

(Italian Peace Committee, Rome

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

April 17, 1953

Mrs. Esther Jackson
911 St. Marks Av.
Bklyn, N.Y.

My dear Esther:

Shirley and I are so sorry not to be able to attend the reception for you at the home of Doxey Wilkerson.

We plan leaving the morning of April 25th for three weeks in the Bahamas.

I hope you will have a successful meeting.

Yours with love,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED TO A RECEPTION

in honor of

Esther Cooper Jackson

AUTHOR OF

"THIS IS MY HUSBAND"

"a stirring story of James E. Jackson, Jr., Political Refugee"

at the home of Yolanda and Doxey Wilkerson

913 St. Marks Avenue (near Kingston Avenue)
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Saturday, April 25, 1953, 8:00 p.m.

REFRESHMENTS

AUSPICES: FRIENDS OF THE JACKSONS

Donation: One Dollar

25-61, 29

WILLIAM SLOANE HOUSE

NEW YORK CITY'S Y.M.C.A. FOR
TRANSIENT YOUNG MEN AND MEN OF THE ARMED FORCES

356 WEST 34th STREET
NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

Guest Correspondence

February 6, 1953

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Having come from Pakistan (Asia) I am touring the States these days. I wish to meet you personally to pay my respects to the great leader and champion of the cause of the coloured peoples and who has been responsible for inspiring great enthusiasm in me through "Crisis".

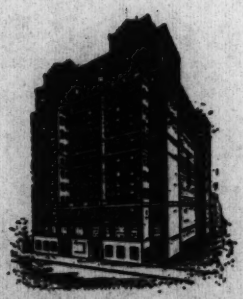
I shall be greatful if you will kindly let me know when it will be possible to meet you and at what place. I can easily come on any Saturdays or Sundays. If you agree to see me please let know the details of the place and the route to be followed by me either in subway or bus as I am new to this place.

I hope you will not mind the trouble I am giving you. With the best of regards,

Yours sincerely,
Nazeer Ahmed Janjua

(Nazeer Ahmed Janjua).

25-61.27



1492 ROOMS — REASONABLE RATES
HOME OF THE FAMOUS SUNDAY BIBLE BREAKFAST
PROGRAMS OF EDUCATION, RECREATION, ENTERTAINMENT
COUNSELING AND PLACEMENT SERVICE
RECREATION-INFORMATION : SIGHTSEEING TOURS
RESTAURANT : GYMNASIUM : BILLIARDS

February 6, 1953

Mr. Naseer Ahmed Janjua
William Sloane House
356 West 34 St.
New York 1, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Janjua:

I have your letter of February 6th, but regret to say that I am lecturing in Connecticut this weekend, and next weekend I am going to the Pacific coast, to be gone until some time in March.

If you are in the city and will get in touch with me after March 10th, I shall be very glad to make an appointment with you.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

COPY

COPY

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

September 26, 1953.

18, 2-Chome, Misakicho,
Kanda, Chiyodaku,
Tokyo. (Japan)

Dear friends,

We, Japanese Peace Liaison Committee, organized at November, 1952, succeeding to the Japan Preparatory Committee for the Asian & Pacific Region Peace Congress held at Peking, have endeavored to promote Japanese peace movement through liaison activities with peace organizations of countries in Asian & Pacific regions, and are now preparing to hold the first general meeting at 17th & 18th October in memory of the first Asian & Pacific Region Peace Congress.

25-63-18

The agenda of the first, above mentioned, general meeting is decided as follows:

1) Preparation to invite the representatives of China Red Cross at beginning of November.

2) On the normalization of diplomatic relations between Japan and Soviet Union, China and Korea.

3) On the sending of peace delegation to Korea.

4) On national movements opposing to military bases of U.S. forces in Japan, etc.

It will be great joy for us and surely encourage our peace movements, if you send a warmful message to our general meeting.

Since the Peace Congress at Buda-pest, the "World Peace by Negotiation" movement has been extending all over the world, and we Japanese peace partisan are striving to make Japanese government try to settle peacefully any conflict by negotiation.

We send a sincere respect to your never failing efforts for peace, and await your kind message.

Sincerely yours,

Japanese Peace Liaison Committee,

/s/
M. Hatanaka
Secretary-General

COPY

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

January 2, 1953

Dear _____

We are inviting a limited number of selected people to take part in the seminar on "Background of African Liberation Struggles" which Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois will conduct here at the School, beginning January 12.

The seminar meets each Monday from 7:00 to 8:30 P.M., and will be continued through the winter and spring terms. Students are expected to undertake original research and prepare substantial reports. The fee is $10.00 for each term, plus 50 cents library fee.

We should like to have you participate in this seminar, the enrollment in which will be limited to 16 students. If you are interested, please write or come to the School during the next few days to have your name entered on the panel from which the students will be chosen.

Sincerely yours,

DOXEY A. WILKERSON
Director of Faculty and Curriculum

DAW:lw
tu/555

25-49.46

264

[Jefferson School]

January 5, 1953

Mr. Doxey Wilkerson
The Jefferson School
575 Sixth Avenue
New York 11, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Wilkerson:

I have your outline of my course sent December 31st. It is satisfactory to me and I will be present to begin work January 12th at 7 p.m.

I have received the enclosed letter from Thomas Richardson. I have marked the place where he promises payment of the money which the Crusade collected for me, and note that he makes this sum $1,225.

I am enclosing the accounting which Mr. Simon gave me. You will note that there were unpaid pledges of $585. I telephoned asking Mr. Richardson if these pledges had been collected and he did not know but was going to "check".

I hand you this simply for your information.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh
encs.

W.E.B. Du Bois

JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE Winter, 1953

SEMINAR: Background of African Liberation Struggles
W.E.B. Du Bois
Mondays 7-8:30 p.m.

Lectures, Library research and Reports

Jan. 12th	Outline lecture on content and methods and assignments
Jan. 19	Physiography and bibliographies
Jan. 26	Peoples of Africa and Reports. Maps of Africa
Feb. 2	History of Africa and Reports (5000 B.C. - 1 A.D.)
Feb. 9	" " " " " (1 A.D. - 1200 A.D.)
Feb. 16	" " " " "
Feb. 23	" " " " "

25-49-23

REPORTS

1. Morocco, Algeria & Tunisia
2. ~~Italian Africa~~
3. ~~Egypt~~ the Sudan
4. French West Africa
5. Spanish Africa
6. ~~British West Africa~~, Gold Coast
7. ~~Anglo-Egyptian Sudan~~
8. Ethiopia, Eritrea and the Somalilands

Gold Coast BWA
Nigeria BWA

9. The Belgian Congo
10. Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika
11. The Rhodesias, Nyassaland, Bechuanaland, East
12. Portugese Africa
13. Union of South Africa ~~and the Protectorates~~
14. South West Africa
15. Liberia
16. Madagasca

13- Lowell Damrage
2- M. L. Emroy
9 Lorain Hawsley
6 ~~Boston~~ Alice Chilles
5 ~~Chas~~ L. Jeffers
12 Savage
15. Wilkerson
1- Dorothy Harrison
16- J Epstein

JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE Winter, 1953

SEMINAR: Background of African Liberation Struggles W.E.B. Du Bois
Mondays, 7-8:30 p.m.

Lectures, Library research and Reports

25-49.45

Reports

1. Morocco and Algeria
2. Tunisia
3. Egypt and the Sudan
4. French West Africa
5. Spanish Africa
6. Gold Coast, B.W.A.
7. Nigeria, B.W.A.
8. Ethiopia
9. Eritrea and the Somalilands
10. The Belgian Congo
11. Uganda
12. Kenya
13. Tanganyika
14. The Rhodesias & Nyassaland
15. Bechuanaland & the Protectorates
16. Portugese Africa
17. Union of South Africa
18. South West Africa
19. Liberia
20. Madagasca

JEFFERSON SCHOOL, FEB. (9, 1953

(20)

Absent: Feb. 16, 23, March 2, 9.

On these dates, Doxey Wilkerson will preside

Preliminary reports and discussion

Feb. 16 Algeria, Miss Jeffers; Tunisia, Miss Mary Lou (16)

~~Miss Mary Lou, Tunisia~~

March 2, Egypt, Miss Terry; French West Africa: Miss Dunn 2

9, The Sudan: Miss Rubenstein; Ethiopia: Miss Berry 9

16, Eritrea and the Somaliland, Mr. Fabry; Uganda, Miss Barbara 16

23, Kenya, Mr. Gowans; Belgian Congo, Miss Hansberry

30, The Gold Coast, Miss Childress; Nigeria, Miss Nichols

April 6, Liberia, Mr. Wilkerson; Tanganyika, Mr. Webster

13, Bechuanaland and the Protectorates, Miss Richardson;
The Rhodesias, Miss Cohen

20, Portugese Africa, Mr. Santiago; Southwest Africa, Miss Levitt

27, Union of South Africa, Mr. Beveridge; Madagasca, Miss Epstein

35-49.31

JEFFERSON SCHOOL

Absent: Feb. 16, ~~23~~ March 2, 9

On these dates, Doxey Wilkerson will preside

PRELIMINARY REPORTS AND DISCUSSION

Feb. 16 ALGERIA - Miss Jeffers. TUNISIA - Miss Mary Lou

Mar. 2 EGYPT - Miss Terry. FRENCH WEST AFRICA - Miss Dunn

" 9 THE SUDAN - Miss Rubenstein. ETHIOPIA - Miss Berry

" 16 ERITREA and the SOMALILAND - Mr. Fabry. UGANDA - Miss Barbara

" 23 KENYA - Mr. Gowans. BELGIAN CONGO - Miss Hansberry

" 30 GOLD COAST - Miss Childress. NIGERIA, - Miss Nichols

April 6 LIBERIA - Mr. Wilkerson. TANGANYIKA - Mr. Webster

" 13 BECHUANALAND and the PROTECTORATES - Miss Richardson
RHODESIAS - Miss Cohen

" 20 PORTUGESE AFRICA - Mr. Santiago. SOUTHWEST AFRICA - Miss Levitt

" 27 UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA - Mr. Beveridge. MADAGASCA - Miss Epstein

May 4
11
18
25

20 weeks

25-49-28

JEFFERSON SCHOOL

SEMINAR: AFRICA W.E.B. Du Bois 1953

BECHUANALAND AND PROTECTORATES - Richardson, Miss
Curtis & Perhan, "The Protectorates"
Livingston, "Missionary Travels in South Africa" 1857
Hepburn, "20 Years in Khama's Country" 1895

THE BELGIAN CONGO- Hansberry, Miss
Stanley, "Congo and the Founding of its Free State"
Keith, "The Belgian Congo" 1919
Ward, "A Voice from the Congo" 1910
Morel, "King Leopold's Rule in Africa" 1904
Mark Twain, "King Leopold's Soliloquy" 1902

ERITREA AND THE SOMALILANDS - Charles Kebiyi
Pankhurst, Sylvia, "Ex-Italian Somaliland" 1952
Pankhurst, Sylvia, "Eritrea on the Eve", 1952

ETHIOPIA - Berry, Miss
Harris, "The Highlands of Ethiopia" 3 vols. 1844
Budge, "History of Ethiopia" 1928
Perhan, "Government of Ethiopia" 1948
"New Times and Ethiopia News" published weekly in London by Sylvia Pankhurst
Leonard Woolf, "Empire and Commerce in Africa" 1918?
Leo Africanus, "History and Description of Africa" 3 vols. Eng. trans. 1896

FRENCH WEST AFRICA - Dunn, Miss
Bourgeois, "History of Modern France" 2 vols. 1919
Du Plessis, "Thrice Through the Dark Continent" 1917
see Dahomey: French Guinea and Senegal

GOLD COAST - Miss Childress
Padmore, "How Britain Rules Africa" 1936
Padmore, "Britain's Third Empire" 1949
Hogben, "The Muhammedan Emirates of Nigeria"
Mbadwe, "British and Axis Aims in Africa" 1942
Mary Kingsley, "Travels in West Africa" 1897
Ojike, "My Africa" 1946
Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of Africa" 1894
Rattray "Ashanti" 1923
Claridge, "Gold Coast and Ashanti" 1915

SEMINAR 1953 con'td. JEFFERSON SCHOOL

-2-

KENYA - Gowans, Mr.
Norman Leys, "Kenya" 1924
Huxley & Perhan, "Race and Politics in Kenya" 1951?
Huxley, "Africa View" 1931

LIBERIA - Mr. Wilkerson
Johnson, "Liberia" 1906
G.M. Wilson, "Liberia" 1947
Starr, "Liberia" 1913

MODERN EGYPT - Miss Terry
Lord Cromer, "Modern Egypt" 1908
Lloyd, "Egypt Since Cromer" 1933-4
Flinders Petrie, "History of Egypt" 6 vols. 1898-1905

MOROCCO AND ALGERIA - Miss Jeffers
Morocco: Budgett, Meakin, "The Morrish Empire" 1899
Wllis Ashmead-Bartlett, "Passing of the Shereefian Empire" 1910
Algeria: Gaelle, Margais and Yver, "Histoire d'Algerie" 1929
Berque, "L'Algèrie terre de l'art et d'histoire" 1930; also: Ibn-Khaldoun
Both: Worsfield, "France, Tunisia & Algeria" 1930

NIGERIA, B.W.A. - Miss Ruth Nichols
Padmore, "How Britain Rules Africa" 1936
Padmore, "Britain's Third Empire" 1949
Hogben, "The Mohammedan Emirates of Nigeria"
Mbadwe, "British and Axis Aims in Africa" 1942
Mary Kingsley, "Travels in West Africa" 1897
Ojike, "My Africa" 1946
Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of Africa" 1894
Rattray, "Ashanti" 1923
Claridge, "Gold Coast and Ashanti" 1915

RHODESIAS - Miss Cohen
Caton-Thompson: "Zymbabwe Culture" 1931
Sarah Millim, "Life of Cecil John Rhodes" 1931
Standing, "The Story of Rhodesia" 1936
Life of David Livingston

MADAGASCAR - Miss Epstein
S. E. Howe, "Drama of Madagascar" 1938
O.M. Chapman, "Across Madagascar" 1943

PORTUGESE AFRICA - Mr. Santiago
Livermore, "A History of Portugal" 1947
Theal, "Records of Southeast Africa", 9 vols. 1898-1903
"Portuguese in South Africa" 1896
Mozambique, "British Foreign Office, Handbook #121, 1918

SOUTHWEST AFRICA - Miss Levitt
Theal, "Records of Southeast Africa", 9 vols. 1898-1903
The Official Yearbook of the Union of South Africa #8, 1927
Reports of the League of Nations

SPANISH AFRICA
Hume, "Spain, Its Greatness and Decay" 1898
Clarke, "Modern Spain" 1906
Lane-Poole and Arthur Gillman, "The Moors in Spain", 1911
Young, "New Spain", 1938
see Tangiers; Rio de L'Oro

SUDAN - Miss Rubinstein
Shaw, "A Tropical Dependency" 1906
Henry Barth, "Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa", 5 vols. 1857
Du Bois, "Timbuctoo"
Es-Sedi, "Tarik es Soudan" 1900

TANGANYIKA, German East Africa. - Mr. Webster
Leonard Woolf, "Empire and Commerce in Africa," 1918?
Logan, "African Mandates" 1948
Buell, "The Native Problem in Africa" 1928
Tanganyika; British Foreign Office Handbook # 113 1920
Coupland, "East Africa," 1938

TUNISIA - Miss Mary Lou Jeffers
Rankin, "Tunisia" 1938
Graham, "Roman Africa" 1902
Sedgewick, "Short History of Italy" 1905
Trevelyan, "Short History of Italian People" 1920
Croce, "History of Italy"
Worsfield, "France and Tunisia and Algeria" 1930

UGANDA
Lugard, "Uganda"; and "East African Empire" 1893
Sir Harry Johnston, "Uganda" 1904

11-11-74

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA - Mr. Beveridge

Theal, "History of South Africa" 3 vols.
Stowe: "Native Races," 1910
Barnes, "Caliban in Africa," 1931
Shapera, "Bantu-speaking Races of South Africa" 1937
Adamaster, "White Man Boss" 1951

46-11-18

735

Birthday Greeting by WESTERN UNION

1953 FEB 20 PM 12 39

LA040 BB247

B NC287 PD=NEWYORK NY 20 20 311P=

DR W E B DUBOIS, CARE PETER HYUN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PEACE CRUSADE DLR IMMY=326 WEST THIRD ST ROOM 310 LOSA=

HEARTY BIRTHDAY GREETINGS FROM OUR ENTIRE STAFF. WE HOPE YOU AND MRS DUBOIS HAVE AN ENJOYABLE TRIP AS WELL AS ONE WHICH ADVANCES THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM=

HOWARD SELSAN DIRECTOR THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE=

[Jefferson Sch]

62.15-25

[Jefferson School]

April 21, 1953

Mr. Doxey Wilkerson
Jefferson School
575 Sixth Av.
New York, 11, N.Y.

My deer Mr. Wilkerson:

Enclosed is a copy of the programs for the next meetings of the seminar, April 27, May 4 and May 11.

I should be back for the meeting May 18.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

April 21, 1953

Off School

Dear Mr. Webster:

Enclosed is a letter from Lever Brothers' representative in New York City.

If you would like to call on him, all right.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Jefferson School]

April 27, 1953

Mr. Doxey Wilkerson
Jefferson School
575 Sixth Av.
N.Y. 11 N.Y.

Memorandum to Mr. Wilkerson

This will supplement my letter of yesterday.

If either Mr. Santiago or Miss Levitt or both can be ready to make reports May 8th perhaps it would be better to schedule them for that date and let the discussion on government in Africa go over to the 25th.

As I Have said, we plan to return from the Bahamas by plane on the 17th, but of course the weather might delay us although I do not think that probable.

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

May 27, 1953.

25-63.9

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

A little over five years ago (early in 1948) you joined with 153 other educators at about 60 colleges and universities to affirm the constitutional right of the American people to teach and learn Marxism if they want to. You then urged the President and Attorney General of the United States to withdraw the new "blacklist of Marxist and labor institutions, as repugnant to our national ideal of freedom of thought." (See enclosed copy of "A Statement of American Educators" and list of signers.)

Since that time, as you well know, the right of free inquiry which you sought to defend has come under ever more serious attack from many quarters. You may not be aware of one far-reaching development in this drive toward thought-control — our Government's effort to close the Jefferson School of Social Science, the only educational institution in our country devoted to the study of social science and the arts from the Marxist point of view.

On April 20, 1953, the Attorney General Petitioned the Subversive Activities Control Board to order the Jefferson School to "register" under provisions of the (Mc Carran) Internal Security Act of 1950. Compliance with such an order would require the School to affirm the lie that it is a "front" for the Communist Party and in the service of "a Communist foreign government"; to label its catalogs and other publications to this effect; and to expose financial contributors to prosecution and public abuse.

Neither the Jefferson School nor any other public organization could continue to operate under such conditions. The order requested by the Attorney General would have the effect of destroying this institution, where from 8,000 to 10,000 adult students enroll each year because they want to learn what Marxism teaches about the world in which we live.

It is even more clear now than it was in 1948 that: "If Marxist schools can be declared subversive, then social science teachers who assign Marxist materials or express Marxist views may quickly be subjected to the

same label. Freedom of inquiry will be greatly imperilled." And this is why many non-Marxists are moving forward to defend our right to teach and learn Marxism as an integral part of the growing democratic offensive against McCarthyism.

Knowing that you are among those educators who understand the far-reaching implications of the Administration's efforts to close the Jefferson School of Social Science, we invite you again to speak up in support of our constitutional right to maintain this institution — now in its tenth year, open to all who care to enroll — as an expression of our country's devotion to and confidence in freedom of inquiry.

Please fill out and return the enclosed response sheet promptly, using the addressed envelope here provided.

Sincerely yours,

Howard Selsam

Howard Selsam

HS:bak
tu/555

25-63-10

A STATEMENT OF AMERICAN EDUCATORS

As American educators, we are much disturbed by one of the by-products of the presidential "loyalty order" — the listing of a number of schools as "subversive" organizations by the Attorney General of the United States. The charge that these schools "appear" to be "adjuncts of the Communist Party" could be made against any institution that teaches Marxism, and could thus always be used as a device for labelling Marxist teaching subversive.

We may or may not believe in Marxist schools, Catholic schools, single tax schools or any other schools with particular social outlooks. We are alarmed that any official of the American government assumes the power officially to proclaim the teaching and study of an economic philosophy to be subversive.

We believe that every group — including Marxists —has the right, under the American constitution, to teach and propagate its ideas, and that students, whether they are Marxists or not, have the right to study Marxism and to judge for themselves the validity of its teachings. If this right can be denied by arbitrary government fiat — in the sense that teaching at or attending a school where such ideas are taught is declared "subversive" —then similarly any other ideas not approved by those in power can as readily be stifled.

We recognize, for example, that the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York is, in its teaching of the social sciences, avowedly Marxist. It operates as an independent institution under its Board of Trustees, and clearly defines its educational objectives and organization in its bulletins. Whatever one might think of Marxism as a method or a body of doctrine, it is clear that the action of the Attorney General in stigmatizing such institutions as "subversive", especially without hearing or trial, represents an extremely dangerous step in the direction of thought control and the institution of thought police. If Marxist schools can be declared subversive, then social science teachers who assign Marxist materials or express Marxist views may quickly be subjected to the same label. Freedom of inquiry will be gravely imperilled.

The President's Commission on Higher Education for American Democracy (December 15,1947) has ably stated: "...the social role of education in a democratic society is at once to insure equal liberty and equal opportunity to differing individuals and groups, and to enable the citizens to understand, appraise, and redirect forces, men and events as these tend to strengthen or to weaken their liberties."

In this spirit, we ask that the President of the United States and the Attorney General withdraw the blacklist of Marxist and labor educational institutions, as repugnant to our national ideal of freedom of thought.

tu/555

SIGNERS OF STATEMENT OF AMERICAN EDUCATORS

PROFESSORS	INSTITUTION (For identification only)
Thomas Addis	Stanford University
Edward S. Allan	Iowa State College
Russell Ames	Queens College
Earl Maynard Aris	Albion College
Francis M. Barbour	Southern Illinois University
Fred Asa Barnes	Cornell (Retired)
Ralph Beals	University of California at Los Angeles
Edward Biberman	----
Leonard Bloomfield	Yale University
Cornelius Bol	Stanford (Retired)
Earl C. Bowman	De Paul University
Lyman R. Bradley	New York University
Theodore Brameld	New York University
Joseph Bressler	Brooklyn College
Dorothy Brewster	Columbia University
John Bridge	City College of New York
Arthur G. Brodeur	University of California
Charles N. Brooks	Harvard University
William B. Bryan	Macalester College, Minn.
Edwin Berry Burgum	New York University
John L. Buys	St. Lawrence University
Robert Chambers	NYU (Retired)
Charles M. Child	Stanford University
Edith F. Claflin	Columbia University
Edwin L. Clarke	Rollins College
Willson H. Coates	Sarah Lawrence College
M. Robert Cobbledick	Connecticut College
Joseph W. Cohen	University of Colorado
Philip W.L. Cox	New York University
Oliver C. Cox	Tuskegee Institute
Grace L. Coyle	Western Reserve University
Abraham Cronbach	Hebrew Union College
Dean W.C. Curtis	University of Missouri (Emeritus)
John J. De Boer	University of Illinois
Harl Douglass	Director, School of Education, University of Colorado
H.M. Doutt	University of Akron
Arnold Dresden	Swathmore College
W. E. B. DuBois	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Lyford P. Edwards	Bard College
Franklin Edgerton	Yale Law School
Thomas D. Eliot	Northwestern University
Albert I. Elkus	University of California
Thomas I. Emerson	Yale University
Bergen Evans	Northwestern University
Frederic Ewen	Brooklyn College
Henry Pratt Fairchild	New York University
Philip S. Foner	Jefferson School
Abraham Edel	City College of New York

25-63-12

(more)

tu/555

PROFESSOR	INSTITUTION (For identification only)
Frances A. Foster	Vassar College
Royal W. France	Rollins College
Harold A. Freeman	Mass. Institute of Technology
Reginald F. French	Amherst College
Henrietta V. Friedman	Hunter College
Wendell H. Furry	Harvard University
David R. Goodard	University of Pennsylvania
Erwin R. Goodenough	Yale University
Ralph H. Gundlach	University of Washington
Calvin S. Hall	Western Reserve University
Victor E. Hall	Stanford University
R. Travis Hardaway	Queens College
Harrison Harley	Simmons College
Virginia Harlow	De Paul University
Robert J. Havighurst	University of Chicago
Harold Haydon	University of Chicago
G.A. Hedger	University of Cincinnati (retired)
Virgil B. Heltzel	Northwestern University
J. Allen Hickerson	New Haven State Teachers College
Philip M. Hicks	Swarthmore College
Ernest R. Hilgard	Stanford University
Stefan Hirsch	Bard College
Harry Hoijer	University of California at Los Angeles
Hamilton Holt	President, Rollins College
Harold Hotelling	University of North Carolina
William G. Houk	St Lawrence University
Abbott Kaplan	University of California at Los Angeles
Forrest M. Keen	Heidelberg College
Raymond Kennedy	Yale University
Walter B. Keighton	Swarthmore College
C. Wendell King	Rollins College
Paul Kirkpatrick	Stanford University
Samuel Kliger	Duke University
John I. Kolehmainen	Heidelberg College
Luther P. Jackson	Virginia State College
William Jaffe	Northwestern University
Harold N. Lee	Tulane University
Paul L. Lehmann	Princeton Theological Seminary
Norman Levinson	Mass. Institute of Technology
Alton A. Lindsey	[redacted]
Gerhard Loose	University of Colorado
Chaplain Sidney Lovett	Yale University
Robert S. Lynd	Columbia University

(more)

tu/555

PROFESSORS	INSTITUTION (For Identification only)
Curtiss MacDpugall	Northwestern University
Ney MacMinn	Northwestern University
Wilfred H. Mainwaring	Stanford University(Emeritus)
Luther B. Marchant	Mills College
John M. Marsalka	Yale University
F.O. Mattiessen	Harvard University
Wesley H. Maurer	University of Michigan
Kenneth O. May	—
Henry L. McClintock	University of Minnesota Law School
V.J. McGill	—
J.F. Mack	Oberlin College
Kirtley F. Mather	Harvard University
Clyde Miller	Columbia University
Ermina Mills	De Paul University
Julia Neely	Southern Illinois University
Arthur H. Nethercot	Northwestern University
Robert Hastings Nichols	Union Theological Seminary (Emeritus)
F.S.C. Northrop	Yale University
Michael Pargment	University of Michigan
Ralph Barton Perry	Harvard University (Emeritus)
John P. Peters	New Haven, Conn.
Edith Philips	Swarthmore College
Herbert J. Phillips	University of Washington
Frank W. Pittman	Pomona College (Emeritus)
Walter Rautenstrauch	Columbia University (Emeritus)
Ira De A. Reid	Atlanta University
George F. Reynolds	University of Colorado (Emeritus)
Sarah R. Reidman	Brooklyn College
Bernard F. Riess	Hunter College
Holland Roberts	California Labor School
Theodore Rosebury	Columbia University
Alexander Sandow	New York University
Margaret Schlauch	New York University
Frederick L. Schuman	Williams College
Agnes H. Schroeder	Western Reserve University
Walter Silz	Swarthmore College
Harry Slochower	Brooklyn College
Willian C. Smith	Linfield College
Willand Smith	Mills College
James D. Sorber	Swarthmore College
Bertha K. Stavrianos	Roosevelt College of Chicago
Bernard J. Stern	Columbia University
Dirk J. Struik	Mass. Institute of Technology
Ernest L. Talbert	University of Cincinnati
Williametta C. Thomson	Syracuse University

25-63.14

(more)

PROFESSORS	INSTITUTION (For identification only)
Miriam D. Tompkins	Columbia University
Charles Trinkaus	Sarah Lawrence College
William Lewis Troyer	Albion College
Rexford Guy Tugwell	University of Chicago
Colston E. Warne	Amherst College
Edward K. Weaver	Alabama State Teachers College
David L. Webster	Stanford University
Charles H. Wesley	President, Wilbeforce University
Louis Weisner	Hunter College
F. W. Weymouth	Stanford University
George F. Whicher	Amherst College
Samuel K. Workman	Northwestern University
Henry N. Weiman	University of Chicago
Edward H. Zabriskie	Rutgers University
Thomas Woody	University of Pennsylvania
Eugene C. Holmes	Howard University
Stuart Mudd	University of Pennsylvania, Medical School

25-63-15

tu/555

[Jefferson School]

Jeff School

Olatunji A. Fabiyi
814 Lincoln Place
Brooklyn 16, New York

Saturday, May 1953

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I was there personally on Friday evening to submit the list of names of the African students for the coming class, sorry, that I found no one to leave it with.

Enclosing within, please find the list of names written in pencil. If twenty-two names are not sufficient, please drop me a card and few more could still be rounded up.

Hoping to see you

Obediently yours,
Olatunji A. Fabiyi

25-63-22

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

July 13, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thanks for your June 26 report on your recent seminar on Africa; and special thanks for your conducting the seminar. It is the consensus among your students that we all profited greatly, and that such limitations as there were resulted chiefly from our own failures to do more work.

I am asking students to submit final drafts of their theses, together with other reports, mailing them here. As they come in — if they do — I shall get them to you.

The enclosed check for $300.00 is token compensation for your services in this seminar, calculated, as we agreed, at $15.00 per session for 20 sessions. We wish we could do more.

We are now planning our fall program, and hope very much that we can include therein a brief series of lectures, once a week for five weeks, by you on the situation in Africa; or, if you prefer, on the Negro in Africa and the Americas. We would want this series to be open to our students generally, with approximately 100 enrolled, the sessions being held in our auditorium. I shall seek opportunity to talk with you about this proposal.

Sincerely yours,

Doxey A. Wilkerson

25-49-20

July 17, 1953

Mr. Doxey A. Wilkerson
The Jefferson School
575 - 6th Av.
New York 11, N.Y.

25-49-21

My dear Mr. Wilkerson:

I should be glad to undertake in the fall five weekly lectures on "The Present Problems of Africa".

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Jefferson School]

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

July 20, 1953

25-63.23

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Here are the three AFRO-AMERICAN clippings I promised to send you. Please return them when they have served your purpose.

Sincerely yours,

Dorey A. Wilkerson

P.S. - I do not have a copy of the editorial which I understand appeared in the JOURNAL AND GUIDE for the week ended July 18.

[Jefferson School]

July 29, 1953

25-63.24

Mr. Doxey Wilkerson
Jefferson School of Social Science
575 Avenue of the Americas
New York 11, N.Y.

Dear Doxey:

Enclosed are the clippings which you kindly sent me.

I read them with interest.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh
enc.

W.E.B. Du Bois

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

August 3, 1953

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Please let me know as soon as possible whether you approve either of these proposed descriptions for your course this fall. If neither is adequate, please suggest how the course should be described.

Also indicate the evening you prefer (We suggest Wed. or Thur., but can adjust to your convenience), and whether you prefer to meet the class at 6:30 or 8:15 P.M.

We appreciate very much your agreement to participate in our fall term program, which begins the first week of April. We'll send you a catalog with exact dates later.

Sincerely yours,

Doxey A. Wilkerson

25-63.28

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

September 15, 1953

85-63,26

TO TEACHERS OF FALL TERM COURSES - - -

Dear Colleague:

You are reminded that fall term classes begin the week of October 5th. Please check your schedule in the enclosed catalog.

The time between now and the opening of the term is crucial for the School. We must have a large registration this term. Please do all you can to bring students for the new term.

There will be a Cocktail Reception for all teachers on Thursday, October 1, from 5:00 to 7:00 P. M. in the Library. Please keep this date open.

We are enclosing a separate memorandum listing a few important matters for the attention of all instructors. Please keep these details in mind. This will help assure our new term getting off to a good start.

Sincerely yours,

Howard Selsam

Howard Selsam
Director

TU/555
encl.
HS:rb

[Jefferson School]

9/15/53

Memo

TO: JEFFERSON SCHOOL TEACHERS
FROM: HOWARD SELSAM

1. SIGN-IN AND CLASS FOLDERS: Come to the office before each meeting of the class. Sign the teacher roster and pick up your class folder. Look through the class folder before class. In addition to materials for distribution to students, it will often include special memoranda for your attention and action.

2. CLASS ADMISSION CARDS: In order to guarantee that no students attend class who have not registered, please follow this procedure:

   First Week ---- Admit everyone; tell them you will check admission cards the following week.

   Second Week -- Inspect each student's admission card. Every student must have either a regular BLUE registration card or a special pass from the Registrar. Students without cards, properly filled out for your class, or without a pass, should be sent to the office immediately.

   Third Week -- Inspect each students card again. All students should have BLUE registration cards.

3. NEW STUDENTS: Be on the alert for new students at the School, especially industrial workers, Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Get to know them -- perhaps through brief discussions after class, or with refreshments in the Club Jefferson.

4. OUTLINES: Outlines for multiple-section courses are available in the office. If they are not in your class folder the first night, ask for them. Teachers of single-section courses are asked to prepare outlines of their courses and submit them within the week to me.

5. ADMINISTRATIVE ROUTINE: We will hold to a minimum the number of requests made for you to take up special problems and campaigns in your class. Please give careful attention to all such requests we do make. They are important.

6. INSTRUCTIONAL PROBLEMS: Please arrange to talk with me or some other member of the administrative staff about special teaching problems you face.

tu/555

25-63.27

[Jefferson School]

September 30, 1953

Mr. Doxey Wilkerson
Jefferson School
575 Sixth Avenue
New York, 11, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Wilkerson:

I am wondering if somebody, perhaps a member of my class, could take charge of the matter of seeing who is present and absent, and bringing the school notices which I have to read to my attention.

It would be a little difficult for me to attend to these details and carry out the lecture.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

October 5, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Mrs. Lybia Wilson, a member of our office staff who is enrolled in your course, will serve as monitor for the class. She will check attendance, inspect class admission cards, distribute materials to students, and call to your attention any matters requiring action by you. Generally, when there are announcements to make, a member of our administrative staff will come to your room and ask permission to interrupt the proceedings.

Your class will meet in Room 404. I will have a map of Africa hung there. Please let me know of anything we can do to facilitate the work of your course.

Sincerely yours,

Doxey A. Wilkerson

P.S. - Thanks and congratulations re: that fine and effective speech at Carnegie Hall recently.

DAW

25-49-24

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(38)..

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

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NA235 DL PD=NEW YORK NY 16 1135AME= 1953 OCT 16 AM 11 42

DR W E B DUBOIS, CARE DR ROBERT MORSS LOVETT=

=166 WEST WASHINGTON ST ROOM 312 CHGO=

B

HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS FROM THE STAFF OF THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE ON YOUR RECEIPT OF THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE PRIZE. THIS RICHLY DESERVED AWARD SYMBOLIZES THE WHOLE WORLDS RECOGNITION OF THE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS YOU CONTINUE TO MAKE TO THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM AND PEACE FOR ALL PEOPLES=

HOWARD SELSAM DIR=

Jefferson School

25-60-44

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

October 29, 1953

25-63.29

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

A number of students in your Wednesday evening class have expressed a desire for a full list of the references you have suggested that they read. It appears that they did not catch the names of authors and titles accurately when you called them out.

If you care to let me have such a bibliography before next Wednesday, we should be glad to mimeograph it for distribution at the final session of your class.

Sincerely yours,

Doxey A. Wilkerson

[Jefferson School]

December 11, 1953

Mr. Doxey Wilkerson
Jefferson School
575 Sixth Av.
New York, 11, NY

Dear Doxey:

I am enclosing a bill which I am afraid has slipped your mind.

I do not want to push this because I know the difficulties you are under. At the same time, please do not forget it.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

December 12, 1953

25-63, 32

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thanks for your note and bill. Our $125.00 debt to you has been very much in mind; we simply have not been able to pay it. We hope to do so soon.

Cordially,

Doxey

Doxey A. Wilkerson

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

December 15, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The enclosed check for $125.00 is in payment of the "nominal fee" we agreed upon for your teaching the five-session course on "Present Problems of Africa" during the fall term. It came through sooner than I expected.

Thanks again for your helping us out.

Sincerely yours,

Doxey A. Wilkerson

25-63.31

V. J. JEROME

320 Second Avenue,
New York, 3, N.Y.

January 5, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

It was kind of you to consent to read the revised text of my poem "Caliban Speaks". I am enclosing it in the hope that the reading will not excessively tax your time.

It was indeed a pleasure to have the opportunity to speak to you, if only for a brief moment, at the reception for Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Pettis Perry yesterday.

My best wishes to you and Shirley for the New Year.

Sincerely,
V. J. Jerome

25-61-25

I think this is excellent & well-deserving of early publication. Thank you for letting me read it.

January 9, 1953

Mr. V.J. Jerome
320 Second Avenue
New York, 3, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Jerome:

I have read the poem again. I think it is excellent and that it well deserves early publication.

Thank you for letting me see it.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
enc.

25-61-26

•LSB096

L•NB404 BDA NL PD=NND NEW YORK NY 19= 1953 FEB 19 PM 8 51

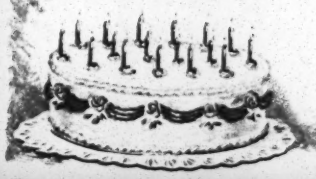
DR W E B DU BOIS, CARE PETER HYUN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

SW PEACE CRUSADE=ROOM 310 326 WEST 3 ST LOSA·

=WARMEST GREETINGS ON YOUR BIRTHDAY STOP WE DO YOU MOST HONOR BY CONTINUED COMMON STRUGGLE WITH NEGRO PEOPLE AND ALL PROGRESSIVES FOR PEACE AND EQUALITY=

LOUIS HARAP FOR EDITORS JEWISH LIFE=••

[Jewish Life]



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Seventh Anniversary Issue

NOVEMBER 1953 • 25c

Jewish Life

A PROGRESSIVE MONTHLY

32-19-1

McCARTHY— ENEMY OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE

an 8-page documented expose by CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR.

MORE ON THE WISE-MAGNES SMEAR

ZELIG'S DILEMMA *excerpt from a work in progress by Yuri Suhl*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

Resistance notes . . . In a speech before the New York State CIO convention early in October, Jacob S. Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, called for "a complete re-evaluation of the policies of the administration in Washington and of the Congress." He echoed the position of Adlai Stevenson that "there are no international conflicts which cannot be resolved by negotiation." He also lashed out against McCarthyism: "Unless and until McCarthyism and McCarranism are rooted out, unless the reign of fear, distrust, hysteria and terror to which so many people in high places have succumbed, is extirpated at home, our need to win friends and allies throughout the world and to influence the uncommitted peoples of Asia, may fail dismally." . . . On his return from a European trip early in October, Senator Herbert H. Lehman said, "I expect to continue my fight against McCarthyism, which I believe is one of the great threats to our country, our liberties and our civil rights." . . . Late in September the newly-elected national commander of the Jewish War Veterans, Harry T. Madison, issued a statement criticising McCarthy for using investigative procedures "that in a number of instances have led the public to accept mere accusations as actual evidence of guilt. This procedure is destructive of the American principle that an individual has a right to be heard on what he is charged with having done rather than on what he thinks or with whom he associates." . . . In his Rosh Hashonah message in mid-September, Rabbi David J. Seligson, president of the New York Board of Rabbis, called for the "need for protection against another form of aggression—the curtailment of civil rights of our citizenry by ambitious politicians who, in their misguided zeal to demonstrate their super-patriotism render the greatest disservice and weaken the ties of brotherhood, which must exist among free men everywhere." . . . There were many recent local expressions of resistance: a debate on McCarthyism on October 7 at the Montefiore Lodge of B'nai B'rith of Buffalo; a speech on the upsurge of nazism in West Germany before the Bergen County Section of the National Council of Jewish Women and another speech on measures to avert war at the Bayonne Section of the Council; a debate on McCarthyism by the B'nai B'rith in Philadelphia in September in which Roy Cohn participated, at which he asked if the audience could point out any fascists to be investigated, to which the audience shouted, "McCarthy!"

Philip B. Perlman, solicitor general in the Truman administration, late in September called the Eisenhower administration's refugee law even worse than the McCarran-Walter law—he called it "the most discriminatory, the most restrictive and generally the worst piece of immigration legislation" in our history.

Physical assaults were made on Yeshive University students in the Bronx four times in the second week of October by a group of teen-age anti-Semitic hoodlums. Yeshive authorities demanded police protection.

Jewish Book Month this year falls from October 30 to November 30.

Jewish Life

A PROGRESSIVE MONTHLY

VOL. VIII, No. 1 (85) NOVEMBER, 1953

EDITORIAL BOARD

LOUIS HARAP, *Managing Editor*

ALICE CITRON SAM PEVZNER MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

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EUROPE

New Year messages were received by the London *Jewish Chronicle* (Sept. 4, 18) from the chief rabbis of Moscow, Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria. Rabbi Shloimo Shlieffer of Moscow wrote: all Jewish religious communities of the Soviet Union "are practising their faith and carrying out their religious duties in conditions of complete religious freedom. All the Jewish religious communities of the Soviet Union have been taking part in the general struggle for peace . . . and . . . call upon all practising Jews in the British Commonwealth to raise their voices and to take an active part in the sacred work of the realization of peace and friendship between the peoples of the whole world."

Among the books issued this year by

(*Continued on page* 31)

WE ARE SEVEN

An Anniversary Editorial

WITH this issue we enter the eighth year of our existence. We shall continue as best we can to advance the interests of the Jewish people, which coincide with those of the masses of people in our country. The security of the Jewish people is anchored in the democratic tradition and it is in the defense of this tradition and to its extension that we have devoted ourselves. To the extent that this defense has been effective, we have gained in prestige and influence. In the past few months the magazine has brought down on itself an attack from the counterparts in our country of the Judenrat, those Jews who collaborated with the nazis under the occupation, because we dared to challenge the collaboration of certain Jewish leaders with the McCarthyite Velde Committee. The abuse we have received from such sources indicates that our exposures have struck home and that the guilty can answer truth only by baiting diversions. We have no doubt that the Jewish people will recognize the American-style Judenrat for what it is sooner than these false leaders think.

As we enter our eighth year, new signs of hope for freedom and peace in the world are on the horizon. The truce in Korea and the growing demand for peaceful negotiation by the common people all over the world has somewhat checked the deteriorating international situation. Tensions are much relaxed and the common people all over the world are pressing their governments to do their part in the reaching of an understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles has been forced by world sentiment to switch his talk from "liberation" to proposals for mutual security arrangements with the Soviet Union, somewhat along the lines proposed by Adlai Stevenson after his world tour. Pressure for a top level meeting of the Big Four continues to be insistent.

At home there are signs of increasing resistance to the policies of Dulles-Eisenhower and McCarthy, as the election in October of a Democrat to Congress in a rock-ribbed Republican district of McCarthy's state of Wisconsin showed. The Jewish people have increased their vocal opposition to McCarthyism in the past year, as we have continuously reported in our pages. When McCarthyism struck out at respected deceased leaders of the Jewish community in the labelling of Rabbi Wise and Magnes as "subversives," practically the entire Jewish community rose up in wrath. For the Jewish people know that they stand in special jeopardy from McCarthyism as the American version of the fascism that has already cost them so dear. Together with the Jewish people, various vital sectors of the American people, such as the labor movement and the Negro people, are growing restive under the anti-peace, anti-labor, anti-democratic policies of the Eisenhower administration and its fascist spearhead McCarthy. The danger of destruction of our democratic heritage is arousing the people because it is jeopardizing the standard of living and our freedoms.

While new hope has appeared for saving the peace and our democratic tradition, the dangers remain great. The arrogant, world-threatening Dulles foreign policy, whose most recent shame is the conclusion of a military alliance with fascist Franco, is no less menacing to the Jewish people than it is to all humanity. The specter of a renazified Germany, which especially has haunted the Jewish people and has brought forth many warning words from Jewish leaders all over the world, looms larger than ever. The victory of West Germany's Chancellor Konrad Adenauer in the September election has increased the danger of war from a remilitarized, renazified Germany. This danger is not an accident, but a direct, planned result of Washington's foreign policy, and consequently that policy itself must be opposed.

In the past year McCarthyism has grown more pervasive and brazen. The Constitution and the Bill of Rights have been chipped away with the same tool of anti-communist hysteria as Hitler used. When JEWISH LIFE first appeared in November 1946, this danger to the democratic tradition was in its early stages. The combating of McCarthyism has animated all our efforts and our opposition has grown more intense as the danger grew. Today we are joined in a fight to save the Bill of Rights in which most elements of the Jewish community in varying degrees are participating. For we know that McCarthyism can be turned back only by a maximum of united action and the time for such united action was never more urgent than at present. We have in our pages exposed the connection of McCarthyism with the fascist, anti-Semitic and anti-Negro forces in our country. These realities dictate that all men of good will must participate in the fight against the Hitler-like anti-communist hysteria that is blighting our country.

We look forward to our eighth year as a voice of the Jewish masses of our country, as a defender in the Jewish community of the democratic tradition. Together with the growing resistance of labor, of the Negro people and of all genuinely democratic citizens and organizations, we shall in one eighth year do our utmost to help assure the peace and defend the democratic tradition of our country, lifeline of Jewish security.

WHO WILL BE NEXT?

The Wise-Magnes smear followed on the heels of the pact with Velde. The moral: "When you lie down with dogs, you get up with fleas"

An Editorial Article

WHY were the late Rabbis Stephen S. Wise and Judah L. Magnes the objects of attack by an Un-American Committee witness? Naturally the Jewish people were outraged by this McCarthyite assault on two of the most eminent and honored rabbis of our century. More or less vigorous statements were issued by various Jewish organizations in protest. But it is not enough to protest. The full implications of this "shocking and frightening betrayal of elementary public responsibility and decency" (as Dr. Israel Goldstein and Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath said) by the Un-American Committee in soliciting and releasing this smear must be fully understood. Appropriate and vigorous action must issue from such an understanding.

Who were these rabbis? Neither of these men, as any informed person knows, was a communist. Both were courageous, outspoken, independent advocates of advanced causes in their time.

Dr. Wise was a leader of the liberal sectors of American and world Jewry. He was president and founder of the American Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress. He fought corruption in government and had an impressive pro-labor record. He defended the cause of the steel strikers in 1919 against the magnates and spoke up for labor's right to organize in the thirties, often to the discomfiture of the Big Business elements in the Jewish community. He fought for the lives of Tom Mooney and Sacco and Vanzetti and for civil liberties. He led the American Jewish Congress and the Jewish masses into militant anti-nazi action during the thirties in direct opposition to the American Jewish Committee and similar hush-hush elements.

In 1947, in the midst of the cold war, while he disagreed with the Soviet social order, he courageously voiced his faith in the need and possibility of peaceful co-existence of capitalist and socialist countries in order to avoid a hot war. Throughout his life he fought for the unity of the Jewish people against common dangers irrespective of political views.

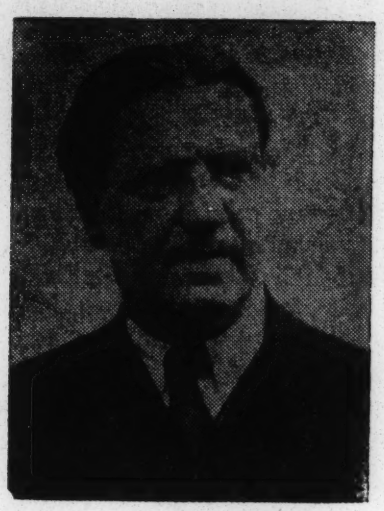
As for Dr. Magnes, he too was a foremost liberal of his day, as is evident from his brief article of 1921 that we reprint on page 8. For many years he was spiritual leader of the influential Temple Emanu-El. He courageously opposed on pacifist grounds our participation in World War I. As an indication of the recklessness of the witch-hunters' charges—Dr. Magnes left this country to live in Palestine in the early twenties! From 1924 until his death in 1949, he was president of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem. He was the leader of a group which advocated equal status for the Arab and Jewish peoples in a bi-national Jewish-Arab state in Palestine.

Why the Wise-Magnes Smear?

It is clear from this brief look into their careers that these two eminent men were easy marks for the inquisitors since they believed that there was much in the world that needed to be righted, because they were extraordinarily strenuous in their belief in democracy. The fact that they sometimes worked along parallel lines with left wingers in certain struggles cannot be obliterated by assertions of shock at any suggestion of cooperation with "communists." Instead, there should be frank recognition that there is something wrong with the political climate in which such parallel or cooperative action is regarded as evil.

At a time when a mapority of Congress not only passes a racist, pro-fascist McCarran-Walter act but even overrides a strongly worded presidential veto, when the Eisenhower administration kow-tows to a fascist like McCarthy, the Wises and Magneses become "subversive." Who will be next? It is this ominous question that has prompted the vigorous outcry against the inquisitors on the part of many distinguished Americans and of organizations of every kind and of almost every political hue. This question is behind the protests by Jewish organizations at this particular smear and against the wicth-hunters generally, for the Jews are particularly vulnerable to attack from anti-democratic forces.

Among the Jewish people there is increasing demand that McCarthyism be resisted. This has found expression in the many strong statements issued by many Jewish organizations and in the fighting stand taken by men like Senator Herbert H. Lehman and Dr. Albert Einstein. Yet it is singular that the leadership of the major Jewish organizations fear to face up to the evil for what it is—a creeping fascist threat. Few have sounded the call for an all-out battle for an unconditional end to the whole witch-hunt. In the case of organizations like the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League one is impelled to ask, are they not at certain junctures doing precisely the opposite, collaborating with the fascist inquisitors?



Rabbi Stephen S. Wise

For the past two issues JEWISH LIFE has carried an exposure of the secret meeting on July 2 between officials of these organizations and Rep. Harold H. Velde of the Un-American Committee at which an agreement of cooperation was reached in case left wing Jewish figures were subpoenaed to appear before the inquisitors. Retribution followed fast, a few weeks later, with the attacks on Rabbis Wise and Magnes by this very congressional committee. One is tempted to quote in this instance the realistic warnings of this magazine that a widening attack on liberals would follow inevitably.

Even the statement of protest issued by the ADL against this smear of Rabbis Wise and Magnes contains a taint of collaboration when it appeals to the McCarthyite committees "to take *further* steps to ensure the preservation of human libery" (emphasis added). "Further" steps! Have these inquisitors taken *any* steps to preserve democracy? From such a statement one can only conclude that certain leaders of the ADL consider the inquisitors to be not destroyers but guardians of the people's liberties. And how can one find any consistency of even this protest against the Wise-Magnes attack and the agreement to collaborate with the very committee guilty of this attack?

Why Stony Silence?

The information concerning this shameful act of collaboration with the Velde Committee has been in the hands of the Yiddish and English-Jewish press for some weeks now. Yet they maintain a stony silence. Should not the masses of the Jewish people know that collaboration with a fascist committee is being practiced in their name?

Are we to suppose that the editors of this press and leaders of major Jewish organizations are in accord with this act? There are some who are. But we believe there are many who are not. Nevertheless, the latter must face the fact that silence gives consent; that by their failure to repudiate this act of collaboration, they are abdicating responsibilty to resist fascism. By the same token they are betraying their trust of leadership of the Jewish people. It is not enough to issue statements against McCarthyism as many of them are doing. They are also obligated to hold the line of the Jewish organizations against giving aid and comfort to the fascists, who would break down democracy, with the anti-Semitic results that this inevitably entails.

Hardly was the ink dry on the jubilant memorandum of the ADL in which the meeting was described (see JEWISH LIFE, September) than the attack on Rabbis Wise and Magnes ensued. He who sups with the devil must have a long spoon. He who walks on all fours must expect to be kicked in the face. Perhaps the collaborators responsible for the pact with Velde, like the Julenrat under the nazis, thought that they would gain immunity by their collaboration. What the collaborating leaders do not see —or do not want to understand—is that the drive against the "communists" is an integral part of the larger objective of destroying democracy itself. These Big Business leaders of the AJC and ADL are thereby turning their backs on democratic interests of the Jewish people and are hence failing to come to grips with McCarthyism and instead are sometimes collaborating with it.

But their words and actions don't always coincide. In a recent speech in Chicago, Joseph Blaustein, president of the American Jewish Committee, made an acute observation: today many anti-Semites do not operate openly but in the guise of "anti-communists." "We are facing today," he went on, "far more dangerous problems than old-fashioned agitation, far more insidious and far more complex." But the implications of this keen observation are apparently lost on the officers of his own organization, for they entered into collaboration with the forces who are furthering this "complex" process, whose issue can only be the death of democracy and the accentuation of anti-Semitsm. The fascist ax hangs over us all, not merely the "communists." There is a method in the witch-hunters' madness: the attack on Wise and Magnes is part of the attack to wipe out the tradition for which they stood.

It is not enough, as many Jewish leaders and other anti-McCarthyites have said, that it is only the "method" of McCarthyism that endangers democracy and the Jewish

Rabbi Judah L. Magnes

people. The fight against McCarthyism is weakened by the refusal to take issue with McCarthyite purposes and by the demand that only its "methods" be improved. To be sure, the congressional inquisitors are guilty of violating fair play and due process of law, of character assassination. These must of course be vigorously exposed. But what the Jewish leaders do not yet see is that these irresponsible methods are not accidental, but are essential to the purpose of the witch-hunt. As Albert Friedman wrote in the Brooklyn *Jewish Examiner* (September 25), "to press for procedural improvements without challenging the purpose itself will not, I fear, eliminate the threat to freedom but merely camouflage it. After all, the democratic spirit can just as easily be throttled with kid gloves as with brass knuckles."

Total Fight Against McCarthyism

Friedman puts it neatly. It would be self-deluding to suppose that the *methods* of political gangsters can or will be "improved." For the inquisitors are not accidental deviators from democracy: their activity aims toward fascism. And they are using Hitler's method—anti-communist hysteria—in an American adaptation. Fascism is not depraved only in its "method." It is a rejection of the democratic tradition and ideology and action; it means terrorism in politics and unbridled chauvinism toward the Negro and Jew: its objective is total destruction of democracy itself. The McCarthyites are fascists who drape themselves in the mantle of democracy. Just as Hitler called himself a "national socialist"—"nazi" for short—in a country where the socialist tradition was strong, so the McCarthyites in a land of a strong democratic tradition operate under the mask of defenders of "democracy." The mask must be torn off. Their cry of the "communist danger" is the same as Hitler's and its purpose is to divide and confuse the people. It is not enough that the inquisitorial methods be "improved": the inquisition must be rooted out altogether. This means absolutely no cooperation with the witch-hunt, as Dr. Albert Einstein has urged.

The inquisitors are trying to destroy the constitutional liberties of all, as fascists everywhere do. To save these rights for any one, the rights of everyone, including the communists, must be guarded. A defense of the rights of communists obviously does not by any means require that these defenders either be communists or defend communism itself. It only means that they protect the *rights* of communists to the liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. It is this application of the basic democratic principle for which Wise and Magnes fought. Nor does it imply a curtailment of any opposition to communism. Only one thing is needful, that the communists have the right of free speech and that opposition to communism be carried on by the democratic method—by free debate, by exchange of ideas. The objective of the witch-hunters is ultimately to *suppress* democracy by terror, imprisonment, threats of loss of livelihood and intimidation of every sort. When anti-McCarthyites challenge the "method" and not the fascist *aims* of McCarthyism, they are acquiescing in a movement which can only end in fascism, in the curtailment of *their own* freedom and in a threat to the Jewish people.

How can this disastrous outcome be prevented? We can learn from the experience of Hitlerism—only by resistance to the *whole program* of the would-be fascist inquisitors. This can only be achieved if the masses of the people are organized in protest and by their immense power of protest force the dissolution of the witch-hunt altogether. The people possess the power to defeat the McCarthyites, but they must be organized if they are to win.

Further, victory can be won only if the McCarthyites are fought every inch of the way. No McCarthyite measure can be left unchallenged by the people—the McCarran-Walter, the Taft-Hartley and Smith acts; the rebuilding and rearming of a *renazified* West Germany; refusal to negotiate with the Soviet Union to end the cold war.

It is of the utmost importance that the leaders, who speak in the name of the masses, should understand this. The masses must gird their power to effect a shift in tactics from the present one of calling for change in McCarthyite "method" to one of rejection of the entire inquisition. The Jewish leaders, for their part, risk the intensification of anti-Semitism unless they see this and act accordingly. The masses in the Jewish community are at a crossroads. Their future is most insecure unless they press upon their leaders to fight McCarthyism without compromise, for its elimination *root and branch*. Unity of all democratic elements, Jewish and non-Jewish, Negro and white, can achieve this task. And it must be done—or else—fascism. It is late, but not too late. McCarthyism can, it must be stopped cold.

IS THERE NOT A CAUSE?

By Walter Lowenfels

Is there not a cause?
David leapt up and cried,
and he slew the giant, Goliath,
ten times his own size.

Is there not a cause
to believe what we believe—
take on our own Goliath
and bring him to his knees?

The poor no longer poor,
the blind no longer blind,
the brotherhood on earth
of all human kind.

Goliath seemed a giant
till David laid him low,
the strength of all his people
in one great freedom blow.

WORDS OF STEPHEN WISE

The McCarthyite smear of the late Rabbis Stephen S. Wise and Judah L. Magnes sent us back to the writings of these eminent Jewish representatives. We have selected a few of these to show the kind of idas that the McCarthyites today regard as "subversive," writings that are actually among the best expressions of the American democratic tradition. Of the innumerable such passages that could be cited from the writings of Rabbi Wise, we have reproduced below several which are indicative of his leadership in the Jewish people's resistance to nazism in the thirties and his courageous stand in fighting for peace in the last years of his life against the ruling powers in our country.—Eds.

IT was the American Jewish Congress which, more than any other organization and before all other Jewish organizations, took up and led the fight against nazism. Jews, save for the fewest, were unready to enlist in that uneven war. Here, too, the sentinels of fear and folly arose to plague us. One American sentinel [this was Dr. Cyrus Adler, then president of the American Jewish Committee, as Dr. Wise revealed in his autobiography.—*Eds.*] said to the president of the American Jewish Congress in answer to the query: What shall we do when Hitler comes to power—five days before the fatal January 30, 1933—"We will cross that bridge when we come to it, not before," no dream of building a bridgehead in advance. Twenty-nine out of 30 German-Jewish sentinels who were interrogated assured a representative of the American Jewish Congress as late as October 1932: "Hitler wird nie zur Macht kommen" [Hitler will never come to power], Jewish sentinels in nearly all West European lands cable to us their protest against the Congress virtually alone rising up against Hitler, and an Anglo-Jewish leader urged me by trans-Atlantic telephone in March 1933, not to be unduly alarmed over nazism, seeking to comfort me in the terms: "The German Jews are not in danger; only the East European Jews in Germany." (*From speech before American Jewish Congress biennial convention on April* 13, 1948.)

I would be unworthy to be either American or Jew if I failed to speak for you and for myself simply and briefly of the one overwhelming problem we face. I am not a politician, least of all a statesman. I am an American. I am a Jew. I am a teacher of religion and ethics. Therefore, I must speak to my country and to the Soviet Union alike. I cry that there must not, that there shall not, be war between us. Infinitely difficult is the way of peace: incredibly easy is now the way to war. Let the governing bodies of the two mightiest nations of earth foregather to ensure peace, or let them place leadership in the hands of such as have not committed themselves to war. War must not be between the two most powerful nations. These, including our country, have no right to convert earth into a raging battlefield. The highest patriotism, that of loyalty to the whole human race, must in this hour of imminent peril, take the place of the lesser loyalties which lead to war. Do I propose limitlessly difficult steps to avert war? How easy these steps would be compared with the task of repairing the cataclysmal hurt to be wrought by war. If it be unpatriotic solemnly to urge that a better way than war can yet be found, I am ready to be branded as unpatriotic. My country and the Soviet Union together are wise enough to choose a better way than war. (*From speech before American Jewish Congress biennial convention, April* 13, 1948.)

I continue to cherish the hope and to join with deepest devoutness in the prayer that the wisdom and statesmanship of the great nations of East and West may yet succeed in averting the most calamitous of all calamities, the most tragic of all tragedies—war between our own country and the Soviet Union. In averting this, the religious bodies of the world must dare to take their part, however unpopular it seems for a time in the sight of those to whom might is right, who understand and accept no other right. The third World War would be worse than a war. It would be the betrayal and the surrender of civilization, of all moral and spiritual values. After a long life I still believe in one world and one humanity, with freedom under law, with justice and peace for all peoples and races and faiths. "If it be sin to covet honor for my country, I am the most offending soul alive." I continue to covet for my country the honor of doing most to maintain the peace and freedom of all mankind. (*From article in* Congress Weekly, *March* 21, 1949.)

RABBI Wise concluded his last public statement, made shortly before his death in March 1949, with these words: "I am not going to be silent. I am going to speak for peace to the last breath of my life."

MAGNES ON POLITICAL PRISONERS

This short article by Rabbi Judah L. Magnes is reprinted as a contribution to the fight to beat back the Velde Committee smear of that militant liberal. It was first published in Debs Freedom Monthly, *Chicago, November 1921, as part of the campaign to free Debs and other World War I political prisoners. Most of those who have risen to "defend" the reputation of Magnes from the Velde attack have contented themselves with defensively denying that Magnes took orders from the Communist Party. But Magnes in his own lifetime did not merely "deny" misrepresentation. He was an active fighting liberal who attacked those who undermined American democracy by holding a Debs and a Mooney as political prisoners. The accompanying article is an answer to Velde that all his defenders might well include in their thinking. Magnes (and Wise) cannot be defended by obliterating their democratic past.*

When he wrote this article, Magnes was chairman of the Administrative Committee of the New York Kehilla (organized Jewish community). In 1922, Magnes left our country to settle in Palestine, becoming head of the Hebrew University there.

In the same issue, the lead article was one by Debs, "written in the United States Prison at Atlanta, Ga.," entitled, "Lion Hearted Russia." Debs from behind bars proclaimed that "Russia is fighting as men, women and children have never fought before, for the overthrow of tyranny and the liberation of the race." Today, in the Atlanta and other federal prisons, there sit political prisoners like Eugene Dennis, John Gates and Ben Davis, victims of the Smith Act which, according to the dissents of Justices Black and Douglas, destroyed the right to freedom of speech. One way to "defend" Magnes is to support the campaign for amnesty for these and other Smith act victims.—M. U. S.

THE fact that the political prisoners are still in jail means one of two things: either that the government is afraid of the influence of this handful of men and the movement for freedom that is behind them, or that the American people are so little concerned with political and spiritual liberty that the significance of political prisoners is lost upon them.

Can it be that both of these motives are operative at the same time?

If the government is afraid of this handful of men and the movement for freedom in this country, I want to assure them that they need have no alarm for the present at least, because, unfortunately, the reaction is victorious all along the line, and liberal and radical movements are much weaker than they were during the war [World War I] and immediately after. It would, after all, show that the government valued the liberal and radical movements in this country at their real worth if it opened the prison doors and said, with a beau geste, "Go, we are not afraid of you!"

That this impotence will continue forever is, of course, something that not even the present administration of our government can be altogether sure of; but, for the duration of its own lifetime, that is, probably, eight years, they may rest assured that they have the upper hand and that nothing will happen to them.

We ought therefore to ask them in their own language, and in words that they can understand, "Why not be 'good sports' and let the political prisoners go free?" I should think that our kindly, well-meaning, "human" President might make this added contribution to the era of good feeling which he preached with touching sentimentality. I am thoroughly convinced that it would please and receive the applause of even some of the bitterest enemies of the political prisoners and the ideas for which they stand.

Much more serious, of course, is the failure of the American people to understand the depth of their political servitude. The war has robbed them of almost the last vestiges of independent political thinking. Their teachers and preachers and writers and all the organs of public opinion were bludgeoned or seduced into acquiescence during the war. It is questionable if the generation that has lost its spiritual freedom and its intellectual integrity can ever regain them, except through a mighty act of religious conversion which seems barely possible for them. The political prisoners still in jail are the symbol of the political servitude of the American people and the spiritual slavery of the American nation. The very fact that Debs is among these prisoners makes the portent all the more startling in the heavens. He is the one authentic Saint whom American life has produced. It is not the first time in the spiritual life of mankind that a saint is stoned and martyred.

McCarthy: Enemy of the Negro People

By CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR.

I: RACIST FRIENDS AND BACKERS

"IS McCarthy anti-Negro?" At first glance the question seems to be begged: anyone who cooperates as closely as he does with known anti-Semites must necessarily be anti-Negro. But the only way to find out is to examine how Senator Joseph McCarthy has himself acted regarding the rights and problems of American Negroes.

It is incontestable that the sordid characters populating the racketeer racist fringe of fascism in the United States are as anti-Negro as they are anti-Semitic. And it will be recalled that McCarthy's strong attraction for the anti-Semitic professionals and his collusion with them on numerous occasions have included some of the more infamous figures.

When for example McCarthy joined in the attempt to block the appointment of Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg to the post of assistant secretary of defense in the Truman administration, the Wisconsin senator worked closely with one of the foremost racists of America today, Gerald L. K. Smith. Smith and his organization, the Christian Nationalist Crusade, are blatantly anti-Negro and anti-Semitic and this fact has never bothered Senator McCarthy who has, eloquently enough, never rejected Smith's support. McCarthy has received Smith's hearty endorsement.

Since the 1948 national convention of Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade, anti-Negroism has been an official plank in its platform. This writer possesses a tape recording of part of this convention. In one speech by a Smith lieutenant, Smith's followers roared in raucous approval when he ranted: "Now we're not demagogic about the Negro problem. . . . We're going to speak what we believe, we're going to seek what is the only solution of the problem of black and white mixture in the United States. We advocate a constitutional amendment making segregation of the black and white races a law of the United States of America. And we advocate making it a federal crime for intermarriage between the black and white races." At the same convention Gerald L. K. Smith told a gathering of nearly 7,000 American fascists a story so vile that we cannot bring ourselves to repeat it here.

McCarthy's other anti-Semitic collaborators such as Upton Close, Joe Kamp and others and the numerous financial backers of these professional bigots are as unreservedly anti-Negro as they are pro-McCarthy.

Anti-Negroism and Tydings Campaign

It is no secret that Senator McCarthy masterminded the defeat of Millard E. Tydings, Democrat, in the 1950 senatorial election in Maryland. A Senate committee characterized the campaign as "shocking," "misleading" and a crude display of political defamation which "eats like acid at the whole fabric of American life."[1] According to the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* (August 4, 1951), "Senator McCarthy was brought into the subcommittee's findings that the Wisconsin rabble-rouser's staff was at the disposal of

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[1] All citations on the Tydings affair can be found in *Maryland Senatorial Election of* 1950, Report of the Committee on Rules and Administration, United States Senate, 82nd Congress, Pursuant to S. Res. 250, August 20, 1951.

the Butler [GOP candidate] campaigners, and that out-state contributions were channeled throug hhis office." After having read the Senate report of McCarthy's campaign against Tydings, the *Post-Dispatch* felt that it was "like walking through a political sewer, a sewer under Rat Alley."

The most disgraeeful performance, for which McCarthy was directly responsible, was a cynical, white chauvinist trick based on naked, calculated anti-Negroism. At the direction of the McCarthy-picked campaign manager, some 75,000 tri-folded and multi-colored pamphlets, entitled *Back to Good Old Dixie,* were distributed throughout the Negro community in Baltimore. Prominently displayed on its cover were pictures of four ranking Negro leaders. The theme of the throw-away was: "We've been Tydings' political football" and contained references to the voting record of Senator Millard Tydings supporting charges of discrimination against Negroes.

In the words of the Senate investigating committee: "The pamphlet *Back to Good Old Dixie* was neither published nor paid for by the four Negro citizens listed as its sponsors. Use of the names of the four Negro leaders constituted nothing more than a false front for the publication of the pamphlet. . . ."

At the hearings conducted by the Senate committee it was revealed that none of the Negro leaders was aware of this cynical fraud until *after* the elections! According to the printer who composed the pamphlet, he was paid directly by a man subsequently shown to be the hand-picked campaign director of Senator McCarthy. In the judgment of the Senate committee the distribution of *Back to Good Old Dixie* was a violation of the Maryland state election laws.

But—more important—that McCarthy consciously devised a plot to exploit the rightful hopes and demands of the Negro people in a Southern state emerges more clearly. Here we witness McCarthy *fraudulently* abusing the most imperative demands of the oppressed Negro people to gain their votes for his "puppet candidate" (St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* August 4, 1951). Certainly such a device was nothing less than a by-product of a twisted racist mentality.

Pet of Racist Texas Tycoons

McCarthy himself refused to appear before the Senate committee investigating his major role in the defeat of Tydings. Instead he told the *U.S. News and World Report* that he thought the Tydings defeat was a "blow against mommunism" and "one of the cleanest campaigns in the country."

The Senate also discovered that out-of-state funds had been funneled through McCarthy into Maryland. Among these funds was a sum of $10,000 from Mr. and Mrs. Clint Murchison of Texas. Just who is Clint Murchison? He is part of "a group whose oil wealth is virtually unlimited" and whose politico-financial backing is firmly behind Senator McCarthy. According to the Washington columnist, Marquis Childs, (*New York Post,* June 18), one of the group, H. L. Hunt, has an annual income in excess of $20,000,000 after taxes!

Just how reliable an investment do they consider Joe McCarthy? So much so, that members of this fabulously wealthy and influential petroleum club contributed money to the Maryland campaign to elect a McCarthy "puppet"; they have given sums for the 1952 Wisconsin campaign to assure McCarthy's re-election; and, recently, they are giving financial backing for McCarthy to take the TV airways over more than 145 outlets throughout the United States under the speciously-titled production "Facts Forum," an outright propaganda stage reaching millions of Americans for McCarthyism.

Among the *facts* which the McCarthy forum will *not* televise are that the backers of this extremely costly program are some of the foremost white supremacists in the South. One of these is the incalculably wealthy Clint Murchison. During the 1952 presidential race in Texas, Clint Murchison supported the Republican Party. He told the *New York Post* (July 6) that he had issued a campaign publication distributed in the hundreds of thousands for the GOP. This McCarthy backer admitted that one of the things he emphasized was white supremacy. "Well, it's not hard to see that Texas farmers are almost all Anglo-Saxons. . . . And, whatever you think about it, they're anti-Negro on the equality thing anyway. *My paper kind of catered to these feelings*" (emphasis added).

If this is how McCarthy's largest financial powers behind him feel on the vital issue of the rights of the Negro people, how must McCarthy himself feel? To get the backing of Murchison, Hunt and the others, McCarthy must be considered absolutely reliable, otherwise there would be no TV programs and no "unlimited" funds for the next objective. And what is that? In commenting on the oil billions behind McCarthy, Frederick W. Collins, capital correspondent for the Providence (Rhode Island) *Journal* said, "His nomination for the Presidency could be the objective."

Another member of the Texas "group" that backs McCarthy is a familiar figure among the professional racists in America—John Hancock, retired insurance executive in Dallas. His avocational sideline is the violently anti-Semitic and anti-Negro "American Heritage Committee," which floods the mails with racist propaganda. In addition to having contributed generously to Gerald L. K. Smith over the years, Hancock admits to a $5,000 donation for the McCarthy election in Wisconsin in 1952 (see *New York Post,* July 9). Hancock recollects with beaming pride his first meeting with his hero: "I was introduced to McCarthy," he told the *Post,* "and I told him that he was too valuable to lose, too valuable to travel without bodyguards."

Hancock also expressed his opinion unreservedly on "that FEPC thing up in New York." He told the *New*

York Post reporter, "You've got worse discrimination against the n—r up there than we have here. We get along with our n—s down here; you don't." Just to prove his point Hancock called to "[my] boy, a good n—r, honest and loyal as the day is long." He told the reporter, "I'll let you see him." John Hancock grinned in the manner of showing off a household pet, "Smoky," he yelled. The man appeared and "as his servant stood silently before him, . . . Hancock gazed at him pridefully and then dismissed him."

Hancock, the racist backer and financial supporter of Senator Joseph Raymond McCarthy, turned back to his guest and drawled, "Now as I was saying, McCarthy understands America's problems. . . ."

These men, remember, are sinking big money into Joe McCarthy. They have confidence in him. They know a sound investment when they see one. After watching his book-burning orgies they had good reason to be doubly assured where McCarthy himself stood on the question of Negro rights.

II: ANTI-NEGRO BOOK BONFIRE

WHEN the State Department at the prodding of McCarthy "banned" several hundred works of some 40 authors from the shelves of United States libraries overseas, the *New York Times* (June 6), noted that "the nearest to a common factor" for removing the books "appeared to be the refusal (by the authors) to tell Federal investigators about communist affiliations."

It is perfectly true that McCarthy and his lesser imitators—Jenner and Velde—hound progressive authors, imputing "communism" to their writings. But an examination of the list of banned books will reveal that McCarthy went after not only authors, but also anti-racist writings. Conspicuous among the titles that fell victim to McCarthy were the outstanding contributions concerning racial discrimination, particularly anti-Negro oppression, in the United States.

For example, the banning of books by two well-known *anti-communists,* Walter White and the Swedish Rockefeller-financed scholar, Gunnar Myrdal, (*A Rising Wind* and *An American Dilemma*) dramatically attests to the pure and simple anti-Negroism of McCarthyism.

During World War II, Mr. White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, served as an accredited correspondent for the *New York Post.* His reporting was eventually published in the book, *A Rising Wind—A Report on the Negro Soldier in the European Theatre of War.* It is a factual, well-told account of the positive as well as the negative aspects of the Negro GI's treatment by the United States military in Europe during the war against fascism.

Among other facts Mr. White disclosed that, while Negro troops comprised more than one-tenth of all American troops then stationed (1944) in England, all of them, with the exception of a single anti-aircraft group, did *only* manual labor.

Mr. White also quoted from "an official order of an American colonel of Southern birth": "Colored soldiers are akin to well meaning but irresponsible children. . . . They cannot be trusted to tell the whole truth. Among the peculiar characteristics of the whole race (are) excitement, fear, religion, dope, liquor. . . . They individually or collectively can change form with amazing rapidity from a timid or bashful individual to brazen boldness or madness. The colored individual likes to 'doll up,' strut, brag and show off. He likes to be distinctive and stand out from others. *Everything possible should be used to encourage this.*"

Such reporting, by McCarthyite standards, is "subversive" and should be removed from overseas libraries. The fact that protest resulted in restoring this book to the shelves, does not alter the initial impulse to ban it. Before the McCarthy committee, the Negro poet and writer, Langston

Reprinted from the *Amsterdam News,* July 11

Hughes, renounced his past and cooperated with McCarthy. Yet McCarthy was not primarily concerned with Mr. Hughes's recantation. He was interested in such Hughes books as *Simple Speaks His Mind,* which were banned abroad notwithstanding the author's cooperation. The following selection particularly irked the Wisconsin book-burner:

"'You figure the Constitution has fallen down on you?'

"'I do,' said Simple, 'Just like it fell down on that poor Negro lynched last month. Did anybody out of that mob go to jail? Not a living soul! But just kidnap some little small white baby and take it across the street, and you will do 20 years. The FBI will spread its dragnet and drag in 40 suspections before morning. And if you are colored, don't get caught selling a half pint of bootleg licker, or writing a few numbers. They will put you in every jail there is. But southerners can beat you, burn you, lynch you and hang you to a tree . . . and every one of them will go scot free. Gimme another beer, Tony! I can lean on this bar, but I ain't got another thing in the USA on which to lean."

Books Against Racism—Verboten

Was therefore only alleged "pro-communist" authorship the cause of book banning, as the *New York Times* opined? Actually, such was not the case. In the same account the *New York Times* as analyst rushes headlong into the *New York Times* as reporter. From India its correspondent reported interviewing an American official regarding the removal of "the innocuous . . . but deceptive" titles of the Bernhard J. Stern books dealing with medical conditions in the United States. "It was discovered," the *Times* reports, "that [there was] 'the impression that Negroes had no medical care in the United States' and [they] 'unduly stressed Negro medical statistics.'"

Are McCarthy and McCarthyism concerned solely with "communism"? Or are they in fact more concerned with keeping the truth about the vicious racism which exists in our country from reaching the eyes of the colored and colonial peoples abroad? Messrs. White and Myrdal were never even called as witnesses and are certainly not "communists." Yet any facts regarding oppression of colored peoples anywhere in the world coming from *any* source —communist, non-communist or anti-communist—are labeled "subversive" by the racists and burned in the name of freedom.

But at the hearings conducted by McCarthy himself, the witch hunter's own anti-Negroism was most clearly bared. On April 1, McCarthy was grilling Dr. Gene Weltfish, an anthropologist who had co-authored the popularly-written pamphlet *The Races of Mankind,* a widely-read presentation of scientific evidence exploding the myth of "race supremacy." Its appearance in 1942 contributed to the destruction of the Hitlerian "Aryan myth" then facing a fatal reckoning on the battlefields of World War II.

From the very outset of the hearings, McCarthy and his political ingenue, Roy Cohn, collaborated on several variations of the familiar "are-you-now-or-have-you-ever-been" theme to set up Dr. Weltfish as a "communist." After hearing Dr. Weltfish assert her constitutional rights under the Fifth Amendment, Senator John L. McClellan (Dem., Arkansas) asks McCarthy what the contents of the *Races of Mankind* are. The chairman blandly admits: "Counsel tells me . . . that they had not gone through the book word for word and are not prepared at this time to read quotes into the record. *The principal thing I was concerned about here was to show the background of this author*" (emphasis added). This is a tangential way for McCarthy to say that he wanted the "communist" label pinned to Dr. Weltfish. The reason for this painstaking smear job emerged clearly just a few moments later when McCarthy picks up the pamphlet and remarks, "Just opening at random I find something on page 18 of the book entitled *The Races of Mankind* which *should interest my Southern colleagues to some extent.* It shows the intelligence tests of the Southern whites, Arkansas, 41.55; Northern Negroes, Ohio, 49.50" (emphasis added).

It's "Communist Propaganda"!

A careful reading of the entire testimony and, more important, an understanding of the technique and motivations of Joe McCarthy, reveal that he was not merely pulling the leg of a "Southern colleague" who sat on the opposite side of the Senate aisle. Roy Cohn intrudes at this point

Anti-Jimcrow Books Banned!

AMONG the several hundred books by 40 authors banned by the Department of State from overseas United States libraries (listed in the *New York Times,* June 22), works containing factual information about oppression of the Negroes in the United States are conspicuous. Following are such works named:

American Medical Practice, Medical Service by Government and *Medicine in Industry,* all by Dr. Bernhard J. Stern.

American Negro Slave Revolts, A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, Essays in the History of the American Negro and *The Negro People in America: A Critique of Gunnar Myrdal's "An American Dilemma,"* all by Herbert Aptheker.

Freedom Road and all other works by Howard Fast.

The Races of Mankind, by Gene Weltfish and Ruth Benedict.

African Journey and *Paul Robeson, Negro,* by Eslanda Goode Robeson.

A Rising Wind: A Report on the Negro Soldier in the European Theater of War, by Walter White.

Special Problems of Negro Education, by Doxey Wilkerson.

An American Dilemma, by Gunnar Myrdal.

Not Without Laughter, Simple Speaks His Mind, Laughing to Keep from Crying, all by Langston Hughes.

Black Folk and other works by W. E. B. Du Bois.

after McCarthy has given him the cue and tells McClellan: "Senator, . . . we are trying to get excerpts from every book referred to here . . . for the record." Just a few minutes before this statement by Cohn, McCarthy had admitted that no one on the committee had even read *The Races of Mankind*. Yet here is the spectacle of the ranking book-burner tearing out a "random" extract for the record. Why did McCarthy throw this tidbit out to the Dixiecrat Senator from Arkansas?

McCarthy's point was not missed. "I think that [*i.e.*, the figures showing that the average "Northern Negro in Ohio" scored a higher IQ than the "average Southern white (in) Arkansas"] is pertinent to the record," said McClellan. In other words, this extract selected by McCarthy should go into the official record of the hearings. And why? McClellan continues: 'Some of the contents that are objectionable as communist propaganda . . . should be inserted in the record so that those who read the record will have some understanding of what is involved." And —according to McCarthy (and McClellan)—precisely what is involved? The "communist propaganda" that a Negro can possess a higher IQ than a white person! McClellan concludes his agreement with McCarthy on the point by noting: why should the United States foot the bill "to propagandize other countries and other peoples in a way favorable to communism instead of anti-communism, or the American way . . . *when we have a book like this*" (emphasis added).

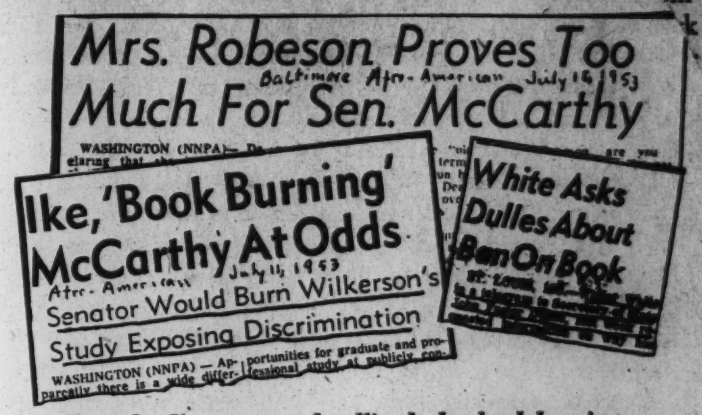
Certainly this patent McCarthyite technique exposes the same racist mentality which directed McCarthy's anti-Semitic cross-examinations of the Jewish witnesses at the Malmedy hearings in 1949. Only here he brazenly employs his Goebbels-like talents to evoke an official expression of anti-Negroism.

The Wilkerson Hearings

But McCarthy is not yet satisfied that he has slammed home his point. Patronizingly he engages the Arkansan again: "I may say, Senator McClellan, I have given the staff the instruction that where you have a well-known Communist, like Earl Browder, William Z. Foster, *in those cases it is not necessary to read the book,* because the person buying the book should recognize its nature from *the name of the author.* Where you have an undercover communist, one not generally known, then, unless the book itself contains communist propaganda, you could not blame the individual who purchased the book" (emphasis added.)

All of this high-toned patriotism by McCarthy and McClellan was predicated *exclusively* on the *single* extract torn out by Senator Joseph Raymond McCarthy. What inference can logically be drawn other than that McCarthy necessarily must be deeply anti-Negro to engage in such a vile display of racism?

Two Negroes, in addition to Langston Hughes, were hauled before the McCarthy Committee. Professor Doxey A. Wilkerson, who had been called up by the Jenner Committee early in 1953, was subpoenaed by the McCarthy Committee in July. Each time he was subjected to more than the usual abuse which these boards of inquisition mete out to anyone who risks resisting them. When this writer asked if he could comment on the McCarthy committee's attitude toward him, Mr. Wilkerson replied, "While there was no conclusive evidence at that particular time, as a Negro I could not but feel heavy overtones of white chauvinism throughout the hearing."


Mrs. Robeson Proves Too Much For Sen. McCarthy
Baltimore Afro-American July 18, 1953
WASHINGTON (NNPA)—
Ike, 'Book Burning' McCarthy At Odds
Afro-American July 11, 1953
Senator Would Burn Wilkerson's Study Exposing Discrimination
WASHINGTON (NNPA) — Opportunities for graduate and professional study at publicly con-
White Asks Dulles About Ban On Book

How the Negro press headlined the book-burning.

An examination of the testimony of the Wilkerson hearing more than confirms the scholar's feelings. In this case the McCarthy committee was red-baiting Professor Wilkerson's book, *Special Problems of Negro Education,* a work commissioned by the federal government when he served as research associate for President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education in the late thirties. At the hearing the author described his work as "an analysis of the horrible discrimination against Negroes in education."

Professor Wilkerson, formerly a member of the Howard University faculty, pointed out that the book contained "nothing about communism" but rather concerned itself with a "weakness of American democracy." He said, "if the proposals had been followed" that were laid down in his book, "it would have strengthened democracy." His question: "Is there something about a book on Negro education that is subversive?" provoked a typical McCarthy outburst when the Wisconsin senator gavelled, "We'll ask the questions!"

She Was Too Much for McCarthy

And most of the questions had to do with everything else but the book. Particularly did Senators Mundt and McCarthy stress the witness's alleged advocacy of "force and violence." But Mr. Wilkerson doggedly tried to keep the hearings on their ostensible subject, a book on discrimination against Negroes in American education. His refusal to knuckle under to intimidation finally prompted Senator Mundt wearily to call for the book's removal from the overseas libraries. For McCarthy the opportunity proved too tempting. He openly proclaimed himself a book-burner when he snapped defiantly: *"I don't care what they do with that book . . . whether they burn it or not!"*

Another Negro called before the McCarthy Committee was Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson. Although the *New York Herald-Tribune* (July 8), described it as "by and large . . . a good-humored session," the appearance of Mrs. Robeson was hardly a "humorous" occasion. McCarthy was particularly taken aback when Mrs. Robeson, in declining to discuss her private beliefs and opinions, underscored the rights of the Negro people by invoking the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. This bulwark of the Constitution guarantees equal rights regardless of race or color. When she elected the Fifteenth Amendment in addition to the Fifth—McCarthy snapped, "You have no special rights because of your race!" He overruled Mrs. Robeson's position, but not without a final word from the famous anthropologist: "I don't quite understand. As a Negro and as a second class citizen I have been fighting racial discrimination all my life. You're white and I'm Negro and this is a very white committee."

Again the questioning pursued the familiar, relentless line of the McCarthy committee: advocacy of peace, "communism" and the inevitable alleging of advocacy of "force and violence." The last query prompted Mrs. Robeson to rejoin: "I don't know anybody dedicated to the overthrow of the government by force and violence. The only force and violence I have seen has been that against the Negro people."

McCarthy tried with a desperate politeness to assure Mrs. Robeson that the only reason no Negroes were on the committee was that there were no Negro senators. The only discrimination he saw was "discrimination by the voters." This apology by McCarthy for Jimcrow elections is not naive. He knows the score—and it is clear where he stands on the issue—with the Dixiecrats. Mrs. Robeson took a few minutes out to provide the "naive" McCarthy with a few elementary facts in American life: "Most Negroes are in the South," she said, "and they don't have much right to elect a senator."

Mrs. Robeson's sharp rejoinders and her refusal to be intimidated by the McCarthy apparatus evoked a significant response from the thoroughly piqued McCarthy. Her answers, McCarthy threatened—but with a "deep courtesy," as the *New York Times* reported (July 8)—would normally bring down a citation for contempt. "He (McCarthy) would not seek (a contempt citation) . . . as . . . proof that she was getting 'special consideration.'" He added that it would be "different" if a man had given the same testimony. McCarthy compounded the racism when "he asserted that other members of minority groups, as witnesses, had 'capitalized' on their 'race' to berate the subcommittee."

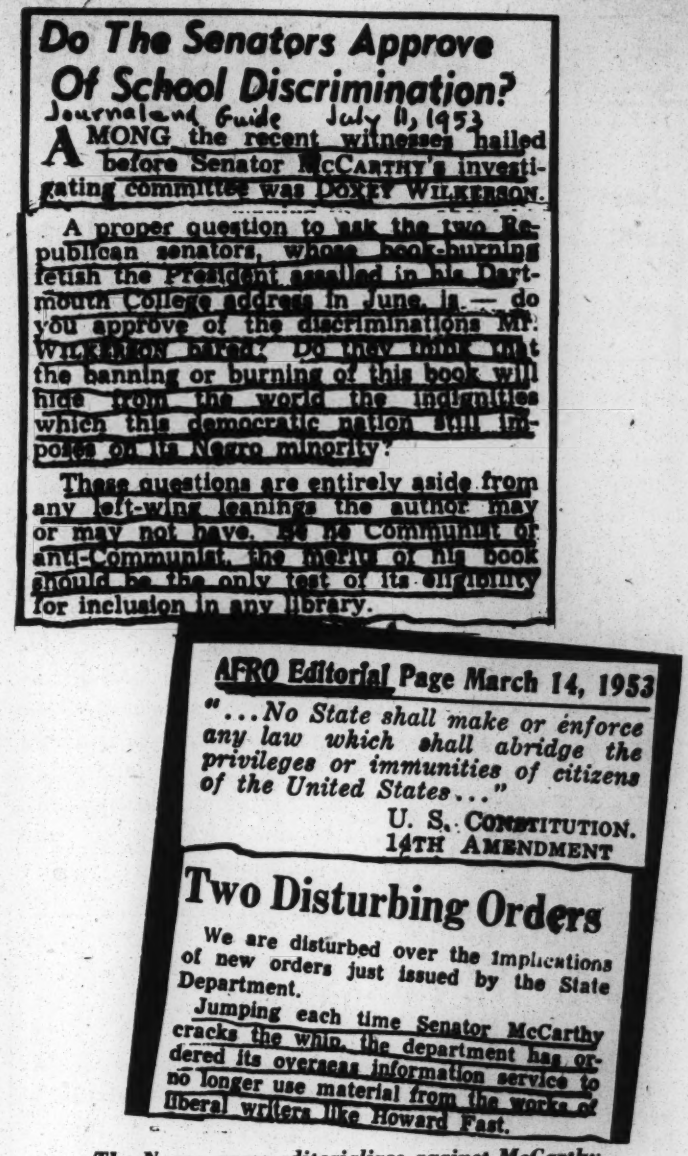
When asked if she had recently spoken on the subject of McCarthyism, Mrs. Robeson acknowledged that she had. McCarthy then asked, "What did she say?" The obese J. B. Matthews replied, "She didn't say whether she was for or against us." Mrs. Robeson laughed and quipped, "I'll just give you two guesses!" While the press noted that McCarthy joined in the "roar of laughter" from the packed hearing room, others observed that Mr. Witch-Hunt shifted in obvious discomfort and relief as the wife of Paul Robeson left the witness chair.

Further evidence of anti-Negroism of McCarthy was supplied in connection with the testimony of the white scholar of Negro history, Dr. Herbert Aptheker, who testified before the McCarthy Committee on May 6. An excerpt from that scholar's *Essays in the History of the American Negro* was printed as an appendix to the record of his hearing as evidence of the "subversiveness" of this book. The excerpt stated that the "present struggle for Negro rights is bound up with the battle for democracy" and that this alliance of Negro and white could complete the democratic revolution begun by Reconstruction and left unfinished by the arrest of that movement.

III: THE NEGRO PEOPLE HIT BACK

THE Negro people have suffered too much not to detect the presence of an enemy. More than anyone else, they know when somebody is gunning for them. That is why the most crucial evidence for McCarthy's profound anti-Negroism is to be found in the reaction of the American Negro community to McCarthy. Far from being bullied by McCarthy, the Negro press promptly greeted McCarthy with a vigorous blast. The Baltimore *Afro-American* incisively charged that "Senator McCarthy would burn books against discrimination" (July 11) after the Wilkerson hearing. The paper promptly got the point of McCarthy's attack on Professor Wilkerson. The *Afro-American* remarked: "As far as Senator Joseph McCarthy is concerned, all books which expose America's racial discrimination can be burned—and the sooner, the better."

The united resistance which McCarthy inspired among Negroes throughout the country was expressed editorially (July 7) by the conservative *Journal and Guide* of Norfolk, Virginia: "A proper question to ask [McCarthy and Mundt] is . . . do you approve of the discriminations Mr. Wilkerson bared? Do you think that the banning or burning of this book will hide from the world the indignities which this democratic nation still imposes upon its Negro minority? *These questions are entirely aside from any left-wing leanings the author may or may not have. Be he Communist or anti-Communist, the merits of his book*



Do The Senators Approve Of School Discrimination?

Journal and Guide July 11, 1953

AMONG the recent witnesses hailed before Senator McCARTHY's investigating committee was DOXEY WILKERSON.

A proper question to ask the two Republican senators, whose book-burning fetish the President assailed in his Dartmouth College address in June, is — do you approve of the discriminations Mr. WILKERSON bared? Do they think that the banning or burning of this book will hide from the world the indignities which this democratic nation still imposes on its Negro minority?

These questions are entirely aside from any left-wing leanings the author may or may not have. As a Communist or anti-Communist, the merits of his book should be the only test of its eligibility for inclusion in any library.

AFRO Editorial Page March 14, 1953

"...No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States..."

U. S. CONSTITUTION. 14TH AMENDMENT

Two Disturbing Orders

We are disturbed over the implications of new orders just issued by the State Department.

Jumping each time Senator McCarthy cracks the whip, the department has ordered its overseas information service to no longer use material from the works of liberal writers like Howard Fast.

32-19-8

The Negro press editorializes against McCarthy.

should be the only test of its eligibility for inclusion in any library" (emphasis added).

The New York *Amsterdam News* of July 11 carried a lead editorial against McCarthy, illustrated with an appropriate and hard-hitting political cartoon.

Again the *Afro-American* (July 18), sharply pointed up the real issue behind McCarthy when it editorially exposed his attack on Mrs. Robeson: "The insidious purpose of Senator McCarthy's latest junket into the darkened cave of the book-burners is becoming increasingly clear. . . . His aim is to create the impression that authors who dare expose or protest American racial shortcomings are 'following the communist line' and therefore what they write must be subversive." To reinforce its editorial conclusions regarding McCarthy, the *Afro* cited the anti-communist study, *An American Dilemma,* by Gunnar Myrdal. Accompanying the editorial was a lead news story headed, "Mrs. Robeson Proves Too Much for Senator McCarthy."

Other Negro journals which not only defended Mrs. Robeson but retaliated sharply aaginst the McCarthy committee during the week of July 18 included the New York *Amsterdam News* and the Philadelphia *Tribune.* The Pittsburgh *Courier,* generally a very conservative sheet, capped its story with a five-column head: "I'm a Loyal American—Mrs. Robeson."

Negro Churchmen Resist

Further confirmation comes from the leaders of the Negro church in America who have denounced the McCarthy attacks so clearly aimed at the Negro people. The Rt. Rev. William J. Walls, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church Zion, declared in commenting on the McCarthy atacks on Mrs. Robeson, Professor Wilkerson and others, that "The efforts of McCarthyites are being made to defame Negro leaders." Bishop Walls, an outspoken advocate of peace and brotherhood, went on to declare: "I do not believe that these people [the McCarthyites] are afraid of ministers and communism, they are afraid of religion and righteousness."

The Rev. Edward D. McGowan, chairman of the National Committee to Defend Negro Leadership, called on his people to resist McCarthyism when he said, "Nearly 2,000 years ago the founder of the Christian community gave His life for the right to think, to speak and to believe according to the dictates of His conscience." When J. B. Matthews, the professional "anti-communist" who masterminds many of the ranking anti-Semites in the United States, made his "contemptuous" attack on the Protestant clergy as the "largest single group" supporting "communism," the Negro church scored the McCarthy aide. In a letter of protest to McCarthy himself, the First Episcopal District of the African Methodist Episcopal Church "vigorously condemned" Matthews (*New York Times,* July 11).

And for particularly good reason did the Negro church take fighting exception to the Matthews slur. Matthews, it will be recalled, was personally selected by McCarthy to head his committee staff until nation-wide protest forced McCarthy to fire Matthews. An examination of the celebrated Matthews article, "Reds and Our Churches" in the reactionary *American Mercury* for July, shows that Matthews listed—separately from the whites, significantly enough—no less than 12 outstanding bishops of Negro churches. Matthews noted that there were some "7,000" clergymen who were part of this "communist conspiracy" within the American church community. There is only one place where J. B. Matthews could have secured the very listings and numbers which he used in the *Mercury* article. The names, the numbers, and the very language of his article are very nearly verbatim selections from a pamphlet published in 1949 entitled *How Red is the Federal Council of Churches?* by the notorious merchant of fascism, Allen Alderson Zoll, war-time head of the openly fascistic American Patriots, Inc., and currently profiting handsomely from

Negro Fears College 'Witch Hunts' May Harm Race

Louisville Courier Journal March 6 1953

Courageous Ministers, Churches Will Survive McCarthyism, Dr. Mays Says

Afro-American July 18, 1953

ATLANTA, Ga.—The minister with conviction who understands the Christian gospel, knows the historic role of Christianity, and who has a deep conviction that the church is ordained under God, will not be frightened by

church. Nevertheless, he reminded his listeners that the church has always fought when religious freedom was in jeopardy.

An example of this, the audience was told, is the World Council of Churches which has

Ministers Denounce Slur Clergymen Are 'Reds'

Amsterdam News July 11, 1953

Harlem and Brooklyn this week roundly denounced the inference that

The fight-back spirit of the Negro people is reflected in its press.

his anti-Semitic activities. Zoll was aided in his "research" for this pamphlet by J. B. Matthews (*Bridgeport Herald,* July 12).

It was apparent from the beginning of McCarthy's implacable drive against books which exposed anti-Negro discrimination and his conspicuous assault on key Negro leaders that his efforts to split the Negro community along artificial lines of personal political belief would fail. And it has failed miserably. The Negro people, their leaders and their press have put up a united and vigorous protest to McCarthy that is unique in American life today.

The anti-Negro line of McCarthy that we have shown here is not a random manifestation, any more than his connections with the anti-Semites (see "McCarthy and Anti-Semitism," by Charles R. Allen, Jr. and Arthur J. Dlugoff, JEWISH LIFE, July). McCarthy's campaign against the civil rights and liberties of all Americans is an essential and inevitable part of his fascist offensive against the American people. This must necessarily include depriving minorities of their rights. McCarthy's actions over the past few months have enforced this realization among the Negro people. McCarthy's anti-Negroism and anti-Semitic connections, together with his offensive against civil liberty, stamp him for the full-blown fascist that he is. These are grim facts which all Americans, Negro and white, Jewish and non-Jewish, had better examine closely. Then the resistance against McCarthy and McCarthyism must grow until this blight is driven from our land.

THE NAACP CONDEMNS McCARTHYISM AND ITS WORKS

Condemnation of book-burning, particularly of books about discrimination against Negroes, and of all forms of McCarthyism was voted in a resolution passed at the annual convention of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People in June. The resolution follows:

THE Constitution of these United States unequivocally guarantees to all Americans freedom of speech, thought and assembly. If these liberties should be lost, weakened or destroyed either by legislation or by direct or indirect intimidation, our crusade for civil rights will be seriously hampered.

Already there is discernible a pattern which tends to link the advocacy of full equality for Negroes and other minorities to subversion or "un-Americanism."

In some communities, textbooks, courses of study and teaching techniques dealing with human relations and minority group situations have been condemned or eliminated on the ground that these are not "American."

In examinations designed to test the loyalty of applicants for or holders of positions in government, a question frequently asked persons is whether they believe in the equality of the black and white races or entertain Negroes socially in their homes.

In many areas the advocates of low-cost public housing are already branded as socialists, while those advocating non-segregated housing are called communists.

Professors and teachers who declare that segregation and discrimination based upon color are undemocratic are suspect, as are those who assert that scientific inquiry supports the thesis of the basic equality of peoples, regardless of race or color.

Books which displease Senator McCarthy or others are to be banned, if not burned. We recall that it was a controversial book, *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* which helped mightily to strike the shackles of slavery from the ankles of America's slaves.

In the atmosphere of inquisition which is whirling unchecked in our nation's capital until it now borders upon the proportions and destructiveness of a tornado, it is conceivable that any organization working for interracial democracy may be challenged for its campaign against race prejudice, discrimination and inequality.

In this day of pilloring, of browbeating, of branding, of cunning indictments, we call upon our people to stand firm upon the platform of the Americanism of the founding fathers as set forth in the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the United States of America and stoutly to defend and protect it. These are the precious charters of liberty for free Americans. Under them we have life. In their death or perversion we die and with us die all our fellow citizens of every national derivation, color or religion.

ZELIG'S DILEMMA

Excerpt from a Work in Progress

By Yuri Suhl

IT was around nine o'clock on Sunday morning when Zelig and his wife, Feige-Henie, were sitting at the kitchen table, in the back of the store, eating breakfast. The kitchen door was left open so that they could keep an eye on the business. The newsstand stood outside the store and they could watch the customers pick up their papers and leave the change on the stand. Zelig enjoyed this impersonal method of "doing business from a distance." "With newspapers it's a pleasure," he would say, "they sell themselves alone. If only the rest of the merchandise would sell that way, my legs would be spared the varicose veins."

Occasionally, however, a customer would appear, holding a dollar bill and waving it in the direction of the open kitchen door. Then Zelig would run out to give the customer his change, and return to the table muttering complaints about the gloomier aspects of his business. "You can't even drink a cup of coffee in peace! Sunday comes once a week for everybody, but not for the candy-store keeper."

Feige-Henie would never let her husband's complaints go unchallenged. "Awright," she would say, "hire a salesman so you'll be able to drink your coffee in peace. Or better yet. Open up a department store like Mrs. Woolworth, so you won't even have to get near the store. You will have yourself a saleslady for every counter and you will lie on the sand in Miami Beach."

"And where will you be?"

"I'll be right there, near you, don't worry. Whatsematter, you think I'll poison myself with a little Miami Beach? It's awright. If it's good for Mrs. Woolworth, it's good for me, too."

"How many times did I tell you not to call her Mrs. Woolworth. Her name is Mrs. Hutton. I read it in the papers."

"Hutton-Shmutton. What's the difference? She still goes to Florida, and I go from the kitchen to the store and from the store to the kichen."

"A woman is 30 years in America and she doesn't know yet that Mrs. Woolworth is Mrs. Hutton."

"So why are the stores called Woolworth and not Hutton? Tell me, if you're so smart."

"If you want to know, go ask her. I can only tell you what I know."

Though such conversations betwees Zelig and Feige-Henie were not infrequent and were always charged with a tone of irritation, they were by no means an expresion of mutual hostility. What to the ears of a total stranger could, perhaps, appear to be a quarrel between husband and wife, was, in reality, nothing more than the surface rumblings of their agitated nerves; the audible by-product of the many frustrations that rankled in their lives. It was as though with the aid of a stinging word and an occasional high-pitched voice, they were draining off from each other the top-layer pressures of their humdrum existence which led from the kitchen to the store, and from the store to the kitchen.

BUT ON THS SUNDAY MORNING FEIGE-HENIE WAS WILLING to ignore Zelig's mutterings about the "business." She had missed a big event the night before and was eager to hear all about it. "Zelig," she said, "you didn't tell me anything yet about the party."

"When did I have time to tell you? When I came home you were asleep already, and when I got up you were still asleep."

"Awright, so tell me now. How was it?"

"What's there to tell? It was a big party. Like a wedding. Plenty to eat and to drink. From salami, to chicken, to turkey. Whatsematter, Shmulik can't afford it maybe?"

"Never mind the food. Tell me about the people. First tell me about Sender. He's skinny like a bone, I suppose, and dark as the night. He went through so much!" She ended with a deep sigh.

"About Sender I can tell you this: if you saw him you would be surprised. He isn't skinny like a bone, and he isn't dark like the night. He's awright. Compared to me he looks like a giant."

"Compared to you anybody can look like a giant."

"Thanks for the compliment."

"Awright, tell me already and don't draw the breath out of me. Is he tall? Is he short?"

"He's not tall and he's not short. He's just right."

"What's by you just right? Let me hear."

YURI SUHL is a well-known novelist and Yiddish poet. He is author of several volumes of Yiddish poetry and of the novel, *One Foot in America*. His new novel, *Cowboy on a Wooden Horse*, a sequel to the former volume, was published in October.

"When I say just right, I mean just right. What do you want me to do, paint you a picture? I am not a painter. I am a candy-store keeper."

"That I know without you. You don't have to remind me. Now, will you tell me how he looks?"

"He looks very good."

"What does he looks so good from, his *tzures?*"

"He went through plenty. He was a Partisan."

"What's that?"

"A Partisan is the same as a soldier only without the uniform. They fight in the woods. With guns, without guns. With grenades, without grenades. With anything that falls into their hands they fight. Sender was a regular Partisan. He killed plenty nazis."

"How do you know, he told you?"

"He has to tell me? What then do Partisans do, sell chewing gum? Besides, you take one look at him, so you know."

"Thank God he came out alive," she sighed again. "Tell me, and who else was there?"

"Ask me better who wasn't there. Everybody was there. The rich and the poor. The uptown and the downtown. Riverside Drive and Houston street. And I, Zelig, in the middle. You should have seen the welcome they gave me. 'How are you, Zelig? And what's new, Zelig? And where have you been, Zelig? And how is business, Zelig?' You would think that all they do a whole year is sit with folded hands and worry about Zelig."

"Talk is cheap. Sweet words and a false heart. Where are they a whole year to ask how Zelig is?"

"And for you I got a compliment."

"For me? From whom?"

"From Mendel?"

"Why all of a sudden a compliment?"

"We talked about Shmulik, this, that and the other, so I told him what you said. I mean about your suspicions why Shmulik became so good-hearted all of a sudden and spent so much money to bring Sender over. So Mendel said, 'Tell your Feige-Henie that she's a smart woman.' It seems he has the same suspicion you have, that he brought over a husband for his daughter Bella. Funny. I, too, thought something was fishy. But it didn't occur to me to think what you think."

THE TELEPHONE RANG AND WOKE UP THEIR DAUGHTER ANNA.

"I'll get it, Ma," she shouted from the bedroom and quickly got out of bed and hurried to the living room where the phone was.

"It must be the boy friend Morty," Feige-Henie said. "A nice boy. I like him."

"The question is whether your daughter likes him."

"When Anna goes out with the same boy for six weeks, she must like him."

They both fell silent, straining to listen.

"It's for you, Pa," Anna announced as she came into the kitchen. "What time is it?" she said, stretching sleepily.

"For me?" Zelig said with surprise. "Who is it?"

"I don't know, it's some man."

"It's early yet," Feige-Henie said, "go back to sleep."

Anna went back to her bedroom. Zelig went to the living room to answer the phone and Feige-Henie trailed after him and remained standing in the doorway of the living room.

"Hello . . . oh, hello, Mendel! My Henie and I were just sitting and talking about you."

"And saying nice things about me, I hope."

"About you, Mendel? Only nice things. What else can one say about you?"

"I'll tell you why I'm calling you, Zelig. I just had a few calls from *landsleit*. It seems that the news got around that Sender is here already, and they all want to see him. They want to hear something about Lodz, about their relatives. After all, he was there and he just comes from there."

"Yes, yes. Of course."

"And I am sure that Sender would like to see them, too."

"Positively. The only question is how will the cat cross the water?"

"That's right. That's exactly why I called you. Maybe you should call up Shmulik and tell him that you want Sender to come to your house for supper tonight. Then I and the others will come over a little later. What do you say to this plan?"

"The plan is a good one. The only question is, will I be able to carry it out. Mendel, why don't you call him up?"

"I'm surprised at you, Zelig, for even asking a question like that. You know how much Shmulik likes me and how much I like Shmulik, and yet you suggest that I should call up."

"And I, you think, like him?"

"With you it's different, Zelig. With you Shmulik never quarreled."

Zelig didn't know whether to take this as a compliment or an insult. "He can't frighten me, you know," Zelig raised his voice. "I'm not impressed with his money. I know him from the days when he was still a house-to-house peddler. . . ."

"All right, Zelig. That's not the important thing now. The important thing now is to get Sender to your house. And you are the one to do it."

"I'll try, Mendel, I'll try," Zelig said, without enthusiasm. "Then I'll call you back."

"Insist on it. You are more entitled to Sender than he is."

"Awright, Mendel, I'll call you back later."

"IT WAS MENDEL," ZELIG SAID TO FEIGE-HENIE WHEN HE turned around and discovered her standing in the doorway.

"Thanks for the information. I'm not deaf. And I even know what he wants. He wants Sender and you haven't got him."

"A regular detective my wife is. Everything she knows. Awright, I haven't got him. But if you're so smart, let's see if *you* can get him out of Shmulik's house. Let's see."

Feige-Henie made no reply. She turned around and walked back to the kitchen. Zelig was right behind her, following her with reluctant steps. She shook her head and muttered something to herself.

These headshakes and mutterings were familiar portents to Zelig. They were the forerunners of a type of verbal thunder that would rumble, intermittently, throughout the day. Right now he was in no mood for heated words with Feige-Henie or anyone else. What he needed most at this moment was an ally and not an opponent; someone to help him think clearly and give him some sound advice as to how to produce Sender in his house. He suddenly realized how grave and delicate a task he had undertaken when he promised Mendel that he would call Shmulik. What would Mendel and the *landsleit* think of him if he failed in this mission? He, Zelig, is unable to get to his house his own relative. Why? Because Shmulik says no. Why? Because Shmulik's yes or no is backed up by a pants factory, and a house in Borough Park. It was Zelig versus Shmulik for the first time in his life, and Zelig had better win, he thought, if he is to face his *landsleit* without bowing his head in shame. It was clear to him now, clear as the impending storm on Feige-Henie's long face.

Back at the table, she refilled her glass with fresh coffee, held it to her mouth with both hands, and blew at it before each sip. Zelig waited for what he considered a reasonable pause. And when his wife still continued to sip her coffee in ominous silence, he decided to take both the initiative and the offensive at the same time. "And where am I, in Canarsie? Why don't you fill up my glass, too?"

"Sometimes I wonder myself where you are," she continued to stare into her glass, "on this world, or on some other world."

"Thanks for the compliment so early in the morning."

"You're welcome," she said and rose from the table. She brought the coffee pot over and refilled his glass.

"That's what I call a good wife," he said, rolling his eyes like a clown. He was determined to head off the storm and would not cringe even from flattery, if need be.

Silence again.

"Where is Anna? Went back to sleep, I suppose." Zelig asked and answered his own question.

"Let her sleep a little longer. What's the rush?"

"The rush is that Sunday is the only day she can help you out a little in the house."

"She was to a dance last night and she came home very late."

"When you were her age, you didn't dance till three in the morning."

"When I was her age, I was already 'dancing' behind the candy store counter."

Zelig sighed. No matter how solicitous he was this morning, she somehow turned it into a complaint. What he needed most right now was Feige-Henie's sympathy. But even more than that, her level-headed advice. Mendel was waiting for a call from him and he had not yet brought himself to call Shmulik.

ZELIG DEBATED WITH HIMSELF: SHOULD HE CALL AND ASK FOR Sender and take up the whole matter with him, or should he talk to Shmulik and tell him point blank: "Shmulik, I am calling you to tell you that I am coming over to take Sender to my house for supper tonight. And I will not take no for an answer!"

They had both finished drinking their coffee, and, with Zelig conducting a mental telephone conversation with Shmulik, it grew strangely quiet around the kitchen table. Feige-Henie turned to him and said, *"Nu,* my dear husband, what are you waiting for, a miracle? When will you call Shmulik and what will you tell him?"

Her question startled him. "I was just thinking the same thing," he said. "You took my thoughts right out of my mind."

"If I took them, I'll give them back to you, with pleasure," she said. "What I want to know is this. Mendel wants to see Sender, the *landsleit* want to see Sender. All very good and fine. But why didn't it occur to you that I, too, want to see him? I didn't go to the party, so that you could go. I thought you'll have sense enough to invite him for supper tonight. Whatsematter, Shmulik is more entitled to him than I?"

"You are right," he admitted. "A hundred per cent right."

Now he knew why she had been so short-tempered with him after Mendel had called. He was glad that she had spoken up. Without knowing it, he thought, she had given him the strongest argument against Shmulik's possible refusal of his request. "My wife wants to see Sender and she's entitled to it," he would tell him firmly. And let's see what he can say to that.

"At least you admit that I am right. Thank God for that."

The telephone rang again.

"I'll get it, Pa," Anna called out from her bedroom.

While Anna was in the living room answering the phone, Zelig and Feige-Henie remained uncomfortably silent. Each waited for the other to start the conversation with some kind, conciliatory word.

"Pa, it's for you again!" Anna announced, somewhat disappointed. "You're so popular this morning," she said. "Two calls one after the other."

Anna stretched and gave a prolonged yawn. "What were you two bickering about?" she said to her mother. "I couldn't get a wink of sleep."

Feige-Henie motioned to Anna to be quiet. They both listened.

"Oh, Hershel. Good morning, Hershel. I didn't recognize your voice," Zelig shouted into the mouthpiece. "What I do? So-so. Thank God one lives. . . . My relative? He's fine. No, not by me. By Shmulik. Yes. . . . I know. . . . Mendel called me already. . . . Yes. . . . Later. . . . Call me back later. Awright. . . . Good-by."

WHEN ZELIG RETURNED TO THE KITCHEN HE RAISED HIS ARMS and dropped them again. He did this several times, as

though he were flapping a pair of wings. "You know who called?" he said. "The president of 'The Lodzer Young Men's United Benevolent Association.'" He deliberately paused after each word, making the title sound twice as long.

"Young Men's," Anna said, with mild sarcasm. "That always makes me laugh whenever I hear it. There is no one under 50 there and they call themselves Young Men's."

Zelig had something to say on that subject, but now was not the time. How many times had they tried to draw their children, the younger generation, into the Young Men's? Offered them leadership in the organization; wanted them to gradually take over, make it worthy of the name Young Men's, and carry on from where they, their parents, left off. After all, one doesn't live forever. But it had never worked. Except once a year when they all came to the Association's annual ball. The younger generation danced away the night and the parents talked away the night, reminiscing of bygone days and catching up on the year's *landsmanshaft* gossip. Around four in the morning it was all over until next year.

Feige-Henie chuckled. She knew why Hershel had called. Zelig's dilemma was mounting and she wanted him to know that she was not only aware of his predicament but in a sense enjoyed seeing him in it. It was a needling kind of chuckle.

"Laugh! Laugh!" he said, challengingly. "By you it's all a joke."

"Your father got himself into a nice mess," Feige-Henie said to Anna, as though Zelig were not around. "He brings over a relative, so Shmulik has him. Now everybody wants to see him, so they call up whom? Not Shmulik, God forbid, but your father. And his hands are empty. No relative!" She spread her hands apart to illustrate her words.

"I don't get it," Anna said, looking at her father. "Isn't Sender *your* relative?"

"Whose then relative is he?" Feige-Henie answered for Zelig, "Shmulik's?"

"So why don't you call him up, Pa?" Anna said, casually. "Call up Shmulik and tell him you want Sender over at your house tonight. I'd like to see him myself," she added as an afterthought.

"Call him up," he shrugged, as if to say, it's easy for her to say. He looked at Feige-Henie and she knew the meaning of his look. He wanted her to do now what she had done many times before when he was in a difficult situation—take over and pull him out of it. But this time she was adamant. "Don't be a *lemeshke,*" she prodded him on. "Go in and call up."

THE WORD *lemeshke* STUNG. A *lemeshke* WAS A MAN WITH the spine of a jellyfish, and this was the epithet she used freely in reviewing his failure in life. Whenever she learned that a friend, an acquaintance or a *landsman* had done something to improve his lot, he, Zelig, was a *lemeshke.* Where was he after all these years in America? Still on Houston street counting pennies at night. Yes, he was a ***lemeshke,*** and a ***shlimazel,*** and a ***shlimiel*** and all the other "flattering" epithets that go with failure. And to himself he had to admit that she was right. Somehow things didn't go so well with him as they did with others. Others could take pennies and turn them into dollars, but with him it was always the other way around. Take Shmulik, for instance. . . . To hell with Shmulik! . . . He hadn't even had the decency to tell him yesterday, "Zelig, I suppose you will want to have Sender in your house tomorrow. After all, he is a relative." No. Even that he grabs! Some day he would tell Shmulik a few things! Some day . . . some unnamed day on the calendar . . . his own, private, invisible repository for all his ungiven replies, his unanswered challenges, his unspoken complaints, his muted hurts, insults and humiliations. Some day the lid would come off and he would give Shmulik a piece of his mind, once and for all! . . . Some day. . . .

But right now he drew off just a few drops of that bitter brew of this private repository, enough to fortify him for his telephone talk with Shmulik. Not because Feige-Henie had called him a *lemeshke.* He was used to that. It was not the first time and not the last. It was Mendel, and Hershel, and the rest of the *landsleit.* He felt as though they were all here now, in the kitchen, looking at him, watching him, waiting to see what he would do.

Without saying anything he turned around and went into the living room to call Shmulik.

The Rosenberg Case Goes On . . .

THE civilized world was again shocked when Michael and Robby, ten and six, orphaned children of the Rosenbergs, were ordered out of the Tom's River, N. J., school they had been attending. The supervisor of the town school board told the family with whom the children are staying that the children be withdrawn from school within 24 hours on the technicality that the children are not legal residents of the district although they had lived there for a year. Supervisor Clyde Slocum violated an agreement made with attorney Emanuel H. Bloch, guardian of the children, not to make the matter public. While Slocum refused to call a meeting of the school board to reconsider the decision, he extended the children's deadline.

At a press conference, Mr. Bloch revealed that "FBI agents have been in the area (Tom's River) during the past three weeks. . . . Civilized people must stop this blow to the children. I want these children to grow up normally, without exclusiveness or tensions, as Americans."

Earlier, Bloch had announced the formation of a trust fund for the upbringing of the children, to be administered by himself and Shirley Graham, author; Yuri Suhl, poet and novelist; James Aronson, executive editor of the *National Guardian,* and Prof. Malcolm Sharp of the University of Chicago.

On Oct. 14, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals unanimously, but without comment, denied a motion for a new trial for Morton Sobell, convicted with the Rosenbergs and sentenced to 30 years in Alcatraz. A national conference to map further action in the Rosenberg-Sobell case was held in Chicago on October 10th and 11th.

MORTON SOBELL STATES HIS CASE

A new affidavit by the fellow-defendant of the Rosenbergs, who did not take the stand at his trial, answers the charges against him

A motion for a new trial for Morton Sobell was argued at a hearing before the Second Circuit of the United States Court of Appeals by Sobell's attorney, Howard N. Meyer, on October fifth. On this occasion Mr. Meyer submitted an affidavit by Sobell in which Sobell, who did not take the stand at his trial, states his reply to charges made there. Below is the text of the affidavit except for a few opening legal sentences.—Eds.

THE action of the Attorney General in transferring me to a penitentiary which was the most inaccessible to my attorney [Alcatraz—*Eds.*], and the furthest removed from the pending litigation in the case, prevented me from adding the following statement which would have been material and relevant on the new trial motion.

While not a part of the record appealed from, I respectfully ask the Court to take into consideration the following as being, in substance, an "affidavit of merits" on this motion. I am impelled to submit this affidavit particularly because my counsel have informed me that at every stage of this proceeding, since the trial, the United States Attorney has stressed in oral argument and affidavit, the fact that I did not take the stand in my own behalf, at the trial. It is highly inappropirate in this case that this fact be given any significance whatsoever, for the following reasons, which I owe it to myself and my family to bring to the Court's attention.

I wanted to testify on my own behalf at my trial. I did not do so because my trial attorneys insisted that I should not, because (1) of the fact that the case that the prosecution had put in against me was so weak that my innocence was clearly established; and (2) that it was so clear that I had nothing to do with any atomic espionage conspiracy (as Judge Kaufman later admitted in sentencing me) that it would necessarily follow that I would be freed. Judge Frank's dissent from the affirmance of my conviction, while illustrating that my trial attorneys were motivated by reasons of substance, was nevertheless only a dissent, and hence I now know I should have insisted on telling my story.

I am completely innocent of the charges made against me. The fantastic tale Max Elitcher told about a wild midnight ride to Julius Rosenberg's apartment is untrue, and I had thought this to be plain, particularly since he admitted at the trial that he did not concoct it until after several interviews with FBI agents, several months after he first was "persuaded" to cooperate with them. The balance of his testimony against me, which consisted in not a scintilla more than the insinuation by him of a reference to "espionage" in innocent and routine conversations I had had with him, is likewise untrue.

The only other testimony concerning me at the trial related to a trip to Mexico which I made with my family, which had nothing to do with espionage, and which only after the trial did I realize was given significance by court and jury out of all proportion to what the facts actually showed. It was only after the trial that I realized how this testimony was misconstrued and misused, and to make the record clear, I want to tell the whole story now.

My wife, daughter, infant son and I left New York late in June 1950 for Mexico City. This was no suddenly developed plan. I had become dissatisfied with my work in the summer of 1949, but I couldn't very well leave then because I was in the middle of a big project at the Reeves Instrument Company, where I worked. I was in charge of the design and manufacture of a special radar computer known as a Plotting Board, and to have deserted it in midstream would naturally have prejudiced opportunities for future employment. During the following year I investigated several positions but couldn't find anything like what I wanted. I was really interested in getting into more basic research or an academic position.

My project was completed by June 1950. At about the same time my daughter's school term ended, my wife's graduate physics course at Columbia wound up, and my own course I was teaching at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, a graduate course on "Feed-back amplifiers," came to its summer recess. None of us had any special ties keeping us in the city, so we decided to go to Mexico. As my attorney showed, on his motion for reduction of my sentence, we had been planning and dreaming of such a trip for several years, and had documentary evidence to prove it.

Although we naturally made no public announcement of our plans, there was no secret about it either. I wrote my employer for an indefinite leave of absence, applied for and obtained necessary visas from the Mexican consul in New York, and bought round-trip tickets at the American Airlines ticket office. On the way, I had the customs officials at Dallas examine and make a record of my foreign-made cameras, so I wouldn't have to pay duty on them when bringing them back into the country. In Mexico City, we rented an apartment for a month or two, where the family stayed all the time we were there.

There was one aspect to the trip, however, which differentiated it from a routine vacation. I was not alone, in mid-1950, in having become apprehensive over signs of political intimidation and repression in this country—the inquisitions, purges and political prosecutions—which were products largely of the cold war. Although a scientist, I was not oblivious to political developments, and in fact, in common with many other scientists, saw a danger to my future in the oppressive atmosphere in which we had to work. My wife and I talked about saving our children from the terrible things the world had seen occur in nazi Germany, and had at least half an idea we could escape its threatened repetition here. We had both engaged in left of center political activities in college days and every day saw people, including distinguished scientists like Dr. Condon, harassed and persecuted for no more than their opinions. All this, coupled with my dissatisfaction with my job anyway, and the fact that we had saved up a little money meant that when we left, we just didn't know whether we would come back or not. I recall thinking that Mexico might offer me a real challenge and opportunity—a country that, in my technical, engineering field, was really in its pioneer days.

In Mexico, there were more typical examples of our indecision. On one occasion, in Mexico City, I talked to a travel agency about an Italian Line ship due to sail from Vera Cruz to Havana, and from there to France and Italy. But I asked only for the price of Havana, and how much it would cost to fly from there back to the United States —and made no reservation for anywhere. Again, we cashed in our adult American Airlines return trip tickets that were good for only 60 days, but kept the one for our daughter that was good for six months.

Then, in the midst of our uncertainties, the newspapers suddenly published the news of Julius Rosenberg's arrest as an alleged "atom-spy." To me, the charge was absurd, but nonetheless frightening in what it meant. I had known Julius in City College years before, we had been together in a number of progressive student organizations during our college days, and had seen each other infrequently since then. I felt that he was being persecuted for political reasons and that the charge was calculated to intimidate and silence political dissent in the United States. I reasoned that anybody who opposed the then new Korean war, or otherwise dared to speak up and oppose any American policies he disagreed with, would be slapped into jail on one pretext or another. But this led me to make the mistake of feeling that a dictatorship was already taking over my country.

Then, and only then, was it that I left the family in the Mexico City apartment and traveled around Mexico—to Vera Cruz and Tampico—even using false names, and inquiring about passage to Europe or South America for all of us. It is hard to understand how I might have been led to do such a stupid thing, but it didn't take long for me to recognize how inept and pointless it was. Of course, I had no idea how it could be misinterpreted, and how dangerous it would turn out to be.

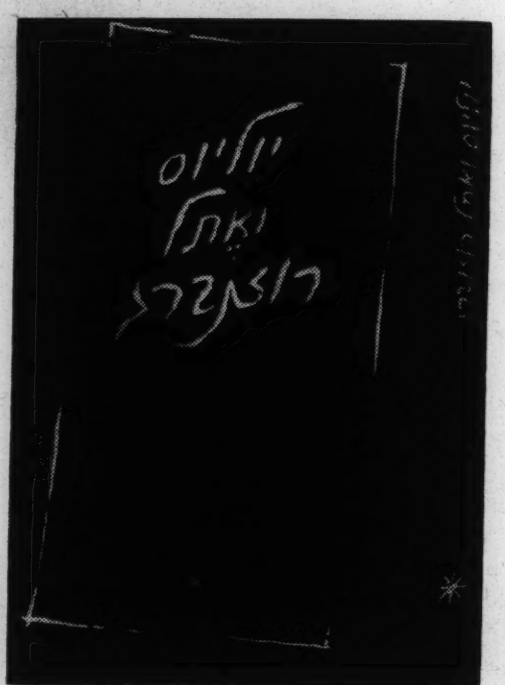
So I went back to Mexico City, and my wife and I talked it over once again. We realized that our ties to home were too strong, that we owed it to everyone to return and help combat the repressive tendencies from which we had contemplated staying away and "sitting it out." I now know how right this last decision was, and how wrong I was to think I could isolate myself from others who had the same problem.

So my wife and I decided to come back to New York, take up our lives, and join in whatever way we could in resisting the attacks on the liberties of people that were being made in the United States. We made plans for our return. There is tangible, documentary proof of this, too, for we then secured vaccinations in Mexico City—which we had not needed to get there, but which we did need to return to the United States.

But then came the unheard-of attack which deprived us of the chance to return voluntarily. My apartment was invaded by armed men who represented themselves as Mexican police, but refused, when I requested it, to take me to the American Embassy. This fact, and the rest of this incident, was set forth in my uncontradicted affidavit in support of my trial counsel's motion to arrest judgment. The United States Attorney at my trial as much as admitted that the FBI had engineered the whole affair. I cannot understand to this day, how this lawless act, apparently calculated to prevent me from returning voluntarily—for I was never informed of so much as even that I was wanted for questioning—has remained unrebuked.

(signed) MORTON SOBELL

Sworn to before me this 23rd day of September, 1953
R. Delmore, Jr., Ass't. Warden



Dust-jacket of Hebrew edition of the Rosenberg letters, published in Tel Aviv.

NEW FACTS ON SOVIET JEWS

Many lies currently being spread about the attitude of the Soviet government toward the Jews are exploded in a new factual study

By Louis Harap

NEW Light on "Soviet anti-Semitism" has recently come from an unexpected source, the Russian Institute of Columbia University, which can hardly be accused of partiality for the Soviet Union. The Institute has just published a series of studies by various authors on several aspects of Soviet life as reflected in Soviet literature (*Through the Glass of Literature: Views of Russian Society,* edited with an introduction by Ernest J. Simmons. Columbia University Press, New York. $4.50). To a considerable extent the volume displays the misunderstanding and distortion that we have come to expect from anti-Soviet "scholarship" in the postwar period under the guise of a purported objectivity.

But one essay in the book is especially interesting in relation to the much-discussed question of the Jews in the Soveit Union. The author, Bernard J. Choseed, a leading American research authority on this subject, has made a careful, extensive, fully documented study of the "Jews in Soviet Literature." In this study Choseed illuminates many areas of that much-abused question. The material he presents shows, among other things, the falsity of several crucial points in Solomon M. Schwarz' *The Jews in the Soviet Union,* a "research" work whose writing and publishing was financed by the American Jewish Committee. Choseed reveals some new facts about the polemic on "cosmopolitanism," supplies data on Jewish heroes in Soviet novels, who rank among the most esteemed in that whole body of writing, and throws light on other points, some of which we shall discuss below. Choseed states his aim as follows: "By using Russian literature as the primary source, as well as Yiddish and, to a lesser extent, Ukrainian literature as corroborative evidence, we shall try to see: how Jews have been presented in literature; what social patterns have been pictured; the relations between Jews and non-Jews; and, concomitantly, the attitudes and patterns of thinking with relation to Jews that have been imparted to the Soviet reading public" (p. 110).

Lies Refuted

The special value of Choseed's study is that he backs up every statement he makes by careful documentation. It is quite apparent that Choseed has tried to present his topic in strict accordance with the facts free of current hysterical prejudices.

It is in the latter sections of Choseed's essay that he supplies data that expose certain lies in Schwarz' book. Choseed himself never mentions Schwartz at all. One section of Schwarz's book, called "Jewish Tragedy Shrouded in Silence" (pp. 334-342), argues that the Soviet government deliberately tried to suppress within the Soviet Union any mention of the horrors perpetrated by the nazis against the Jews in the temporarily occupied areas. Schwarz asserts that it was a "calculated lie" (p. 336) of the Soviet government that the nazi policy of mass murder was directed against all Soviet citizens, "regardless of nationality," rather than against the Jews specifically. Yet it is obvious that of the seven million Soviet citizens, including soldiers, officially estimated to have been killed during the war, several million were in fact murdered by the nazis "regardless of nationality."

But Schwarz goes even further. He maintains that it was a calculated Soviet policy altogether to enforce "silence on the anti-Jewish terror" (p. 338). Schwarz says: "The taboo placed on all discussion of the Hitlerite extermination of the Jews remained as much in force after as before the publication of the Molotov note" (p. 335) of January 6, 1942, to the Allied governments on nazi atrocities, including the exterminating murders of the Jews. Further, Schdarz tries to convince the reader of the "Soviet government's failure to fight anti-Semitism. . . . The Soviet press not only ignored anti-Semitism, it minimized, if it did not conceal altogether the presence and deeds of Jews at the front" (pp. 342, 343).

The facts disclosed by Choseed show that all of these assertions of Schwarz are outright lies. Choseed's citations from Soviet propaganda material published in 1942, 1943 and 1944 show concern for nazi anti-Semitism. "Soviet *agitprop* organs," says Choseed, "repeatedly warned" against the nazi divide-and-rule technique. "Thus, in 1942, the mass propaganda organ *Agitator's Handbook* showed how Hitler set the Russians against the French, Russians against Ukrainians, and 'incites everybody to hatred of the Jews, to anti-Semitism' " (p. 139).

Choseed quotes an article of 1943 in a similar journal, *Propagandist,* as follows:

"The slightest attempt of the Fascists to sow national hatred in any form, and especially in the form of anti-Semitism, must at once be repulsed by our agitators and propagandists. Do not forget that the Fascists . . . like to set rumors in motion in the hope that there will be found credulous and hasty people who will spread them further. . . . Not a single such machination of the enemy must be allowed to remain unexposed" (quoted on p. 139).

The *Agitator's Handbook* in 1944 cited heroic Jewish participation in the war and goes on to quote the famous definition of anti-Semitism by Stalin in 1931: "Anti-Semitism as the most extreme form of racial chauvinism is the most dangerous hangover from cannibalism. . . : Anti-Semitism is dangerous for the toilers as a false sidetrack . . . leading them into the jungle. Therefore, Communists as consistent internationalists cannot but be uncompromising and mortal enemies of anti-Semitism. In the USSR anti-Semitism is most severely prosecuted as a manifestation deeply hostile to the Soviet order" (quoted on p. 139-140).

More On "Cosmopolitanism"

Further, Choseed calls attention to Soviet works during and after the war that expose as a lie Schwarz' claim of a "taboo." Choseed cites five literary works published during the war and 15 published after the war—several of these prize winners—that include material on the nazi murder of Jews. Nor is there any reason to suppose that Choseed's citations are exhaustive, since he does not mention even the well-known novel, *The Underground R.C. Carries On,* by A. Fyodorov, in which nazi treatment of the Jews enters (JEWISH LIFE published the relevant excerpt from this novel in the January 1951 issue). The decline of Yiddish in the post-war years by no means involved any change in the Soviet attitude toward the Jews. "That the 'command' [that is, social demands made on Soviet writers—L.H.] did not mean that the Jewish tragedy could not be presented," says Choseed, "is evident from the continued treatment of this theme in Soviet literature since the polemics of late 1948 and early 1949" (p. 142).

Choseed also provides interesting data on the discussion of "cosmopolitanism" that took place in the Soviet Union in 1948-49. This charge, Choseed says, was by no means made only against certain Jewish writers. It was "leveled against many writers of all nationalities in all parts of the Soviet Union," he says (footnote, p. 149). Choseed goes on to say that this critical movement "saw the eclipse of a considerable number of Jewish writers (non-Yiddish) as well. However, the large majority of Jews working in Soviet literature were not touched by the polemics and of those attacked a significant number have since reappeared. The continued prominence of Jewish figures in all branches of Soviet belles-lettres is indicated in the following partial listing taken from a larger survey of the period June 1949 to October 1951." Choseed then lists the names of 75 Jewish writers in Russian and Ukrainian presently active in the various literary fields, creative, critical and scholarly. Of these, he names 20 who had been criticized for "cosmopolitanism" and who have since reappeared in Soviet journals. In each of these cases he cites the publication in which their work was printed.

Choseed observes in a summary way that the Jews appeared rarely in pre-revolutionary Russian literature up to the twentieth century and then as "invariably . . . stereotyped, often grotesque and sometimes vitriolic caricatures" (p. 110). Even the sympathetic characterization by Gorky and others and by the classical Yiddish writers from Mendele Moicher Sforim to Sholem Aleichem were "little," pathetic people separated from society in general, as indeed many Jews were in the pre-revolutionary Russian reality.

The New Jew

But a new type of Jew had also been in the making. Many Jews had participated in the revolutionary movement from the start. "It was from these people," says Choseed, "that Soviet literature drew its first Jewish hero types and set the pattern for almost all he later Jewish 'positive' heroes" (p. 115). One of the most important of these, says Choseed, who is also one of the outstanding heroes of *all* Soviet literature, was Osip Abramovich Levinson in Alexander Fadeev's *The Nineteen* (1926). Next to Mikhail Sholokhov's *And Quiet Flows the Don,* Fadeev's novel is the most popular of all Soviet novels (75 editions in 16,250,000 copies had been printed by 1947). Levinson is depicted as a leader of a partisan detachment during the Japanese intervention and was recognized by the critics and Soviet people, Choseed points out, as a mature picture of the new Soviet man. He was accepted by all Soviet people as one of themselves. The fact that he was Jewish, although no doubt universally recognized, was referred to largely only by Yiddish critics. In Levinson the full acceptance and equality of the Jew in Soviet society is symbolized.

Choseed's comment on this phenomenon is worth quoting in full. "From these first Jewish heroes," he says, "it can be seen that not all Jews were in mourning during the early period. The Revolution had opened the gates for Jewish heroes in literature as well as in real life. That a Levinson could be created by a Russian author and could achieve such a high acclaim is a significant sign of the fundamental changes that had taken place. Not only was a Jewish Communist hero something very new in the pages of Russian literature, but also he was a new Jewish type. His plane of action was not confined to his own national horizon but was extended to society as a whole. Even at this early date he had stopped using Yiddish as his language of daily communication and he was not preoccupied with the 'Jewish problem.' The very term 'Jew,' therefore, while still denoting a specific group origin and a common upbringing, now had to be broken down into the Yiddish speaking people, living in nationally homogeneous groups and cherishing the national traditions and mores, and people no longer using Yiddish who had moved into heterogeneous situations" (pp. 118-119).

The NEP and After

Choseed is here saying in effect that the characterization of Levinson symbolized the Soviet reality to come in which the ghettoized separation of the Jewish people was broken down once and for all. The Jews were to become full and equal participants in Soviet society.

The study goes on to show how the temporary retreat

of the New Economic Policy in the twenties in which many Jews turned to private trade also evoked a group of unfavorable Jewish characters in Soviet literature. But the anti-Soviet patentialities of this fiction were pointed out by both Jewish and non-Jewish Soviet critics. "In literature," says Choseed, "anti-Semitism is shown as halted by non-Jewish Communists. . . . Those who instigate anti-Semitism are clearly portrayed as counter-revolutionary elements, as kulaks in the village, as saboteurs in the mine or as wreckers in the factory. The campaign to stamp out these renewed manifestations was pushed in all fields" (p. 122). Choseed states that there were literary works by Russian, as well as Yiddish writers opposing anti-Semitism. The data given by Choseed confirm the fact that anti-Semitism was incited by those who would undermine the new Soviet society. The incompatibility of anti-Semitism and the survival of Soviet society itself is thereby indicated.

The next period of development, that of the First Five-Year Plan, which began in 1928, Choseed points out, saw the creation of that literary "hero who is generally considered the outstanding Five-Year Plan figure in Soviet Russian literature." This hero was a Jew, David Margulies, in Valentin Kataev's novel *Time, Forward* (1932).

As in the case of Levinson, Margulies is in no way differentiated from the Soviet worker either in the book itself or in critical comment on the novel. Both Russian and Yiddish literature and criticism of the period did not regard as crucial either the fact that a character was Jewish or whether he spoke Yiddish or not. What did figure importantly was the drawing of a sharp contrast between the survivals of the "wailing," separatist Jews with eyes fixed on the past and the new integrated Soviet Jewish citizens looking toward the future.

Choseed introduces much interesting data about the development and decline of culture in Yiddish in the Soviet Union and of the return of nationalistic elements in Yiddish literature from the late thirties onward. He says: "There was no compulsion to make Russian the language of the Jews. The right to speak Yiddish was secured and enforced with tangible material aid in the form of schools, publishing facilities and the like. At the same time the slightest manifestation of any drive to work for the Yiddish rather than the social goal, that is, the intimation that Yiddish *should* be spoken, was quickly eliminated" (p. 157). In other words, the question of Yiddish was treated in a democratic way by ensuring complete freedom of choice on the part of all Jews whether they should or should not speak Yiddish.

Cold War and Truth

In this brief survey of some of the material contained in Choseed's valuable essay, we have not by any means exhausted the extent and significance of the illuminating new data which he has made available. The work of Choseed again demonstrates that any honest appraisal of the facts about Jews in the Soviet Union exposes the lies that have been so liberally circulated these past few years in the interests of the cold war. Among those most active in the spreading of these lies, it is necessary to recognize, have been several Jewish "defense" organizations like the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Labor Committee. But the interests of the Jewish people, as of the American people as a whole, are best served by the truth about the situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union. The lie of "Soviet anti-Semitism" circulated by these and other organizations and the press are being used as a means of carrying on the cold war. Nothing is more effective than the truth in dispelling the cold war and Choseed has helped us to see this truth more clearly by his honest and scrupulous study.

Report on Bokharan Jews

Below are excerpts from an article by Harrison E. Salisbury in the New York Times *of October 1, describing the life of Soviet Jews in the fabled city of Bokhara, Uzbekistan, in General Asia.*—Eds.

Over the clay walls and roofs of Bokhara's ancient city still echoes the wail of the muezzin's cry summoning the faithful to their prayers in scores of mosques. And in the ancient Street of Jews, just half a dozen steps from the heart of Bokhara, the city's historic sect of Jews practices its rites as in former times.

This correspondent is the first to visit the once forbidden city in a generation or more. Visits by foreigners to Bokhara have been virtually non-existent, not only under the Soviet regime, but in pre-revolutionary times when it was the seat of the Emir of Bokhara, one of the world's most cruel and primitive rulers.

Because it has so seldom been visited, Bokhara has in recent years been regarded as a place of mystery and speculation. There have often arisen questions as to the colony of Bokhara Jews, which has existed here since medieval times, and there had been much interest in how Bokhara had fared as one of the most holy of Moslem cities and one of the great centers of Moslem study and learning.

In a visit of two and a half days it is not possible to give any exhaustive answers to questions concerning Jews and Moslems. However, this correspondent has been staying in a small hotel right in the heart of the old city just a stone's throw from the Street of Jews and one of their principal residence quarters for some hundreds of years. He has been inside one of the principal synagogues of the Bokhara Jews and has met the rabbi of the synagogue. Changes there have been no doubt for these people under the Soviet regime, but perhaps not of the quality and quantity that might be imagined.

Bohara's Jews are still practicing their religion in their ancient way. They are still studying their Talmud. They are still living on the same streets and in the same quarter.

If there are major changes affecting the Bokhara Jews, they relate to the professions and to the youth. Under the Soviet regime there has been a great reduction in private trade, although individual artisans, especially in a city like Bokhara, still ply their trades. And young Bokhara Jews, like Soviet young people of other faiths, are tending to break away from the strict and special Bokhara orthodoxy.

ISRAEL AND TURKISH WAR BASES

By I. Elsky

Tel Aviv

For years the people of Israel have been told that, thanks to the dollars of "our great American friend," the State of Israel would be built up and enabled to absorb the mass immigration.

At present, 200,000 people live in Israel under shocking conditions. Immigration has stopped and 50,000 people have emigrated. Thousands of families are unemployed. In 1952, there were 342 attempted suicides. From these few figures one can get some idea of the tragic results of the policy of orientation on the "American dollar."

Recently the government press, with *Davar*, Histadrut organ, in the lead, has begun a campaign of self-praise for a new "national accomplishment." The reference is to an agreement between the Turkish government and "Solel Boneh" (the Histadrut's construction company) to build three military airfields in Turkey at the borders of the Soviet Union. The government press plays upon national pride: Jewish instructors, Jewish construction workers, Israel machinery, Israel cement and pipes, are now so highly prized throughout the world that Israel is being invited to build roads and airfields in other countries.

Not all details of the agreement are known. But those which have been made public reveal a picture of humiliation and betrayal of the national interests of the Israeli people and their state. It turns out that Solel Boneh is carrying out this construction together with a Turkish and an American organization. The Turkish company has a third interest in the business and Solel Boneh has 60 per cent of the remaining two-thirds. The overall value of the project is $11 million.

It is characteristic, however, that Israel must supply the materials for the construction. Israel will have to supply cement at the price of $17 a ton at a time when Israel itself is *buying* cement in Italy for $27 a ton. The citizen of Israel will have to make up the balance of ten Israel pounds out of his taxes for every ton of cement transported to Turkey to build anti-Soviet bases for the "Atlantic Army."

It is worth noting that only recently the press reported importation of 7,500 tons of cement from West Germany against the account of the "reparations agreement" at a price of 90 Israel pounds a ton. The cost of construction in general is rising but the Israel government will deliver cement for $17 a ton to build anti-Soviet military bases in Turkey. For *Davar* and government spokesmen this is a "national accomplishment."

Solel Boneh has also taken on itself the obligation of exporting valuable materials such as pipes for conduits. But to send pipes to Turkey is a national scandal. For today entire settlements lack water because of a pipe shortage. Agriculture cannot be developed because there are no pipes for irrigation systems. Now we are suddenly informed that Solel Boneh will supply pipes to build anti-Soviet bases in Turkey.

While the government has not provided homes for tens of thousands of families still living in huts, hovels and ruins, it allows the export of tens of construction experts and skilled workers to build anti-Soviet bases in Turkey.

Even the conservative paper *Haaretz* has recently admitted that from a purely business standpoint this undertaking will mean a loss for Israel. Is this the way the Israel government is "doing its share" in the execution of anti-Soviet war plans? One can imagine the alarm that would be sounded in the Israel press if the Soviet government were to send out instructors, machines and materials to build fortifications and military airfields directed against Israel.

Israel's participation in the building of these military airfields is also a severe blow to the political position of Israel. For the Israel government is thereby injuring the cause of friendship with the Soviet Union by agreeing to participate in the setting up of these bases, built by the Atlantic-European Army, with an outspoken anti-Soviet, war-inciting intention. The Israel government is thus acting against the economic, political and national interests of the country.

Anniversary Greetings
Clinton Hall English Speaking Chapter
EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS
Newark, N. J.

Anniversary Greetings
Clinton Hall Yiddish Speaking Chapter
EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS
Newark, N. J.

Anniversary Greetings
Members of Lodge 55, JPFO
Newark, N. J.

Greetings
Members of Lodge 507, JPFO
Newark, N. J.

Greetings from the
Patterson Emma Lazarus Club
ROCHELLE PARK, N. J.

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EMMA LAZARUS READING CIRCLE
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May *Jewish Life* give us hope for a better world
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Lakewood, N. Y.

Fraternal greetings for a world of democracy and brotherhood
Emma Lazarus Club
of Lakewood and Whitesville, N. J.

Letters from Readers

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Shortly before our conviction [in the Pittsburgh Smith act cases], I read the article in JEWISH LIFE on the civil liberties situation in Pittsburgh ["War on Freedom in Pittsburgh," by Harry Levine, August issue]. I thought it was a good article and I am writing this to inform you of some of the latest developments. The prosecutor, Edward Boyle in his summary to the jury, referred to me as some one who had gone out to organize coal miners, but who had never worked a day in his life in a coal mine himself. Yet the testimony had amply brought out the fact that I am by trade an iron worker, having worked as a ship's builder and arc welder in shipyards and boiler shops. Again, Boyle referred to Bill Albertson as some one who had become a union official of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, but whose sole qualification for this was that he had a job in a drugstore jerking sodas and making sandwiches after school hours. Yet the testimony had amply brought out that Albertson had worked as a waiter and had been elected and re-elected to posts in the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, AFL, for a period of 11 years.

Albertson and myself were the only two defendants who took the witness stand, also both of us are Jewish. The jury to whom Mr. Boyle spoke had not a single Jew and was steeped in all kinds of prejudices. Mr. Boyle's appeal to anti-Semitism in his description of Bill and myself was not too subtle, I would say. Every Jewish person knows the anti-Semitic slander that Jews don't work with their hands, but get along on being "commies."

We're engaged in an important bail fight—the bail has been doubled—$40,000 each now for Bill and me. For Nelson it will be $60,000, since there is $20,000 on him already in the state case. Dolsen was also out on a double bail up until now, $10,000 in his state case, $15,000 in the federal. Now his total would be $40,000. Carreathers is out on his former bail of $20,000, because he has TB.

[Since this letter was received, the bail situation has changed. The doubling of bail from the original $20,000 has been reduced to $5,000 additional for each, except for Ben Carreathers, who is out on his original $20,000 bail. Albertson and Weissman turned over $5,000 each of their original bail to Steve Nelson and Jim Dolsen. All defendants, except for Albertson and Weissman are now out on bail. These two need $20,000, of which $5,000 has already been raised. Therefore $15,000 is needed to have them released on bail after their 60-day contempt sentences for refusing to become stoolpigeons are over.—*Eds.*]

I would like to appeal for help from the Jewish community in raising this bail. We are at this moment engaged in a court fight to lower it. But without waiting upon the outcome of that fight, bail money could be raised and earmarked. If help is at all possible, all I can say is that it is sorely needed.

IRVING WEISSMAN

Allegheny County Jail, Pittsburgh

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Ruth H. Ashley

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF:

JEWISH LIFE, published monthly at New York, N. Y. for October 1, 1953.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Progressive Jewish Life, Inc., 22 East 17th St., Room 601, New York 3, N. Y.

Editor, none.

Managing Editor, Louis Harap, 22 East 17th St., Room 601, New York 3, N. Y.

Business Manager, Lester Blickstein, 22 East 17th St., Room 601, New York 3, N. Y.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.) Progressive Jewish Life, Inc., 22 East 17th St. Room 601, New York 3, N. Y. Albert E. Kahn, President, Croton, N. Y. Louis Harap, Secretary, 22 East 17th St., Room 601, New York 3, N. Y. William Levner, Treasurer, 36 Monroe St., New York, N. Y.

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5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly, and triweekly newspapers only.)

LOUIS HARAP

Managing Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 18th day of September, 1953.

DAVID CANTOR

Notary Public for the State of New York.

(My commission expires March 30, 1955.)

[SEAL]

Book Reviews

PLAYING WITH DEATH

By Alice Jerome

The Game of Death, by Albert E. Kahn. Cameron and Kahn, New York. Paper edition, $1.00.

There are people who believe this is the best of all possible worlds—especially our one-thirteenth of it here on the North American continent. They count the frigidaires, stall showers, automobiles, washing machines, television sets and conclude that we have the highest living standard of any country. They survey our synthetic packaged foods glamorously displayed on the chain store shelves and decide that we are a well-fed nation. The typical American family they see owns its own home, with a two-car garage and a well-stocked freezer. They may once have read in the papers about milk being dumped into the river and people starving—but that was long ago, in the depression. They may even read today about children dying of polio while gamma globulin, which may modify or check the disease, is too scarce for distribution because neither commercial drug companies nor the government will invest the price of one army tank on processing a preventive that may soon be outmoded. But this, they say, is unusual—a temporary evil that will be corrected in time.

These people need to read Albert Kahn's new book, *The Game of Death*. With bold, sure strokes of his truth-dipped pen, he will open their eyes—and all of our eyes—bringing picture after picture from his great storehouse of carefully collected, fully documented facts. They will see the wooden shacks of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Indians and Mexican Americans in our big cities as well as on tenant farms—shacks papered with mail order catalogues, lit by candles, heated by wood stoves, with an outhouse for a toilet and one bed for every four of five inhabitants.

They will see over three million children in these United States with backs bent in child labor and another half million migrant farm workers under 14 years of age. They will see a growing army of young criminals, drug addicts, delinquents, and self-styled teen-age vigilantes, constantly stimulated to further crimes by fiendishly degrading conditions in reform schools and detention homes. They will see families broken up, fathers turned into fugitives, children torn from their mothers and mothers from their children—because the parents championed peace or equality for national minorities. And that untypical American family with the garage and freezer so well filled—they will see it in three dimensions for the first time; they will see the content of their own lives.

Mr. Kahn shows us the child of that family—and of most American families—on his knees at school expecting a bomb to fall, or half-sitting, half-standing in an over-crowded classroom, learning not to ask questions, or practising how to spy on his schoolmates. At home, with a comic book on his lap and a television screen before his eyes, the child is further pumped up with terror, violence and brutality (more than 100,000,000 comics sold each month in 1952).

With a sharp scalpel Mr. Kahn lays bare the cancerous growth of disregard for human life brought on by the pervasive militarization of all aspects of living to serve the cold war. It is hard to believe that the following takes place in an American school but Mr. Kahn has facts to prove it: "Teachers have been known to punish children who misbehave by making them sit near windows. The children are informed that if an atomic bomb should fall this would be the most dangerous place in the classroom. . . ."

Everyone who reads this book will think more deeply and see more clearly—whatever he saw before—about what this richest country in the world gives its children and the "climate of horror" which it provides for their growing up. It's a devastating picture, irreconcilable in its smallest details with any illusions, overpowering in its total effect.

Perhaps through the eyes of a Korean child, "wandering homeless over the blood-drenched countryside," we may still look like a privileged nation. But there is a price the so-called conqueror pays in corruption that eats deep into the heart of his people, that is far worse than what the suffering millions of our victims will ever know. This Mr. Kahn points up aptly by quotations from Hitler's fiats and nazi educational material alongside of similar quotes from Truman, Eisenhower or McCarthy pronouncements.

"All knowledge and experience gained should serve the sole purpose of shooting straight, to kill the enemy," said Dr. Helmut Stellrecht, senior district leader of the Nazi Party. "I believe that we should have total preparedness based on the laws of the jungle, that everyone should learn every art and science of killing," spoke Dr. Elwood Nance, president of Tampa University in Florida.

"An immense piece of work . . . in five months we had to examine the political loyalty of more than 160,000 officials, about 120,000 of whom were elementary school teachers." Is this an excerpt from a 1953 report of the Jenner Committee? No, it is from a 1933 report by Dr. Bernard Rust, Reichsminister of Science, Education, and Culture in nazi Germany. One wishes for more discussion of anti-Semitism as an aspect of the cold war drive. The recent growing number of attacks and beatings of Jewish children need to be seen as part of the neo-nazi picture in our country today.

Mr. Kahn has penetrated deeply and widely into the plight of America's children; his knowledge and his documentation are matched by his insight and his social passion. The book evokes a feeling of cumulative horror at what is hap-

Many greetings received late and a number from California will be printed in the December issue.

We look forward to many more anniversaries of this great magazine

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EMMA LAZARUS JEWISH WOMEN'S CLUBS

of

LOS ANGELES

pening to all children in war-primed United States. The only way to shake off this feeling is to get to work to end the nightmare.

Mr. Kahn gives us some encouraging facts about groups that have protested these conditions, but we could use more information on positive actions which have taken place throughout the country to stop the killing and the preparations for killing. The only antidote for that hopeless feeling is to get to work—work through parents' associations, through civil rights groups, prison reform agencies, anti-child labor committees and above all—as Mr. Kahn says—to work for permanent peace. He concludes: "The way in which we answer their [our children's] demand for peace will be the measure of our love for them." Perhaps this splendid book can be the signal for forming a large new organization, cutting across all political, economic, and social barriers—*in defense of our children*. Let us act.

NOVEL OF EARLY AMERICA

By Morris U. Schappes

Joel, A Novel of Young America, by Nora Benjamin Kubie. Harpers, New York. $2.50.

This is a pleasant little novel, skillfully written for the early teen-ager who prefers, or can be helped to prefer, a book to the "comics." Mrs. Kubie takes her 17-year-old hero, Joel Davidov, with a skip and a zip from the eve of the American Revolution in 1775 to the evacuation of the British from New York in 1783. Imbedded in the adventure and romance of the book is the serious note of Joel's development into a conscious young revolutionary soldier.

At first, coming from the pogroms of Poland, Joel could not see why the Americans, with relatively more freedom under King George than the people of Poland had, should organize against and fight the British monarchy. Living with his brother-in-law, Jacob Peretz, in New Haven, Connecticut, Joel appears on the scene first as defending a Tory from molestation by the Sons of Liberty. Joel believes his Jewish traditions requires peace at all costs.

But in the next 15 months Joel, like many others in the colonies, changed. Nathan Hale makes Joel begin to doubt his position. He learns something of Britis tyranny when he is imprisoned after being caught on board a sloop on which he had thumbed a ride and which turns out to be smuggling gunpowder for the colonial troops. Then comes the experience of contact with the stirring ideas of Tom Paine's *Common Sense.* Finally Joel decides to join the Continental Army after hearing the Declaration of Independence read in a village near New Haven. The Declaration's ideals of human equality are decisive for Joel.

During the war, Joels falls in love with a spirited Revolutionary lass, Abigail Bailie. She loves Joel too but the marriage founders when she insists Joel be converted to Christianity. Here Mrs. Kubie seems to be straining to make a point against intermarriage, especially since, historically, intermarriage with or without conversion, was common then.

However, at the end of the war Joel is destined for happiness in two ways. First he loves and undoubtedly will marry Judith Levino, patriot daughter of a Jewish Tory. Secondly, he has a job as a "schoolmaster, in a new free school in Connecticut," which he looks upon as a "chance to help spread the ideas [Jeffersonian] in which I believe." In the army Joel had met, and downed, an anti-Semite. Joel had also stood up for the right of the free Negro, Moses Jones, to be a soldier when the right had been challenged by that same anti-Semite. Joel knows the meaning of democracy.

Mrs. Kubie writes simply and with good pace. Sometimes her moralizing is too obvious. Occasionally her ideological slip shows clumsily, as when she would have us believe that in 1775 Joel would, when he is mocked here as a foreigner, regret that Palestine is in Turkish hands and therefore closed to him. But all in all this is a brisk and worthwhile effort to show the merging of the democratic elements in Jewish and American tradition in terms of a human narrative.

Congratulations on your Seventh Anniversary
A group from the
Jewish Folk Chorus
of
GREATER MIAMI, FLA.

Warmest congratulations
On the Seventh Anniversary of your magazine, which is fighting so courageously for peace, culture and progress
Emma Lazarus Club
MIAMI, FLA.

Heartiest Greetings and Best Wishes!
Jewish Cultural Center
MIAMI BEACH, FLA.

With courage and unerring literary quality you have kept alive this wonderful magazine
May we congratulate you on your Seventh Birthday
Morris Holtman Reading Circle
MIAMI, FLA.

Congratulations on your Seventh Anniversary
JEWISH LIFE is making a great contribution to enlightenment of the masses in the struggle for peace and justice.
The Peretz Reading Circle
MIAMI BEACH, FLA.

Congratulations on your Seventh Anniversary
We hope you continue your good work
David Edelshtat Reading Circle
MIAMI BEACH, FLA.

Best wishes on your Seventh Anniversary
We hope to join your Eighth celebration in a world of peace
Chaim Solomon
Jewish Children's School
Miami Beach, Fla.

Our enthusiastic fraternal greetings on your Seventh Birthday
May these seven years prove to be only the prelude to larger cultural tasks and wider influence
Emma Lazarus Club
MIAMI BEACH, FLA.

OBSERVATION POST

By Sam Pevzner

On Operation Betrayal

Our readers will be interested to know that JEWISH LIFE distributed 25,000 copies of a reprint of the ADL-AJC confidential Memorandum and the "Open Letter." They were mailed to Jewish community leaders throughout the country. While it is too early to register the effects of the disclosure of the disgraceful offer of the ADL-AJC-JWV to collaborate with the Velde Un-American Committee, some reactions have been reported to us. The Memo has been causing disturbed discussion in a number of communities and has angered influential individuals. However, there has not been enough evidence that the Memo and "Open Letter" have reached the rank-and-file members of the Jewish organizations. These are the people who have the power to put a stop to the dangerous policy of collaboration with American police-staters. These are the people who know that it is *their* necks, as Jews and as ordinary American citizens, if the McCarthyites are not fought to the finish by the Jewish people together with all democratic-minded Americans.

Our readers and friends should be instrumental in bringing the Memo and "Open Letter" to the members of Jewish organizations, in stimulating discussion and registering protest. American Jews will not stand for those leaders who bend their knees before and offer to collaborate with the fascist-minded cabal that attacks men like Rabbis Wise and Magnes. Readers of JEWISH LIFE should press upon those leaders in their communities who profess to be anti-McCarthy to express themselves on the Memo of the ADL-AJC-JWV. Professions of dislike of McCarthyism are good, dear friends—we must tell them—but what about this offer to become *"musrim"* for the McCarthyites by some who call themselves "Jewish leaders"? The closed mouth today is the gagged mouth tomorrow. Speak out before it is too late—men who claim they speak for you are betraying you.

That October Issue

Speaking as one of the editors, which means my complete objectivity cannot be challenged, I think the October issue of JEWISH LIFE was a significant, colorful, varied and lively one. That's waxing adjectival, as that master of the blue pencil, Louis Harap, would say. But the October issue deserves a rave (and keep that blue pencil away from the adjectives, Louis). A reminder of some of the sparkling articles: Charles R. Allen's "A Talk With Velde Collaborators," Alice Citron's human document on Julius Rosenberg's mother, Schappes' "The Tercentenary Celebration," Harap's "How Shall We Fight McCarthyism?" and A. Strauss' "Fighting Jimcrow in Cleveland." A treasure house indeed. But—that omnipresent but—not enough people are dipping their fingers into this treasure chest. How many Jewish Americans are seeking just such material—but don't know it is available because no one has introduced them to JEWISH LIFE? Yes, how many progressive Jews feel the lack of information and enlightenment on the "Jewish question" because they have not yet discovered our magazine? That, members of all JEWISH LIFE committees and kind readers, spells out your mission at the present time. Go after those subscriptions among your friends, fellow-members, co-workers and all opponents of McCarthyism. Ignore no one. That is how YOU can participate in the present campaign for 2,000 subscriptions.

In Steps California

No sooner is sub drive mentioned and our live-wire Los Angeles committee under the leadership of Rickie Roth heats up the cross-country wires with a pledge of 500 new subscriptions by December 31. Whch is L.A.'s way of saying: How about you Jewish Lifers in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit and points all over? Yes, how about it?

Good Advice

Parents who are today concerned with the plight of their children under conditions of cold war hysteria, and want them to breathe some of the fresh air of progressive humanism, as well as to learn something about the Jewish people, their progressive culture and traditions—should not fail to send their children to the progressive Jewish schools which are found in their cities or communities. If you don't know where to get the information, write to the Commitee for Progressive Jewish Education, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Parents who have read Albert E. Kahn's vital book on the effects of the cold war on our children, *The Game of Death,* will understand how imperative it is to bring the children in contact with a world where decency, humanity, democracy and progress replace atom-bomb hysteria, Mickey Spillaneism, racism and McCarthyism. The progressive Jewish schools extend this opportunity.

Morris on Tour

The cities of Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Detroit were visited by Morris U. Schappes in September. He lectured on "McCarthyism, Racism and Peace" and other subjects. He reports an intense interest in JEWISH LIFE but a failure to take the necessary organizational steps to assure distribution, except possibly in Detroit. It is hoped that these cities will make Morris' tour a success by establishing functioning committees and expanding the readership steadily.

I. B. Bailin at 70

THE Editorial Board of JEWISH LIFE joins the progressive Jewish community in sending heartiest greetings to the noted *Morning Freiheit* journalist and cultural figure, I. B. Bailin, on his 70th birthday and 50th year of leadership in labor, cultural and literary life.

Greetings

for preservation of our democratic heritage and the Bill of Rights
for a good life without atom bombs
for democracy without lynching
for justice without Smith acts and McCarran laws

A GROUP OF FRIENDS

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Anniversary Greetings

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With Greetings
for a better world

Ben Leider Lodge
525, JPFO

NEW YORK CITY

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(*Continued from page 2*)

the *Yiddish Buch* publishing house in Warsaw in editions of 5,500 are works of Sholem Aleichem, Mendele Moicher Sforim and a series of books on Jewish workers who have gained recognition for special achievement in industry.

David Federovich Oistrakh, leading violin virtuoso and professor of music at the Moscow State Conservatory, was awarded the honorary title of "People's Artist of the USSR" in mid-September by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for his "outstanding services" to Soviet music.

In West Germany . . . A statistical breakdown of "loss of human life in Frankfurt population" during the war omits any mention of the more than 6,000 Jews murdered in concentration camps. . . . The Jewish cemetery at Drove, near Aachen, was desecrated in September.

ISRAEL

Moshe Sharett, Israeli foreign minister, warned in a nation-wide broadcast on September 20, that difference of opinion may arise between Israel and Washington. A few days later, Meir Argov, chairman of Israel's Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee, said that Israel is "eager" to have friendly relations with the socialist countries and he called Israel's foreign policy one of "non-identification" with any group of world powers rather than "neutrality."

While Israeli workers during 1951-52 covered 60 per cent of the income taxes collected in Israel, capitalists paid in 16 per cent.

The Soviet Union has offered to sell Israel 75,000 tons of crude oil on terms of barter of goods, probably citrus fruits. A sample of the crude oil is expected to reach Israel soon. This quantity of oil would make up six per cent of Israel's annual oil needs.

Protest was manifested in Israel, among others by Levi Eskhol, Israel minister of finance, at Henry Morgenthau's statement in New York in September suggesting that the Histadruth "get out of private business."

David Horowitz, head of Israel's Central Bank, said in September that emigration from Israel now exceeds immigration.

Closing of kindergartens for five-year olds as an economy measure announced late in September has aroused a great protest movement. A "Save the Kindergarten Committee" representing 10,000 parents of 103 kindergartens, has been set up.

The IWO decision

AS we went to press, word was received that the Supreme Court had refused to review the action of New York State in ordering liquidation of the International Workers Order. The executive committee of the IWO issued a statement on October 19 calling the refusal to review the case "a gross miscarriage of justice. (It) allows the imposition of a death sentence by the lower courts upon a financially sound labor, interracial, fraternal organization. . . . The denial . . . actually strikes a blow to the Bill of Rights with its guarantee of the rights of freedom of speech and association. . . . We call upon the membership of the IWO in this critical hour to stand united, to express solidarity with the organization as they have in the past years, with the definite assurance from the officers and the executive committee of the Order that they will continue to stand guard over the interests, the welfare and the protection of the membership."

The fight is not finished.

Greetings
Members of Lodge 523, JPFO
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Best wishes from
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to the most enlightened English-Jewish journal in the U.S. We hope to celebrate many, many more anniversaries in a world of peace and security.
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Bronx, N. Y.

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from
Members of Concourse Lodge, 521, JPFO
BRONX, N. Y.

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Do Not Subscribe to JEWISH LIFE!

Why??

Because Here Is the Record of JEWISH LIFE:

1. JEWISH LIFE keeps talking about NEGOTIATING a peaceful settlement with the Soviet Union.
2. JEWISH LIFE was the first to expose McCarthy's anti-Semitic connections (you may have missed the July issue jammed with 13 pages of facts!)
3. JEWISH LIFE for the first time anywhere exposed the full facts about Joe McCarthy's anti-Negroism (in this very issue!)
4. JEWISH LIFE blew the lid off the secret "deal" between the Velde Committee—McCarthy's allies in the House—and leaders of the Anti-Defamation League, American Jewish Committee and Jewish War Veterans!
5. JEWISH LIFE keeps this up and McCarthy and McCarthyism will be out of business!

Friends of Joe McCarthy

P.S. On top of all this JEWISH LIFE has mapped out an attractive subscription campaign so that the magazine can continue its relentless drive against McCarthy and McCarthyism. They are offering PREMIUMS with subs, like this:

1 sub —ISRAEL AND DOLLAR DIPLOMACY by Victor Perlo (value, 25c)

2 subs—WE CAN BE FRIENDS by Carl Marzani (value, $1.00)

3 subs—THE GAME OF DEATH by Albert E. Kahn (value, $1.00)

5 subs—LANTERN FOR JEREMY by V. J. Jerome (value, $2.50)

6 subs—THE ART OF CHARLES WHITE (six drawings) (value, $3.00)

Jewish Life

SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

Subscription rates: $2.50 a year in U.S. and possessions; $3.00 elsewhere

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22 East 17 Street—Room 601
New York 3, N. Y.

Enclosed please find check (money order) for $..... for my one year sub.

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City.....*Zone*.....*State*.....

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March 16, 1953

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Will you kindly tell me where I can buy at retail your Jiffy Bag No. 2?

I want to use it now and then in shipping books.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Johnson]

Dear Dr. Lewis & Hunt: Kindly

X over the record "the" in
"Faefather" - 3rd line.
Typographical error.

Thanks and for both copies
D.C. The last I am the
yr. Yours since rec'd
Geo. Thos. Johnson

1461 - 51 S.Y.-NL

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31 Grace Court
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December 1, 1953

Mrs. Georgia Douglass Johnson
1461 S Street Northwest
Washington, D.C.

25-61-24

Dear Georgia:

Thank you very much for the poem which you sent us, printed in PHYLON.

We will note the correction.

We have no present plans for being in Washington, but when we are we will certainly let you know.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

T. C. Johnson
340 West 29th Street
Indianapolis, Indiana

4-23-1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
New York City.

Dear Sir:

Many years ago I read your SOULS OF BLACK FOLK. I recently have read it again.

I have been wondering as to how widely it was read before going out of print. If I had such information I could have a better idea in regard to its influence.

If it is not asking too much I shall be thankful if you will let me know how many copies have been sold.

The book I read a few weeks ago was the 17th edition. Since there have been so many publications it occurs to me that its circulation has been somewhat extensive.

I am enclosing a stamp and shall appreciate hearing from you at your early convenience.

Very respectfully,

T. C. Johnson

1/29/60

May 7, 1953

Mr. T. C. Johnson
340 W. 29 St.
Indianapolis, Indiana

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Dr. Du Bois is out of town.

When he returns I will bring your letter of April 23rd to his attention.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

BOOK

May 19, 1953

Mr. T. C. Johnson
340 West 29 St.
Indianapolis, Indiana

My dear Mr. Johnson:

Answering your letter of April 23, may I say that the Souls of Black Folk was first published in 1903 and that this is therefore its fiftieth anniversary.

I had hoped that a jubilee edition might be issued, but so far I have had no success.

It went through some 20 editions altogether, but I do not know exactly how many copies were actually distributed. I should imagine it must be near 100,000.

I thank you for your interest.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

1/29/27

124

C BAHAMAS TELEGRAPHS C

No inquiry respecting this message can be attended to unless made within fourteen days from the date of this message.

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DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS C/O,
DR AND MRS WORRELL EAST BAY STREET
NASSAU

HAPPY TO WELCOME YOU BOTH FIRST RECORDED ENTRY 1860

FATHER JONES

358P

TELECOMMUNICATIONS DEPARTMENT
RECD JAN 25 PM 4:00

Browned ground meat with onion low

ALBERT E. KAHN

GLENGARY ROAD
CROTON-ON-HUDSON, N. Y.

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
Thirty-One Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

January 22, 1953

Dear Dr. DuBois,

In these days in our land when wealth is made synonomous with wisdom, and the highest so-called representatives of the people are the most ruthlessly piratical, it comes as a most wonderful event when a man truly deserving of great honor receives the recognition he merits. Such is the case with the World Peace Council award to you.

A good many months ago, when our Government was trying to accord you a different type of recognition -- though perhaps no less honor -- by putting you in jail, I attempted in my pamphlet on the case to express a few of the feelings I have about you. I worked for quite a while to put those feelings into words and had only a very partial success. So I know from experience that it would be foolhardy of me to try again now, in this letter. Suffice it to say that the news of that award to you gave me the greatest joy I have had in a long time.

Like myself, my wife and my three sons have immense respect and affection for you because of your profound services in the cause of peace and the nobility of man; and all of us join in sending you our heartfelt congratulations.

With warm regards,

Albert

25-57-3

January 23, 1953

Mr. Albert E.Kahn
Glengary Road
Croton-on-Hudson
New York

Dear Mr. Kahn:

Shirley and I are deeply grateful for your kind letter of January 22.

We send best regards to yourself and family.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-57-4

Harvard College Class of 1890

25-61-22

In Memoriam

EDWARD PARKER KELLY

May 25, 1869 - - - April 22, 1953

Survived by his son:
Arthur Pope Kelly
91 Central Street
Auburndale 66, Massachusetts

Howard Corning, *Secretary*
12 Pickman Street
Salem, Massachusetts

May 19, 1953

Mr. Arthur Pope Kelly
91 Central Street
Auburndale 66, Mass.

My dear Mr. Kelly:

I have been away several weeks in the Bahamas, and on my return I find notice of the death of your father, Edward Parker Kelly.

Kelly and I were classmates in the class of 1890 at Harvard, and we had certain peculiar interests in common, he being an Irishman, and I a Negro.

Our friendship has been long and pleasant, and may I express to you my great grief at his death.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-61-23

[Kennedy]

c/o German Writers Union(DSV)
Friedrichstr. 169, Berlin W 8
11 November 53

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Council on African Affairs
53 West 125th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

My publishers in the German Democratic Republic tell me there is a great need, especially for school and university study, for scientific treatment of some of the more significant phases of American history. I have spoken tothem of the Reconstruction and Populist periods, and there does not seem to be much of anything in print here, except Fast's Freedom Road.

If you care to have sent to me a copy of your "Black Reconstruction" and perhaps other works, I would be happy to take it to them.

Cordially,

Stetson Kennedy

25-56-23

Nov. 30, 1953

Mr. Stetson Kennedy
c/o German Writers Union (DSV)
Friedrichstr. 169, Berlin W 8
German Democratic Republic

My dear Mr. Kennedy:

Answering your letter of November 11, I beg to say I have no copy of BLACK RECONSTRUCTION which I could send you. There is a reprint published by Albert Saifer, 529 S. Melville St., Philadelphia 43, Pa., at the exorbitant price of $9.

Also, SOULS OF BLACK FOLK has been re-published by the Blue Heron Press, 47 West 63 Street, N.Y. 23, N.Y. If you are interested I will have a copy of that sent to you.

I am sending you my last book, IN BATTLE FOR PEACE.

I thank you for your interest.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

25-56-24

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LOS ANGELES
FEBRUARY 29, 1953

DUBOIS TESTIMONIAL DINNER COMMITTEE
326 W. THIRD STREET
ROOM 310
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

I WOULD LIKE TO BE WITH YOU TONIGHT TO JOIN YOU IN PAYING HONOR AND RESPECT TO THAT GREAT AMERICAN DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 85TH BIRTHDAY. WILL YOU PLEASE CONVEY THESE SENTIMENTS TO HIM. MY ABSENCE IS OCCASIONED BY ATTENDANCE AT THE NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD CONVENTION IN NEW YORK CITY.

ROBERT W. KENNY.

A NEW CURTIS SERVICE

Telegraph your order for America's favorite magazines—HOLIDAY, 1 yr., $5 • the Post, 1 yr., $5 • LADIES' HOME JOURNAL, 1 yr., $3. All prices U. S. only. No charge for wire. Pay Western Union clerk for subscription or when billed by publisher.

Publisher will, on subscriber's request, refund full amount paid for copies not previously mailed. Prices subject to change without notice.

[Kojima]

Kojima

Tokyo, 9, 2, 1953.

Dear Comrade,

First I must say that in great pleasure Japanese people heard of your receiving the International Peace Prize the other day.

I have received your book "In battle for Peace", and immediately introduced it in our magazine "People's Literature." I must beg your pardon for delaying this my letter so long.

I know that American People have the Negro History Week in this month, and your birthday comes round in a few days, too.

I am happy to write the congratulation to you from Japan.

Your incessant battle for Peace has encouraged Japanese people without limitation.

For ever-lasting Peace!
For your ever-lasting Health!

25-61-20

Please give my kind regards to
your wife, Shirley Graham.

Sincerely Yours
Shozo Kojima

25-61-21

[Kopecky]

170 Hamilton ave.
Lodi Park
N. J. April 16, '53.

Dr. W. Du Boise
23 West 26 St.
New York City.

25-61-19

Dear Dr Du Boise:

I very much enjoyed listening to your discourse with Hon. Vito Marcantonio on Monday April 13, 1953 in your Tribute to Franklin D. Roosevelt over Televisions Chan 5.

Please do talk soon again. I have written the Television of my enjoyement of the Broadcast!

Alas some of your other views are to my likeing

Indeed so much so, that I was forced some 2 weeks before to rebel against the thumb-

methods, by letting his party know of it.

However, after having seen, how one ex-service men of World War I were forced to sell apples on street corners to live, & the Hoover ville dumps plus the "Jungles" and the un employed, I then cast my vote, for the great good man, who loved his fellow Americans and did something about it — Franklin D. Roosevelt!

It is time that the scales of fright fell from our eyes and that of our Free Nation America, and that we stop this Senator's willful ways.

Perhaps he wants his name to go down in History at any cost?

I'm afraid, the cost is too great, besides, we do not need a Grand Inquisitor, nor, do we need a 20th Century Inquisition!

Truly Yours.

Mrs. Louis Kopecky

American Born Voter.

screws a certain element, alien to our usual American government is trying to put on us, to write the following to local newspapers and the Union & A.F.L. of my late Husbands newspaper the Hotel Club Voice on West 44 St. N.Y.

N.J. March 31, 1953.

N.J.) Editor Herald News:

Sometime ago, I wrote to this column, protesting the methods of a certain Wisconsin Senator, Jo. McCarthy.

In the meantime, I see, his "odor" has spread and he is not even liked in his own Republican Balk-wak!"

His latest performance in the Bohlen affair, illustrates his character and the damage McCarthy is doing to our American Freedoms.

Were my Republican voting Father alive, he would show his dislike of McCarthy's un american

April 21, 1953

Mrs. Louis Kopecky
170 Hamilton Av.
Lodi Park, N.J.

My dear Mrs. Kopecky:

I thank you very much for your letter of April 16 with its encouraging words.

I am utterly at sea in trying to explain and understand the attitude of most American citizens today. I hope we will get sane again soon.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

1-9-58

December 16, 1953

Korean Pacific Press
1828 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Will you kindly remove my name immediately from your mailing list.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[1953?]

Dear Friend:

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dpowa
65-104

September 23, 1953

Labor Research Association
80 East 11 St.
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Dr. Du Bois wishes to thank you for sending him the clippings, which I am returning herewith.

Also enclosed is payment for the Labor Fact Book.

Sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

25-53-12

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

25-60 34

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LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

1953 OCT 15 PM 2 38

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CDU279 59 PD INTL FR=ZP PRAHA VIA WUCABLES 15 1910=

DR W E DU BOIS=

B

CARE DR ROBERT MORSS LOVETT 166 WEST WASHINGTON ST

RM 312 CHGO=

TO THE TESTIMONY ~~BRONE~~ BORNE IN OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES I WOULD ADD TODAY MY PERSONAL TRIBUTE OF FRIENDSHIP AND ADMIRATION FOR YOUR ACHIEVEMENT YOUR ACTIVITY AND YOUR LIFES WORK SO RIGHTLY HELD UP TO THE ADMIRATION OF THE PEOPLES STOP FRIENDLY GREETING=

JEAN LAFFITTE= Govt Sec. World Peace Council

MORSS 166 312 BRONE=

[Laffitte]

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Lawson]
[1953?]

Dear Dr.

Here is the material on the 1929 invasion which didn't come off, and also on the killed, wounded, and property damage. You will notice that different authorities, even Soviet authorities, give different figures.

42-24-193

On the other job, the amount of U S foreign investments: Labor Research Association does not have it; ~~xxxxxx~~ neither does Jeff. School Library. Perlo's books do not go back nearly as far as 1914. I tried to call Perlo, but he is out of town. I'll continue to make efforts to call him.

Of course the real way to do this is to go to the Ec. Division of the 42 street library and look over the Department of Commerce Reports by Annual Summaries; also the Survey of Current Business. (The Census did not summarize such figures so long ago -- not nearly so long ago.) This would take, according to librarians and economists I spoke to, at <u>least</u> one week. Of couse it can be done -- anything can be done if we put enough time into it. The question is whether you want to spend this much money.

In any case, I can't spend any more time on it this week, as I have a report to make Tuesday evening that will take all my time until then. I'll talk to you about it again Wednesday. Meanwhile I'll keep trying to get Victor Perlo, since if he has already done such a job in one connection or another (say in preparation for another book or an article) there is no point in doing it twice.

Hope the material on Torgprom and on Soviet losses in W W II are useful to you.

Elizabeth Lawson

#

And P. S. It would be very nice if next time I call you you don't hang up on me in the middle of a sentence.

March 26, 1953

Lever Brothers
390 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

I have a group of about twenty students who are making an intensive study of present day Africa.

Your organization has large interests in Africa, and I am wondering if in any of your offices in New York you have on public exhibition something that would indicate the extent and kind of your work and products, the handling and processes or methods used.

If you have, I would like to arrange to have members of this group visit the exhibit and look it over.

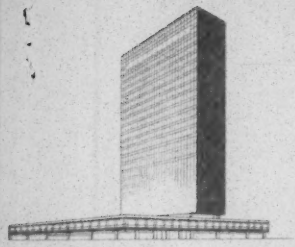
I shall be glad to have any information you can give us.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-53-11



LEVER BROTHERS COMPANY

LEVER HOUSE • 390 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 8-6000

March 31, 1953

25-59-5

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Thank you for your letter in which you ask for information about Africa.

Lever Brothers in the United States is a domestic company and operates solely in this country. Therefore, there is no information we can give you. We refer you, however, to The United AfricaCompany, 67 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y. I believe they will be able to help you.

Sincerely

H. R. McNabb

H. R. McNabb
Public Relations Division

HRM:rs

[Liberia]

May 19, 1953

The Consul of the Republic of Liberia
220 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

Sir:

I have been conducting this year a seminar of from fifteen to twenty students who are studying Africa.

Each student has taken one particular country and made an intensive study of that country, and then during the latter part of the course we have discussed the government, economy and future prospects of the nation.

On Monday night, May 25th, 1953, I want to have this group of young persons meet and talk informally with the representatives of several African countries. There will, of course, be no publicity concerning this meeting, but I should like to have my students talk face to face with representatives of Africa. I am inviting to this meeting representatives from Egypt, France, Ethiopia, Liberia and Haiti.

May I ask you, Sir, if you could send to this meeting, which will take place in the library at 23 West 26th Street, some member of your staff, your representative to the UN, or some consular official? We will meet at ~~8 o'clock~~ 7.30 p.m. and have informal discussion for about an hour. I think such a meeting could be of interest to all attending.

Concerning myself, you may find my biography in the American or British Who's Who.

May I hear from you at your convenience, or can I call you by telephone?

I am, Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

September 24, 1953

Mr. Henry Cooper
Delegate from Liberia
United Nations Building
New York City

My dear Mr. Cooper:

We heard your speech before the United Nations concerning the present crisis. We desire to commend it and express our great gratification that an African country like yours has had the courage and distinction to stand up against imperialism and exploitation.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-58-14

DELEGATION OF LIBERIA
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

30 September 1953

25-58-15

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Please accept my thanks for your thoughtfulness in writing to me your comments on my speech before the General Assembly and for the commendation expressed therein.

Very truly yours,

Henry F. Cooper, Chairman
Delegation of Liberia to the
General Assembly

HFC:pg

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

April 22, 1953

Mr. Charles Collins
Liberty Book Club
1123 Broadway
New York City

Dear Mr. Collins:

I must have the copy of the"Souls of Black Folk", which I loaned you, this week as I am leaving town Saturday.

Will you kindly see that I get it?

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Liberty BOOK CLUB • INC.
1123 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.
Telephone: WATKINS 4-2706

April 27, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

25-53-8

Liberty Book Club is planning a fifty-word essay contest on: Why the Need of a Progressive Book Club Like Liberty Book Club. We want to ask you to be one of the judges.

The contest is due to get under way some time in August and end on October 31.

The essay is to be accompanied by a signed application of a new member for Liberty Book Club.

The first prize is a three-week trip to Mexico and the second prize, a two-week trip to Haiti. In addition, there will be several lesser prizes of books.

Matters will be so organized that only the barest minimum amount of your time will be asked for toward the need of the contest. Please make use of the enclosed stamped self-addressed envelope to tell us that you will act as one of the judges.

Sincerely yours,

Charles A. Collins
Managing Director

CAC:vm

33

May 7, 1953

Mr. Charles A. Collins
Liberty Book Club
1123 Broadway
New York 10, N.Y.

25-53-9

Dear Mr. Collins:

Dr. Du Bois is out of town at the present time. He is expected back about May 18th.

When he returns I will bring to his attention your letter of April 27th concerning the essay contest.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

May 19, 1953

Mr. Charles A. Collins
Liberty Book Club
1123 Broadway
New York 10, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Collins:

Answering your letter of April 27th, may I say that I would be glad to help in your contest if it does not involve too much extra reading.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

85-53-10

Liberty BOOK CLUB • INC.
1123 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.
Telephone: WATKINS 4-2706

7/7/53

Dear M.

When I told you that the deadline for the Review which you have so kindly consented to do — was July 4th — I make a mistake.

Due to the vacation schedule in the Press and in our staff the deadline is the July 2nd.

I hope the four days difference won't rush you too much.

Regards

Collins

46-11-98

July 13, 1953

Book Reviews
Liberty Book Club, Inc.
1123 Broadway, N.Y. 10 N.Y.

Dear Sirs

The book, "Tis Folly to Be Wise", by Lion Feuchtwanger, is a story of the French Revolution, and emphasizes the fact that this revolution was the result of the thinking of Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

First of all, Feuchtwanger is a great historian and social student. He knows his history more completely and has studied the situation more intensively than most professional historians. Beyond that, however, Feuchtwanger is the careful student of the human soul and the way in which it reacts upon life and history.

This book, which treats of the death and transfiguration of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, is not simply or mainly a life of Rousseau. Also, while the novel is a novel of the French Revolution, it is not simply a study of what happened in that revolution. It takes the Revolution in mid-career, at the time when the young Robespierre is rising to power; when the eloquent St Just is beginning to speak, and when the Revolution is realising itself as not simply a change but a fundamental transformation of the very spirit of the French government.

The story and picture of Rousseau begins when he is an old man, when he comes to visit a friend and admirer who represents the liberal aristocracy of France; and this impact of the thinking of Rousseau upon the

most civilised group of his age is really the center of this story. We see Rousseau in his old age, with his foolish but well-meaning wife, wandering out through France full of his knowledge and his ideas of what France must become. Transported by his thought and feeling he gets lost and wanders through the country-side, and then comes to an elegant estate with everything that made France of that day the most civilised spot on earth with a culture that was carried on by a small and select group and yet which influenced a nation and a world.

Then comes the piteous death of Rousseau, perhaps a murder. And what Feuchtwanger brings out is that death had nothing to do with the influence which this man was to have upon the world; that his thought in a sense began with his death. And there is the story of the death of the king and the breaking of the Terror.

One sees then with the new power of the public, with the blaring of the Marseillaise, how the body of Jean-Jacques sinks into the tomb, and his thought makes a new nation and a world. Intertwined with this history is the story of the influence of the Revolution on human souls and the way in which they react to Change.

W.E.B. Du Bois

October 13, 1953

Liberty Book Club
1123 Broadway
New York 10, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

Here is the Review of Quarles' "The Negro and the Civil War", which you asked me to do for you.

This is the second or third review of its kind which I have done for you. May I remind you that I am retired and when I do work of this sort I expect pay.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

46-11-26

Liberty BOOK CLUB • INC.
1123 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.
Telephone: WATKINS 4-2706

October 14, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

25-52.4

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your review of the Quarles' book. I am enclosing a check of $15.00 for you, our regular remuneration for this type of work.

I have, also, checked through our earlier records and according to them, we sent you a similar check on July 23, for the review you did for us on Feuchtwanger's book, 'TIS FOLLY TO BE WISE. I do hope this agrees with your records and we would appreciate hearing from you if there is any discrepancy.

Sincerely yours,

Frieda F. Halpern

Frieda Halpern
Editorial Assistant

FH:vm
enc.

[Life Extension Examiners]

July 16, 1953

Director,
Life Extension Examiners
11 East 44 Street
New York 17, N.Y.

My dear Sir:

I have your card asking me to arrange for my annual health examination. I have not answered it yet for this reason:

I have been, as you may know, a visitor to your ~~Health~~ Life Extension Institute and Life Extension Examiners for over 30 years; but recently it seems to me that you are not organised to be of service to me. Your attention and facilities are chiefly directed to young persons who are sick, and to middle aged persons who are in danger from some of our chief diseases of the lungs, heart, and cancer and so forth.

Now I am not sick, but in my 86th year I need careful and regular advice concerning senescence. This you do not seem prepared to give. When I visit your office I am always asked what I am chiefly complaining about, and my answer is, naturally, that I am not complaining about anything. I am as well as a person of my age could hope to be. But it does seem to me that in a day when the number of persons of advanced age is increasing, that you ought to give at least some attention to their well being. On the contrary, if I say to your examiners that my muscular coordination is not as good as it used to be, or that I feel some dizziness, they either are not interested or say that this, of course, is to be expected in old age -- which I know perfectly well. But what should be done to retard the increase of these symptoms they do not say and apparently they do not know.

Now there is in the world increasing knowledge and experiment concerning old age. If you are aware of this you ought to be able to give me advice, and if you are not you ought to gather such knowledge or tell me where I could get advice of this sort. In that case I should be glad to hear from you and to make further appointments. Otherwise it would be a loss of time on my part and on yours for me to visit you.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-31-88

COPY [Life Extension Examiners]

July 16, 1953

Director,
Life Extension Examiners
11 East 44 Street
New York 17, N.Y.

My dear Sir:

I have your card asking me to arrange for my annual health examination. I have not answered it yet for this reason:

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Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

HARRY J. JOHNSON, M. D.
Director
J. RAMSER CRAWFORD, M. D.
Associate Director

FREDERICK A. FETHEROLF, M. D.
MICHAEL ISERMAN, M. D.
Associate Directors

LIFE EXTENSION EXAMINERS

Life Extension Building
11 East 44th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

ROBERT L. GETTE
Business Manager

July 24, 1953

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

We have your recent letter and we want to compliment you upon your very intelligent approach to living for a person who has long since crossed three score and ten. It may be that our service would not be best for you. As you know, our work is primarily planned for the busy executive, middle aged who is aging more repaidly than he should. My good friend, Dr. C. Ward Crampton in New York City has done a wonderful job in guiding older people so that they may continue active and productive and at the same time enjoy the latter years of their life. I am sure he will give you the personal attention and counsel that you desire.

You have my best wishes for your continued health and activity in the wonderful work you are doing.

Sincerely yours,

Harry J. Johnson M.D.

HJJ:FG

25-31-89

April 21, 1953

Mr. Richard Lincoln
635 Riverside Dr.
N.Y. 31, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Lincoln:

25-54-2

I have the following references on articles concerning Negroes in New York:

Articles which I wrote for the New York Times in 1901 entitled "Black North".

Articles in Charities, a magazine which ante-dated The Survey. Vol. 15, 1905, #1, #7, #25.

"The Suffrage Franchise in the Thirteen English Colonies in America" by A.E. McKinley, publication of the University of Pennsylvania, 1905, Chapter 7.

"Balance of Power, The Negro Vote" by H. L. Moon, Doubleday & Co. 1948.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[Lobby for Peace]

3rd Floor
125 West 72nd St.
New York 23, N. Y.
May 22, 1953

Dear friend:

You join us in welcoming, we are sure, the recent developments at home and abroad offering opportunities to achieve peace through international negotiation.

Events are moving quickly. The American people must move quickly too if our nation's leaders are to be wholly encouraged to take every possible action for halting hostilities in Korea and for securing world peace.

For this reason, we were deeply interested when the American Peace Crusade brought to our attention its desire to support any undertaking seeking to bring into the present situation the great weight of American peace opinion. The Crusade is ready to help in making possible an opportunity in Washington through which citizens feeling a responsibility to express to their congressmen their concern about issues of war and peace can meet this responsibility without in any way being involved in a commitment to the American Peace Crusade or its program.

We believe that such an opportunity for responsible citizen action for peace is very much the need of the hour. We also believe that a Lobby for Peace which is sponsored by individuals rather than by an organization will help to safeguard the integrity of participants who do not wish to associate themselves with any specific peace organization or peace program, and will thereby enable the sort of representative gathering which can be most effective in securing a positive response from leaders in Washington.

We are therefore taking the initiative in calling a Citizen Lobby for Peace in Washington at the end of June before Congress adjourns. We are asking you and a number of other persons of prominence in various fields who are concerned with the achievement of peace, to join us in sponsoring this action.

We enclose a copy of the draft Call for this Lobby. We invite your criticism of it and the plans for the Lobby, with your approval, general or conditional. We must go to the printer with the Call as soon as possible, so we shall appreciate your speedy reply.

We intend ourselves to give active leadership in this undertaking and we invite you to do the same. Certainly for those of you who are far from New York, this may be difficult, except through correspondence. We hope, however, that you will make every effort to be in Washington to take part in this important Lobby for Peace and to share with us there the responsibility of leadership to make this action as fruitful a contribution as possible to the cause of peace.

Very truly yours,

Joseph M. Evans
Rev. Dr. Joseph M. Evans

Kenneth R. Forbes
Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes

Philip Morrison
Prof. Philip Morrison

[Lobby for Peace]

CALL TO A LOBBY FOR PEACE

No doubt of it, peace is in the air. It is not coming easily after three years of bitter war in Korea and eight years of cold war over the whole world. But it is coming.

Prime Minister Churchill notes in London the new possibilities for peaceful settlement. Premier Nehru of India welcomes the new spirit of compromise. Premier Malenkov of the Soviet Union affirms that disputes can be resolved by peaceful means. Pope Pius XII pronounces a meeting of the big powers as "the indispensable condition of peace". Can any American forget the eloquence with which our President placed before us all the terrible costs of war and the great hopes of peace, for the lives and fortunes of people everywhere? Statesmen reflect the cry for peace from the hearts of the people.

In the Congress of the United States influential voices call for compromise in negotiations looking to an equitable peace. But also in our Congress there are discordant voices at this time of the gradual maneuvers toward concession and negotiation.

These facts define our task.

Let us bring to as many congressmen as we can reach the message that their constituents want the great new hopes for peace to come to fruition. The voice from back home is the best guide for a member of Congress. The great acts of diplomacy can have meaning for him when they are given support and encouragement by men and women from his own state and his own district, men and women who can tell how peace will mean life for their sons, how it can turn a precarious armament production into a secure and expanding economy, how it can halt the voices of bigotry and dissension.

To that end we call Americans throughout the land to a Lobby for Peace.

We urge no partisan program, we place no restriction on the participants and their views, we strive indeed for the broadest scope of beliefs among all Americans. We go to Washington on June 25 at the Third anniversary of the Korean War to urge Congress to use its influence to achieve (1) a prompt truce in Korea, (2) a face to face meeting of the leaders of the great powers to begin the wider negotiations for which the world now waits.

We want to be sure that representative groups of citizens, of the widest possible range of ideas and from all the great communities of interest in American life, visit with members of Congress.

If you believe in these aims, if you think that the attitude of Congress is the key to the issues of the day, if you share our respect for the deep tradition of the dignity of personal petition in representative government, you should come to Washington. The Lobby for Peace needs your participation.

Opportunity was never greater. History today has placed the issues of life and death into the hands of the American voter. In your voice and in your views, and those of the peoples of your state and your district, lie the resources of democracy. If used, they can bring peace. If left untapped, they give place to the futile desolation of atomic war.

We have the hope and the faith that our country will not fail.

LOBBY FOR PEACE
125 E. 72nd Street - 3d Floor
New York City 23, N.Y.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
June 2, 1953

Noting that "history today has placed the issues of life and death into the hands of the American voter", 100 prominent Americans joined this week in calling a Lobby for Peace, to be held in Washington, D.C. on June 25, 1953, the third anniversary of the Korean war.

The Call asks that "representative groups of citizens, of the widest possible range of ideas and from all the great communities of interest in American life", visit with members of Congress in order to urge them to use their influence" to achieve (1) a prompt truce in Korea and (2) a face to face meeting of the leaders of the great powers to begin wider negotiations which the world awaits."

Included among the Sponsors of the Lobby for Peace are Rabbi Abraham Cronbach, Cincinnati, Ohio, Prof. Emeritus, Hebrew Union College, Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton, Protestant Episcopal Bishop, Salt Lake City, Utah, Rev. Dr. Joseph Evans, Pastor, Metropolitan Community Church, Chicago, Ill., Prof. Philip Morrison, nuclear physist, Ithaca, New York, Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins, Columbia, South Carolina, Secretary of the South Carolina State Conference of Branches of the NAACP, Rev. Kenneth R. Forbes, Secretary, Episcopal League for Social Action, Mr. William Wallace, Secretary of District 4, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, Newark, N.J., Mr. Alvin Christman, Pres., Eastern Division, Farmers Union, Centerport, Penna.

"Peace is in the air", says the Call as it refers to the recent statements for peace in Korea and for Great Power negotiation of ach international leaders as Prime Minister Churchill, Premier Nehru, Premier Malenkov and Pope Pius XII. It adds "Can any American forget the eloquence with which our President placed before us all the terrible costs of war and the great blessings of peace for the lives and fortunes of people everywhere?"

The Call notes that "Although influential voices in Congress call for compromises leading to an equitable peace, there are also discordant voices in Congress blocking peaceful negotiations."

In calling Americans throughout the land to a Lobby for Peace, the Call affirms: "The voice from back home is the best guide for a member of Congress. He is encouraged to act for peace when he feels the support of men and women from his own state and his own district who can tell him how peace will mean life for their sons; how peace can turn a precarious armament production into a secure, expanding economy; and how it can halt the voices of bigotry and dissension."

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35-48-.32

LIST OF SPONSORS OF THE LOBBY FOR PEACE

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Arkansas-Rev. J.C. Thornton, Menifee
California-Edward Biberman, Hollywood
Mr & Mrs John F. Clewe, Los Angeles
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Rev. Hugh Weston, Hollywood
Dr. F.W. Weymouth, Los Angeles
Colorado-Samuel D. Menin, Denver
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Alfred W. Washburn, Denver
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Rabbi Abraham Cronbach, Cincinnati
Ralph M. Felix, Plymouth
Marie Reed Haug, Cleveland
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Dr. Alva W. Taylor, Nashville
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Utah-Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton,
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Vermont-Rev. J.R. Case, Vergennes
Virginia-Marcus I. Goldman, Alexandria
Washington-Rev. Harold J. Bass, Ph.D.
Tacoma
Wisconsin-Rev. E.W.Savage, Prescott
Washington, D.C.-Gertrude Evans

What You Can Do

1. Ask your club, church, union, etc., to send a delegation to the Lobby For Peace.

2. Come to Washington June 25th and bring your friends.

3. Organize delegations to your state and local officials urging that they speak out for a prompt truce in Korea and for high level discussions among the major powers.

4. Send wires and resolutions to President Eisenhower, your Congressman and Senators urging that they support the above program.

LOBBY FOR PEACE
3rd floor
125 West 72nd Street
New York 23, N. Y.

☐ I plan to be a delegate to the Lobby For Peace.

☐ Enclosed find $ ..... as my contribution to the Lobby For Peace.

☐ I want ..... copies of the Call at 2¢ each.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY ZONE STATE

CHURCH, UNION, COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION, ETC.

LOBBY FOR PEACE

Third Floor
125 WEST 72ND STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y.
SUsquehanna 7-5161; 5135

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JOHN T. GOJACK
Ft. Wayne, Ind.

REV. K. DE P. HUGHES
Cambridge, Mass.

REV. WARREN JACKSON
Sheridan, Mich.

ALFRED C. KUCHLER
Ogdensburg, N. Y.

DR. SOL LONDE
St. Louis, Mo.

PROF. OLIVER S. LOUD
Yellow Springs, Ohio

PROF. GEORGE V. MOORE
Lexington, Ky.

PROF. PHILIP MORRISON
Ithaca, N. Y.

RT. REV. A. W. MOULTON
Salt Lake City, Utah

SCOTT NEARING
Cape Rosier, Maine

AXEL NIELSON
St. Joseph, Mich.

THOMAS F. OGILVIE
Atlantic City, N. J.

DR. C. J. PAOLONE
New York, N. Y.

ANITA PARKHURST
So. Norwalk, Conn.

WILLARD R. RANSOM
Indianapolis, Ind.

ANTON REFREGIER
Woodstock, N. Y.

BERTHA C. REYNOLDS
Stoughton, Mass.

THOMAS RICHARDSON
New York, N. Y.

DR. JOHN G. RIDEOUT
Pocatello, Idaho

MRS. ANDREW W. SIMKINS
Columbia, S.C.

PROF. LOUISE P. SMITH
Worcester, Conn.

LEON STRAUS
New York, N. Y.

DR. ALVA W. TAYLOR
Nashville, Tenn.

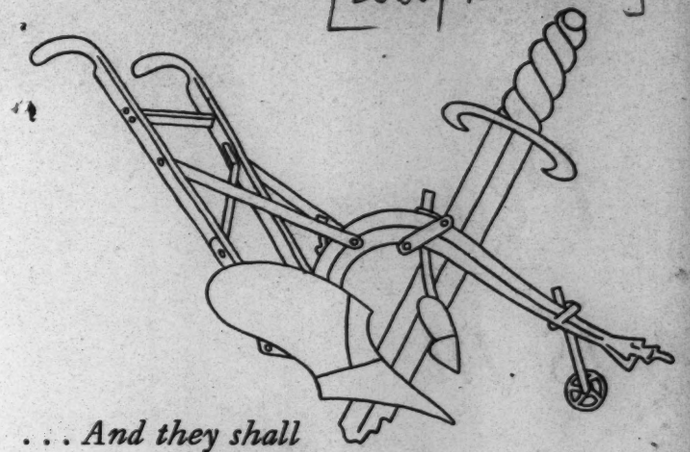
DR. WILLARD UPHAUS
New Haven, Conn.

WILLIAM A. WALLACE
Elizabeth, N. J.

REV. HUGH WESTON
Hollywood, Calif.

HENRY WILCOX
So. Norwalk, Conn.

[Lobby for Peace]



. . . And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares.
ISAIAH, 1, 2

25-64-39

CALL to a LOBBY for PEACE

WASHINGTON, D. C.
JUNE 25, 1953

Peace is in the air!

No doubt of it, peace is in the air. It is not coming easily after three years of bitter war in Korea and eight years of cold war over the whole world. But it is coming.

Prime Minister Churchill notes in London the new possibilities for peaceful settlement. Premier Nehru of India welcomes the new spirit of compromise. Premier Malenkov of the Soviet Union affirms that disputes can be resolved by peaceful means. Pope Pius XII pronounces a meeting of the big powers as "the indispensable condition of peace." Can any American forget the eloquence with which our President placed before us all the terrible costs of war and the great blessings of peace for the lives and fortunes of people everywhere? Statesmen reflect the cry for peace from the hearts of the people.

Although influential voices in Congress call for compromises leading to an equitable peace, there are also discordant voices in Congress blocking peaceful negotiations.

These facts define our task.

Let us bring to as many Congressmen as possible the message that their constituents want the great new hopes for peace to come to fruition. The voice from back home is the best guide for a member of Congress. He is encouraged to act for peace when he feels the support of men and women from his own state and his own district, who can tell him how peace will mean life for their sons; how peace can convert a precarious armament production into a secure, expanding economy; and how it can halt the voices of bigotry and dissension.

To that end we call Americans throughout the land to a Lobby for Peace.

We urge no partisan program. We place no restriction on the participants and their views. We go to Washington on June 25 at the third anniversary of the Korean War to urge Congress to use its influence to achieve 1) a prompt truce in Korea; 2) a face-to-face meeting of the leaders of the great powers to begin the wider negotiations for which the world now waits.

We want to be sure that representative groups of citizens, of the widest possible range of ideas and from all the great communities of interest in American life, visit with members of Congress.

If you believe in these aims, if you think that the attitude of Congress is the key to the issues of the day, if you share our respect for the deep tradition of the dignity of personal petition in representative government, you should come to Washington. The Lobby for Peace needs your participation.

Opportunity was never greater. History today has placed the issues of life and death into the hands of the American voter. In your voice and in your views, and those of the people of your state and your district, lie the resources of democracy. If used, they can bring peace. If they are left untapped, we face the futile desolation of atomic war.

We have the faith that our people will not fail in carrying on the best and noblest traditions of mankind for the achievement of peace on earth and good will to men.

LOBBY FOR PEACE

PROGRAM

Thursday, June 25, 1953

9:00 a.m.—10:30 a.m.

REGISTRATION

10:30 a.m.—4:00 p.m.

VISITS WITH CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS. Appointments should be arranged in advance by each delegation.

4:00 p.m.—6:30 p.m.

PLENARY SESSION AND REPORT MEETING.

Headquarters for the Lobby For Peace will be at Odd Fellows Auditorium, 9th and T Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C., Thursday, June 25, 1953.

All delegates are urged to report at Odd Fellows Auditorium first to register. There will be no admission to sessions without registration card. Registration fee will be $1.50.

All delegates should bring with them reports of peace sentiment and activities in their respective states and communities.

For further information fill in blank on reverse side.

[Lorch]

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

DEPARTMENT OF MATHEMATICS

25-57, 7

February 20, 1953

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Birthday time again! My family and I welcome it as an opportunity to express again our appreciation for the things for which you stand and our admiration for the perception, integrity, courage and vigor you bring to the battle. I am sure that countless people throughout this country and in other places draw much understanding and determination from your inspiring leadership in the struggle to prevent those in the saddle from riding America into the hell they plan.

Around Nashville there seems to be little sympathy for reaction's program. The people want peace and resent each

new step toward bigger war. But organizing this sentiment is something else again. There has been much shock over Eisenhower's brutality toward the Rosenbergs and some recognition of the implications. Quite a few have written letters of protest. I understand that a petition circulated by the Fellowship of Reconciliation (locally composed chiefly of rather well-meaning people) secured quite a few signatures. I haven't seen the text.

We hope that you and your family have been and are in the best of health.

With every good wish for the future and with best greetings to you and yours,

Cordially,
Lee Lorch.

1517 Pine Street
Cairo, Illinois
April 29, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
The Crisis
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

25-53-18

Dear Dr. Dubois,

In our social studies class at Booker T. Washington Jr. High School, we have been studying about outstanding Americans of the negro Race. I have chosen you as my favorite character.

Will you please send me a photograph, autograph or any memento that will make me feel that I am in close contact with you. Most of all I would like your advice on how to become the great person that you are.

Cordially Yours,
Mira Lyte

May 7, 1953

Miss Mira Lyte
1517 Pine St.
Cairo, Illinois

Dear Miss Lyte:

Dr. Du Bois is out of town at the present time.

When he returns I will show him your letter of April 29th.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

25-053-051

May 19, 1953

35-53/19

Miss Mira Lyte
1517 Pine Street
Cairo, Ill.

My dear Miss Lyte:

I am enclosing my photograph and an outline of my career, which I trust will be of interest.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

enc.

January 30, 1953

Mr. Graham McCanns
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York 32, N.Y.

Dear Graham:

Enclosed is a list of the Seminar subjects relating to Africa which I have distributed among the twenty students of the Seminar.

Also enclosed is a list of the subjects which I suggested for treatment under each topic.

Sincerely yours,

DB;lh
encs.

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Mac Lean]

W. E. B. Dubois;
C/o National Guardian
New York City

June 17'53

DEAR MR. DUBOIS;

The problem of the liberal writer today is finding a publisher for his work, and since you are on the forefront of the battle I am taking the liberty of consulting with you.

Enclosed is the table of contents of a ms ready for publication. Henry Schuman, the publisher encouraged me to write it from an outline submitted to him. Then he regretfully rejected it because of the ideological distemper of the times.

However books such as this containing something of the vision of a new world are vital to human progress. I have heard that Howard Fast is starting a publishing business, also Angus MacDonald and Alfred Kahn. Could you possibly let me know their addresses or where I could contact them? Or perhaps you may know other possibilities for publication.

25-55-6

I have had one book published - MAN, Inc. Island Press, 1947, which had good reviews but a small sale. If the writers of today could form an effective groups like the Encyclopediasts of the last century it would be a great social weapon. Do you have any ideas which could be used a starting point for such a formation? I am more or less isolated here with contacts only by correspondence. The intellectuals of the U.S seem sadly lacking in effective action as a group. Working together they could be a powerful and persuasive force.

I have always appreciated the great work you are doing and hope you will be able to carry on.

Sincerely,

Ed MacLean
Exira, Iowa.

Ed MacLean

E. B. MacLean
Rt Exira, Iowa

WORLD WITHOUT END

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25-55-7

June 26, 1953

Mr. Ed MacLean
Exira, Iowa

Dear Mr. MacLean:

There are three publishing houses which you might make contact with:

THE BLUE HERON PRESS, 43 West 94 Street, New York, N.Y.

CAMERON & KAHN, Publishers, 109 Greenwich Avenue,
New York 14, N.Y.

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS, 832 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-55-8

[McMillan]

COPY COPY COPY

State College Post Office
Orangeburg, South Carolina

The Trustee Board
South Carolina A. and M. College
Orangeburg, South Carolina.

Dear Sirs:

Following is a copy of a letter of dismissal dispatched to me by you through the agency of B. C. Turner, president of the college. It reached me just fifty-three days before it is to become effective. My official rank at the College is that of (full) Professor of History, which position I have held throughout the six years of service at South Carolina A. and M. College.

25-55-32

May 6, 1953

Dr. Lewis K. McMillan
State A. and M. College
Orangeburg, South Carolina.

Dear Doctor McMillan:

I am instructed by the Board of Trustees to notify you that your contract of employment, which expires June 30, 1953, will not be renewed.

Very truly yours,

B. C. Turner,
President

bct/esd

I shall speak now as one who believes, with millions of other Americans, that full freedom is the rightful heritage of every single American.

Exactly three months before receiving the above letter, I moved my family into a new home, our home,- understandably a most expensive undertaking at this time. We are all happy in our "dream house" where we can relax and pursue the home lives of more nearly first-class citizens in the fullest sense of the word. The members of my family have been land owners in Allendale and Barnwell counties since Emancipation. The only language I know now, or ever have known, is the language of FREEDOM - freedom of existence, freedom of thought, freedom of speech. Freedom, gentlemen, is for me a way of life.

Because I wrote and published a book on NEGRO HIGHER EDUCATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA, in which I called a universally shameful situation by its right names, the President of the College has dismissed me, and the Board of Trustees has perfunctorily authorized his actions. This is the way my dismissal came about.

During our monthly faculty meeting on February 2, I announced the February 12 publication date of my forthcoming book. Early the following day, President Turner, in an aroused and defiant mood, called me into his office and lectured me on the book. Incidentally, he had not read a single line of the manuscript nor had he had opportunity to see even the outside cover of the book. Mr. Turner complained bitterly of not having been informed about the project. Obviously what he really meant was that I had not submitted my manuscript to his personal censorship, since I had referred to the book several times while talking to him during the last two years.

Referring directly to the book, he said, "Now Doctor, the policy of the administration - that is, of the President - is to forbid any member of the staff to vilify the College or any sister institution in the State. If your book is of such a character, your case will be brought before the Trustee Board for action. Remember now, Doctor McMillan, that you have a good job here at the College."

While, in so many words, President Turner demanded that I burn all copies of the book and divest myself of every vestige of manhood as a minimum price for continuing in the employment of the College, I put the book into circulation as soon as the first copies were ready, thus ignoring the President's threat to execute a "death sentence" which had been imposed upon me in a "court" where he served as judge, prosecutor, jury and witness.

For the next three months, Mr. Turner has had absolutely nothing further to say to me concerning "NEGRO HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA". I have had no trial by and before my peers, neither from our own college or from any others. I have not had the privilege of appearing before the Trustee Board to answer my accusers and thus to defend myself. I did find that neither the head of my department nor the dean of my college recommended tht action. Upon seeing my letter of dismissal, the Dean exclaimed, "That is the first that I have heard of it!"

It is certainly not without significance, however, that the first word regarding my dismissal come through one of the janitors at the college. The second report came through a cook and maid who works in the home of a local white family. The third report originated with a high authority over at Claflin College. These informants knew that the ax had fallen several days before I received the President's letter.

I went to see the Secretary of the Board of Trustees and raised some questions about the odd, un-American and un-academic manner of my dismissal. His answer constitutes a commentary on the procedure in the whole matter. Said he, "You know we meet out there only two or three times a year. We don't have time for things like that. Our chief authority at the College is the President. He recommends and we . . . . . ." Concerning a formal letter I said I would direct to the Board, the Secretary said, "Write your letter to the President. If he sees fit, he will turn it over to us."

Now I do not know whether the Members of the Board have read my book. However, I feel that you certainly owe it to me and the cause of Negro higher education in the State to have read it. At any rate, if you will turn to page 194, you will find my studied complaint against the very situation of

which I am being made a victim: that of an all-white board of trustees who live at too great a distance from the life of the institution. Farming out to a president the absolute authority over the entire college personnel creates and maintains a situation which breeds despotism. Seldom can the average man make any use of power other than that of vindictiveness and destruction. Creativeness belongs solely to freedom, to democracy. It flourishes only in such soil.

Concerning this problem, I quote from my "NEGRO HIGHER EDUCATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA":

> State College is under the ... authority and control of a Trustee Board which consists of six members, with the Governor of the State as ex-officio chairman. This is an all-white board; no Negro has served as a member throughout the College's existence. ... It is a strange commentary on more than a half-century's operation (of the college) ... that the Negroes have no voice in it. No institution can come into its full development whose roots are not grounded in the life of the people..

I speak with restraint when I say that my book has not had an unfriendly reception. The following corroborative illustrations should be of keen interest to you:

1. Professor Robert Lee Meriwether, acknowledged the country over as possibly the top authority on the history of South Carolina, assured me that he found not one instance of rancor in the entire book.

2. The Lighthouse and Informer, said editorially, (2/21/'53),

"... It is the finest production we've noted in the State within the past twenty years, and one each home and library ought to possess, whether one is in agreement or disagreement."

3. The Charleston News and Courier, March 15, 1953, by way of a book review prepared by a specialist on the South Carolina scene, says,

"McMillan's cutting criticism is creative in purpose. He believes that exposure must precede remedy and that South Carolina whites must undergo a change of heart toward the Negro. Always controversial and sometimes polemical, the book shows the author's incontrovertible courage, sincerity, and faith in his people."

4. The Columbia Record likewise presented my book to the South Carolina public through an authoritative book review. Following are statements taken almost at random from this basically friendly article.

"This book should be read by every South Carolinian regardless of race. It should be required reading in schools. It should be publicized from one end of the State to the other.

"Yet you may never hear of it except from this reviewer. Why? Because its author has dared to tell the truth as he sees it and the truth is not something of which either he or anybody else is proud. The facts which he exposes should be a source of deep shame to every intelligent citizen of the Palmetto State, not so much because of the conditions he describes as existing, but because we are, most of us, totally ignorant of them . . . . .

"This interesting, enlightening volume bears the imprint of no publisher, not even a credit-line from a printer. One suspects that the author is also the publisher. There are a number of typographical errors, even a few in plain grammar, but on the whole the book is well written."

5. The Baltimore Afro-American, one of three national Negro weeklies, with a circulation of more than a quarter million, carries book reviews by J. Saunders Redding, an outstanding professor of literature who teaches at Hampton Institute, Virginia. Dr. Redding, an eminent authority on American Negro higher education, says,

" ... The facts are all here. ... . Dr. McMillan's book occasionally strays from the cool groves of Acadame. This reviewer, of course, has no objection to such subjective excursions, particularly since he holds the view that scholarship completely devoid of value-judgements is not scholarship at all."

As a matter of fact, the State of South Carolina is making a mere plaything of higher education for Negroes. Negroes constitute approximately 45 per cent of the State's normal population, almost nine hundred thousand of them being scattered over the length and breadth of South Carolina. The lengthened shadows of the effects of chattel slavery still cast over this Negro population the ghostly twilight of ignorance, poverty, and cruelly restricted opportunity.

For white youth, the State maintains five institutions of higher learning, here listed with their 1953-'54 appropriations: The University of South Carolina, $2,020,430.89; The Citadel, $896,019.40; Winthrop, $1,172,326.50; Medical College of South Carolina, $896,905.00; Clemson College, $1,930,847.00 for collegiate activities alone. The total of these, $6,916,528.79 compares shamefully with $1,006,390.00 appropriated for THE COLORED NORMAL, INDUSTRIAL, AGRICULTURAL, and MECHANICAL COLLEGE, the tiny, lone state college for Negroes, which lacks everything which makes for a first-class college. The inventory value of lands, equipment, and buildings of the five colleges is $48,923,896.27, as compared with that of $2,722,000 for the "Colored Normal College", (so listed in the S. C. Legislative Manual.)

The "Colored Normal College" even lacks the students to make it a standard college. There are less than 1,200 undergraduate students. The slightly more than 200 in the graduate school are largely in-service teachers who drive long distances after a full day of teaching to attend 3-hour lectures once each week. There is one full-time student in the freshman class in law.

Of course, the Board of Trustees is acquainted with the report made by the committee which made a study of the engineering department of this college two years ago. I shall give a brief quote from the frank and realistic findings of this committee, whose members were: a specialist in Higher Education, the U. S. Office of Education; the Vice-President of the University of Tennessee; Controller, Teachers College, Columbia University; and the Head of the School of Administration, George Peabody Collge for Teachers.

"The engineering phase of this school(the School of Engineering and Industrial Education) is faced with many problems. The curricula (Architecture, Mechanical, Electrical, and Engineering) are patterned after those of Clemson College, which is an accredited college. There are a total of only nineteen students, ten of whom are taking Architecture, four Electrical Engineering, and five Mechanical Engineering.

"The three hundred free State Scholarships given to engineering students at Clemson are not available to State College students. State College might well put added emphasis on other fields where the need is greater and limit the scope of Engineering training to actual demonstrated needs. Engineering training through laboratories and shops is expensive, if done right, and no other type should be acceptable."

The historic background which occasions an authoritative committee report like the above can easily be found by reading SECTION 18, of the 1953-1954 Appropriations Act, which lists the above-mentioned $1,006,390.00 "For Maintenance" of "THE COLORED NORMAL, INDUSTRIAL, AGRICULTURAL, and MECHANICAL COLLEGE",

> Provided, That the Board of Trustees .... is hereby authorized to establish and maintain Graduate, Law, and Medical departments, and such other departments as may be deemed practicable and necessary to provide training in all lines of college activities for students attending this College ... .
>
> Provided, Further, That out of the amount appropriated in this section the sum of Twenty-five Thousand ($25,000.00) Dollars, if so much be necessary, may be used by the authorities on this institution as a Scholarship Fund to assist in providing medical and pharmaceutical education or other professional courses, at such colleges.

25-55-36

I do not think that it would be at all out of place to note here that in the presence of these and similar "vilifying" facts and figures taken from State Reports and other documents and denoting conditions which make the college inferior to the point of being a sheer makeshift in many respects, President Benner C. Turner has had introduced in the State Legislature a bill to the effect that the "COLORED NORMAL, INDUSTRIAL, AGRICULTURAL, and MECHANICAL COLLEGE" will be given the fabulous name of "SOUTH CAROLINA STATE UNIVERSITY AT ORANGEBURG".

Gentlemen, I have tried in these pages to point up my case. Despite the brutal wrong that has been done me, I have spoken with all the restraint and moderation that I could.

Lewis K. McMillan is not on trial!

Benner C. Turner is on trial. The Trustee Board is on trial. The "Colored Normal College" is on trial. The State of South Carolina is on trial.

My request is for a reconsideration of the action of the Board of Trustees whereby my case may be acted upon in line with rules established in the Southern Association of Colleges and the American Association of University Professors. And I challenge you to assume belatedly the full responsibility of helping to lift the level of life among South Carolina's neglected, but faithful and resourceful Negroes through the agency of this college.

Very truly yours,

Lewis K. McMillan
Professor of History.

May 21, 1953

Dear Doctor MacMillan:

Will you kindly send me, with bill, a copy of your book on Negro Higher Education in South Carolina.

I have heard of your writing this book with pleasure.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W. E. B. Du Bois

LEWIS K. McMILLAN
STATE A. & M. COLLEGE
ORANGEBURG, S. C.

HISTORY

May 30,1953

25-55, 29

Dear Doctor DuBois,

I acknowledge with thanks receipt of your recent letter. Your copy of my NEGRO HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA ought to have reached you by this time. The price per copy is $5.00.

Very sincerely yours,

Lewis K. McMillan

Paid
June 18/53

June 18, 1953

Mr. Lewis K. McMillan
State A. & M. College
Orangeburg, S. C.

Dear Mr. McMillan:

Enclosed is a check for $5 in payment for your book NEGRO HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

LEWIS K. McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 207
STATE COLLEGE STATION
ORANGEBURG, S. C.

July 22, 1953

25-53-31

Dear Doctor DuBois,

Greeting! Your IN BATTLE FOR PEACE came to me in due time, and I have read it with deep interest and understanding. It is a thoroughly flaming human document. I cannot understand how this book had escaped my notice. Many thanks for sending it to me.

What do you think of my NEGRO HGIHER EDUCATION IN THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA?

Cordially,

Lewis K. McMillan

371 Edmonton Street,
Winnipeg, Manitoba,
Canada, April 20, 1953.

The National Guardian,
17 Murray St. New York, 7,
THE BENIGHTED STATES OF AMERICA.

Dear Friends;

I am enclosing herewith a money order in your favor for the sum of THREE DOLLARS for which you will kindly mail me three copies of the book entitled IN BATTLE FOR PEACE by our good friend Dr. W.E. DuBois,

And oblige,

Yours very sincerely,

MENZIE MacTAVISH.

35-55, 24

sent May 1/53.
3 books L Hyma

Mac Tavish

371 Edmonton St. Winnipeg, Manitoba,
Canada, August 16, 1953.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois,
C/O National Guardian,
New York, N.Y, U. S. A.

Dear Doctor DuBois;

I want to congratulate you on the splendid tribute by yourself in The National Guardian to the late Robert A. Taft.

I bought several copies of your book IN BATTLE FOR PEACE, am sending for a few more also 10 extra copies of The Guardian containing the article above referred to.

If the USA keep on with their crazy witch hunts etc the next thing they will know will be that they will have lost support of the only two of their allies that amount to anything, Great Britian and France. People in both of these countries are getting fed up with the whole business. It is hard to understand why the USA allow themselves to be led by a crazy religious fanatic from Wisconsin. This miserable wretch is quite plainly insane so why has he not been locked up in an insane asylum where he could smear all of the other inmates without doing any serious damage instead of being allowed to run at large like a wild beast. As for the other religious fanatic that is supposed to be the head of your country, he amounts to just exactly nothing at all. He is a square peg in a round hole and will never get anywhere.

It is quite true of course that he has spent the greater part of his life in the business of WHOLESALE MURDER but that is very far from being anything to his credit and in fact is the exact opposite. His main occupations at present are as follows, 1st. Playing Golf, 2nd. Fishing, 3rd. Having his picture taken and attending tea parties, and 4th. Praying to his non-existent god to allow his friends to keep on stealing Billions of Dollars of Public Funds on the crazy pretense of defence against nobody. The hundred and fifty thousand a year paid to him is just money wasted and should have been used for education and social services, both of which your country is in the most desperate need. You have millions of citizens that unfortunately are entirely illerate, can neither read nor write and very little is being done for them. In every large city in the USA. there are thousands of wretched slums that are not at all fit for a dog to live in. Your National Crime Record is far worse than in any other country in the world and many times worse than in either Great Britian, France or the USSR. The sorry part of it is that in spite of the facts above mentioned, many of your people have the nerve to talk about a country like the USSR.

Might I be permitted to make just a few comparisons. Such tremendous progress in Education in the USSR in the past 35 years that at present the claim is that about 95% of the people are literate at least to the extent of being able to read and write. Education is provided by the government for all, financial assistance given to students going through the universities. Thousands of new modern schools have been built including a new 26 stories University Bldg with accomodation of 6000 students. Pensions commencing at $50. per month and from that up are provided for all women at age 55 and men at age 60 and continued for life. The USA has no national system of old age pensions. A few small pensions are paid. In one state the amount is $27. a month but even that would not be much help to an old person in view of the present high cost of living. Health Services in the USSR are by far the best of any country in the world with Great Britian in second place. The USA has no system of National Health and what little they have in this line are in private hands and operated at outrageous prices. The USSR is far larger than both the USA and Canada put together, with natural resources of almost no end of every kind, all owned by the people for their own benifit. And then your people talk about their glorious civilization! With kindest regards, Sincerely, MENZIE MacTAVISH.

August 21, 1953

Mr. Menzie MacTavish
371 Edmonton St.
Winnipeg, Manitoba
Canada

Dear Mr. MacTavish:

Thank you for your kind letter of August 16th.

I agree with you.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Macy's
NEW YORK

HERALD SQUARE, NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

December 7, 1953

Dear Customer,

This is the twentieth anniversary of Macy's Fine Wine & Liquor Store -- repeal was December 6, 1933. We've grown a lot since then. Today our shelves groan under 1831 different kinds of libations from all of 15 countries. We have everything from Cordials to Scotch, Champagne to Chateau-bottled wines including estate-bottled wines and Hanover House Wines from Germany. In short, we have the biggest liquid line-up in all New York. Come in, pick and choose to your heart's content or call our special switchboard, LAckawanna 4-3600, and have our trained staff shop for you as well as you'd shop for yourself.

We planned to celebrate our twentieth anniversary with a whole series of Pre-Christmas Sales. Then came the newspaper strike. The liquor was sale-priced, but you didn't know about it. That's why we're sending you this letter. When Macy's always thrifty wines and liquors are sale-priced, you should know all about it. Come, call LAckawanna 4-3600 or write for everything you need for Christmas gifts or for yourself.

Yours very truly,

H. J. Goldberg

Harold Goldberg

Macy's Liquor Buyer

See the next page for a listing of Macy's values

GLEN ROWLAND SCOTCH WHISKEY BLENDED AND BOTTLED IN SCOTLAND 4.98
4/5 quart; 86.8 proof 3 for 14.49 Case of 12, 56.77

"734" BLENDED WHISKEY 3.29
4/5 quart; 86 proof. 25% straight whiskies, 4 years old or more
75% grain neutral spirits. 3 for 9.57 Case of 12, 37.51

MACY'S "40" BLENDED WHISKEY 3.49
4/5 quart, 86 proof. 40% straight whiskey, 4 years old; 75% grain
neutral spirits. 3 for 10.16 Case of 12, 39.79

OLD COBWEB BLEND OF STRAIGHT WHISKIES 3.98
4/5 quart, 86 proof. whiskies are 6 years old or more
3 for 11.58 Case of 12, 45.37

OLD WHALER KENTUCKY STRAIGHT BOURBON 3.69
4/5 quart; 86 proof. 4 years old. 3 for 10.74, Case of 12, 42.07

TALISMAN 90 PROOF DRY GIN 3.19
4/5 quart, 90 proof; 100% grain neutral spirits.
3 for 9.28 Case of 12, 36.37

PAUL EVEQUE EXTRA DRY CHAMPAGNE BOTTLED IN FRANCE 3.89
13/16 quart. 3 for 11.32 Case of 12, 44.34

RED STAR NEW YORK STATE EXTRA DRY OR BRUT CHAMPAGNE 3.19
4/5 quart 3 for 9.28 Case of 12, 36.37

RED STAR NEW YORK STATE SPARKLING BURGUNDY 3.19
4/5 quart; 3 for 9.28 Case of 12, 36.37

"734" PREPARED COCKTAILS...MANHATTAN OR MARTINI 2.19
4/5 quart; 48 proof; 3 for 6.37 Case of 12, 24.97

RED STAR CALIFORNIA BRANDY, 5 YEARS OLD 3.98
4/5 quart, 84 proof; 3 for 11.47 Case of 12, 44.92

RED STAR PUERTO RICAN RUM 3.59
4/5 quart; 86 proof; 3 for 10.44 Case of 12, 40.93

P.S. Write or call LAckawanna 4-3600

Add 3% Sales Tax within N.Y.C.
No deliveries outside New York State.
Outside our delivery area, but within New York State,
we ship express collect.

25-53.17

December 11, 1953

Macy's
Herald Square
New York 1, NY

Gentlemen:

Will you please send me:

3 Bottles Old Whaler Kentucky Straight Bourbon

@ $10.74. 3% tax added($.32).....Total $11.06

I am enclosing a check.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Man and Nature Publications

THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
CENTRAL PARK WEST AT SEVENTY-NINTH STREET
NEW YORK 24, NEW YORK

April 7, 1953

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Under separate cover we have sent you a copy of the most recent catalogue of Man and Nature Publications.

Should any of the material listed interest you, we shall be glad to send additional catalogues without charge.

Sincerely yours,
MAN AND NATURE PUBLICATIONS

Mary Elizabeth Brock

Mary Elizabeth Brock
Office Manager

MEB:s

25-53-10

3 4345 3 5 1 8 25

[Man & Nature Publ.]

10 - 5
Sun Holidays 1 - 5

April 9, 1953

Miss Mary Elizabeth Brock, Office Manager
Man and Nature Publications
American Museum of Natural History
79th St. & Central Park West
New York 25, N.Y.

My dear Miss Brock:

Will you kindly send me the ~~following~~ publications. I am enclosing my check for $3, adding 25¢ for postage. If the total is not right please let me know.

#52 -45¢ out of print
#93 -35¢ ✓
#96 -45¢ ✓
#99 -40¢ ✓
#118 -$1.-
#128 -10¢ ✓

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Man and Nature Publications

THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
CENTRAL PARK WEST AT SEVENTY-NINTH STREET
NEW YORK 24, NEW YORK

April 10, 1953

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

When we opened the envelope of your April 9th letter there was no check enclosed. We realize that this was merely an oversight, but we would appreciate your remittance by return mail so that we can fill your order.

Please note that Science Guides #52 and #118 are out of print. Consequently, the correct amount for the four publications we can supply you is $1.44 postpaid. Upon receipt of your check for this amount we will be glad to fill your order promptly.

Very sincerely yours,
MAN AND NATURE PUBLICATIONS

Mary Elizabeth Brock

Mary Elizabeth Brock
Office Manager

MEB:s

85-53.9

[Man & Nature Publ.]

April 10,

Miss Mary Elizabeth Brock, Office Mgr.
Man and Nature Publications
Amc ican Museum of Natural History
C.P.W. & 79 St.
New York 24, N.Y.

Dear Miss Brock:

Enclosed is the check which I did not enclose in the letter which I sent you yesterday, ordering publications for Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois.

Sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

[Man & Nature Publ.]

April 20, 1953

Miss Mary Elizabeth Brock
Man and Nature Publications
American Museum of Natural History
Central Park West & 79 St.
New York 24, N.Y.

Dear Miss Brock:

We have received the following publications according to our order: #93; #96; #99; #128.

These are missing: #118; #52, which are out of print. You therefore owe us a refund of $1.45, which we have not received.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

DB:

April 13, 1953

282 Columbus Avenue
Boston 16
Massachusetts

409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York City
New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

It was with interest I read your platform of The CommonSense Party in the last issue of the National Guardian.

I have taken the liberty of sending to you my book, Twenty-three Poems, which I hope you may read and enjoy.

Sincerely yours,

Huldah Manuel

Huldah Manuel

25-54.1

April 21, 1953

25-54-3

Miss Huldah Manuel
282 Columbus Av.
Boston 16, Mass.

Dear Miss Manuel:

Thank you very much for your book of poems, which I shall read whenever I get a little time.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

January 6, 1953

Mr. Michael Paul and
Mr. Harry Marinsky
2 Crockett St.
Rowayton, Conn.

Dear Michael and Harry:

I hardly know just how to thank you for your gorgeous Christmas present to Shirley. I really wasn't hinting when I kept asking your advice, because I know absolutely nothing about jewelry.

We are both deeply grateful for your kindness.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

July 14, 1953

Dear Harry Marinsky,

Perhaps you remember our garden, a paved little yard about 10 yds. square with a stone brick wall on two sides 8 or 9 feet high partly covered with ivy.

Now in the further shaded corner there should be a white statue, preferably a Venus, ancient or modern, about 6 feet high with pedestal. Of course it might be anything else appropriate.

I am writing to ask if you have in storage anything that could be loaned for this purpose; or if not, where could I go and find some cheap reproduction of something good.

There is, of course, no hurry about this, but I would like to have you keep it in mind.

We have just been down to Fire Island for the weekend and are both quite well. Our love to you and Michael.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Mr. Harry Marinsky
2 Crockett St.
Rowayton, Conn.

YALE UNIVERSITY

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
c/a Dr.R.M. Lovett
166 W. Washington Ave
Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

On the occasion of your receiving the International Peace Prize, may I add my felicitations to those of the millions of peaceworkers the world over, who because of your eloquent efforts see the humanitarian objective of negotiated peaceful coexistence coming into acceptance.

Dr. DuBois, you have contributed so greatly to the stopping of World War III that every peace prize, including the Stalin, Nobel etc, in addition to the World Peace Council's Peace Prize should be awarded to you by greatfull humanity.

Sir, may your great mind continue to strike for peace and justice for our people !

Heartily yours,

John Marsalka

Dr. J.M. Marsalka

State Director of
Progressive Party of Conn.
Formerly Professor at
Yale

New Haven, Conn.

12 October 1953.

January 9, 1953

25-53-24

Mr. Carl Marzani
111 West 88 St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Marzani:

Dr. Du Bois would like two copies of your book, "We Can Be Friends".

Please send them here, for his library, with bill.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

January 5, 1953

Mr. Samuel Sillen
Masses & Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Sillen:

Thank you for your check of December 29th.

Will you please send on consignment to Boston 100 copies of my book, paper covered edition. The address is:

Rev. Donald G. Lothrop, The Community Church of Boston,
565 Boylston Street, Boston 16, Mass.

He is quite reliable and will remit to you. I speak there February 1st.

Also, may I call your attention to the following engagements for speeches which I have. I think that in all these cases books can be sold, but you will make the business arrangements and know how to do so. They ought to be followed up.

JAN. 18, Trenton: Mrs. A.S. Hancock, NAACP Trenton Branch,
166 Millerick Avenue, Trenton 8, N.J.

JAN. 25, Philadelphia: Mr. Richard B. Henry, 3545 N. Carlisle St.,
Philadelphia, 40, Pa.

FEB. 6, New Haven - address will be sent later.

FEB. 10, Chicago: Mrs. Gloria Wailes, Local 25, United Packinghouse Workers of America CIO; 4858 South Wabash Av.,
Chicago 15, Ill.

FEB. 13, Detroit: Mr. James Watts, FEPC Director, Ford Local 600,
UAW-CIO, 10550 Dix Av., Dearborn, Michigan

25-49-17

Jan. 5, 1953

FEB. 15 - 26: Southern California Peace Crusade and San Francisco. Correspond with Mr. Peter Hyun, Exec. Director, Southern California Peace Crusade, Rm.310, 326 West 3rd St., Los Angeles 13, California

FEB. 15 - Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, First Unitarian Church, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, 5, California.

Very sincerely yours,

25-49-18

. DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

January 6, 1953

Mr. Samuel Sillen
Masses and Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Mrs Sillen:

The lecture in Chicago has been cancelled. Therefore leave it out of your plans for distributing my book.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

January 7, 1953

Mr. Samuel Sillen
Masses and Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Sillen:

The address for you to contact of Dr. Du Bois' engagement to speak in Connecticut is:

Mrs. Elsie Willcox
P.O. Box 735
South Norwalk, Conn.
Phone: 8--5706

The date is Saturday, February 7th.

Sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

DB:lh

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 GRamercy 3-5145

January 13, 1953

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of the December issue of POLITICAL AFFAIRS which contains a review of your book, In Battle for Peace, by Herbert Aptheker. I hope that this review of your most important volume will help get it into the hands of some of the many, many thousands of Americans who need its message and its reasoning so desperately in this time of terrible danger.

With warmest personal regards to Mrs. Du Bois and to yourself,

Sincerely,

V. J. Jerome

V. J. Jerome

25-52-19

February 2, 1953

Mr. Joe Field
Masses & Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Field:

Will you please send 50 more copies of my book to Mr. Lothrop, The Community Church of Boston, 565 Boylston Street, Boston 16, Mass.

He sold the 100 copies received, and has 50 more orders. He is responsible. Please rush them before next Sunday.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

February 5, 1953

Mr. Samuel Sillen
Masses & Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Sillen:

Enclosed are two things. First, the exact text of the Peace Prize which was awarded me. Second, an article which I had written on the elections but which has never been published.

I am not at all sure that it is what you want for your March edition, but you may have it if you want it, or publish any part of it. Of course, this subject may be too late and somewhat hackneyed, but I am afraid it is the only thing that I can furnish you before I leave.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh
encs.

W.E.B. Du Bois

P.S. I am speaking in and near San Francisco the week of February 21st. My book should be on sale. Please communicate with Mr. William Kerner, Northern California Peace Council, 935 Market Street, San Francisco, 3, California.

25-49-19

WESTERN UNION
THE WRITTE
NEVER FO
TELEGRAPH and be sure

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

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1953 FEB 17 AM 11 05

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L NA419 PD=NEW YORK NY 17 133P=

WEB DUBOIS, CARE PETER HYUN=

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PEACE CRUSADE=326 WEST 3 ST

LOSA=

APPRECIATE AIR MAILING GREETINGS MAGAZINE ANNIVERSARY FROM EACH OF YOU. REGARDS=

SAMUEL SILLEN=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Masses & Mainstream] 735

Birthday Greeting by WESTERN UNION

LA076

L NA597 PD=SD NEWYORK NY 19 529P= 1953 FEB 19 PM 2 52

DR W E B DUBOIS=

CARE PETER HYUN= SOUTHERN CALIF PEACE CRUSADE

326 WEST 3RD ST LOSA=

ON YOUR BIRTHDAY EDITORS MASSES AND MAINSTREAM REJOICE TO JOIN ALL PROGRESSIVE HUNANITY IN CONVEYING OUR HIGHEST REGARD AND WARMEST GREETING=

SAMUEL SILLEN LLOYD L BROWN HERBERT APTHEKER A B MAGIL=

12.15-98

March 20, 1953

Messrs. Sillen and Aptheker
Masses and Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York 3, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

Mr. Collins of the Liberty Book Club was in this morning to talk to me about the re-publication of three of my books:

"Souls of Black Folk"
"The World and Africa"
"John Brown"

I told him that Masses and Mainstream had at one time a project to republish the "Souls of Black Folk" and that I had been waiting to hear from you and had written you about it.

He is going to take up this matter with the Liberty Book Club but promises to consult you before any steps are taken.

I should like to know just what the status of the project is so far as Masses and Mainstream is concerned. During my trip to California I had a great many calls for "The World and Africa", since I was talking on "Revolt in Africa". I wrote Mr. Huebsch of Viking Press and had a reply, a copy of which I am enclosing.

I am putting these facts before you and hope that we can talk together soon.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN • *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 GRamercy 3-5145

April 16, 1953

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am enclosing the material on the Continental Cultural Conference which I mentioned to you this afternoon.

The address to which greetings should be sent is given on the second sheet.

The sponsors of the Congress are most eager to have greetings from you.

Yours cordially,

Samuel Sillen

Samuel Sillen

25-56 .5

April 21, 1953

Dr. Herbert Aptheker
Masses and Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York 3, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Aptheker:

Masses and Mainstream has in its possession the original photograph from which the cover of "In Battle for Peace" was made; and also several other photographs, which I should like very much to have back.

Also, you have my specially bound copy of "Souls of Black Folk".

I should be glad if you could have these delivered at my office, or I could stop by and get them.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

April 22, 1953

Dr. Herbert Aptheker
Masses and Mainstream
832 Broadway
N.Y. 3, N.Y.

85-56, 12

Memorandum to Dr. Aptheker

I find that you have returned my copy of "Souls of Black Folk", but the photographs are still missing.

W.E.B. Du Bois

WEBDB:lh

April 24, 1953

Masses and Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 3

Gentlemen:

Will you please send me 50 copies of "In Battle for Peace; 20 bound copies and 30 with paper covers.

Charge to my account.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

June 5, 1953

Dr. Herbert Aptheker
Masses and Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Aptheker:

April 21 and 22 I wrote to you about my copy of "The Souls of Black Folk" and the photographs which you used for the cover and for the special edition of "In Battle for Peace".

You returned "The Souls of Black Folk" but we are still waiting for the photographs and would like to have them at your earliest convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 GRamercy 3-5145

June 5, 1953

25-63, 35

Dr. & Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Friends:

I take pleasure in sending you under separate cover the folio of drawings by Charles White which Masses & Mainstream had just been privileged to issue.

I am sure you will agree that this beautiful folio by the distinguished artist is an outstanding cultural event.

I would highly appreciate your comment on this collection. Thank you very much.

Yours cordially,

Samuel Sillen

Samuel Sillen
Editor

SS:MB

June 9, 1953

Mr. Samuel Sillen
Masses and Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York 3, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Sillen:

Shirley and I want to thank you very much for the folio of drawings by Charles White.

We appreciate the work of this artist.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

June 10, 1953

Dr. Herbert Aptheker
Masses and Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Aptheker:

Enclosed is a poem which you may or may not want to use. Do not hesitate to return it.

You will notice that the last page is to be used only in case the sentence of the Rosenbergs is commuted to imprisonment for life.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-56-18

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 GRamercy 3-5145

June 11, 1953

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

25-52-17

Thank you very much for your profoundly moving poem. We shall publish the poem - unfortunately it is impossible at this date to get the poem into the July issue (which is all made up and in final galley form), but it will appear in our August issue - out about July 25. And we fervently hope that when the poem appears we can print it with the final stanza.

Warmest regards to Shirley -

Cordially,

Herbert Aptheker

Herbert Aptheker

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN • *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 GRamercy 3-5145

July 1, 1953

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am returning the revised version of your poem. May I again say how sorry we are that it was impossible to make the changes indicated. The issue with your poem is now off the press and you should be getting it in the next day or two. We thank you for letting us publish this powerful poem.

Yours sincerely,

Samuel Sillen

25-56-16

July 28, 1953

Mr. Samuel Sillen
Masses and Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York 3, N.Y.

35-49.10

My dear Mr. Sillen:

In the agreement which we made for the publication of "In Battle for Peace" June 5, 1952, it was said in paragraph four: "payment of royalties due shall be made quarterly starting from the date of publication."

December 29, 1952 you made an accounting for copies of the book sold up to October 31, 1952. I have had no report or remittance since.

I simply write to remind you.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 GRamercy 3-5145

November 23, 1953

25-60-24

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have received the enclosed letter from Daniel W. Wynn of Tuskegee Institute. I have advised Mr. Wynn that you own the copyright of IN BATTLE FOR PEACE and that I am submitting his request to you.

Best regards.

Yours cordially,

Samuel Sillen

Samuel Sillen
Editor

SS:MB
enc.

November 24, 1953

Masses and Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York 3, Ny

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly send me 25 copies of the paper bound edition of IN BATTLE FOR PEACE and charge to my account.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN · *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, CHARLES HUMBOLDT

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 GRamercy 3-5145

Dec. 14, 1953

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We are very eager to have a contribution from you for our Negro History Week issue. We should of course be happy if you would select your own subject for an article, and we would be equally pleased if you chose to send us a poem or a piece of fiction.

May I take the liberty of calling you in a day or two to discuss this with you?

With warm personal regards,

Yours cordially,

Samuel Sillen

Samuel Sillen

85-49-16

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN • *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, A. B. MAGIL

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 GRamercy 3-5145

December 23, 1953

Dear Friend:

First of all---a happy, free and peaceful New Year to all our wonderful friends everywhere!

The New Year brings new prospects of easing world tension, new plans for stepping up the counter-attack against McCarthyism. The battle grows sharper, but the opportunities for uniting the resistance to reaction are increasing.

To take advantage of these opportunities there is greater need than ever for a magazine like M&M as a rallying center of progressive culture in America. All the efforts of the thought-controllers to put us out of business have failed. We have held on to our circulation in the face of threats, pressures, boycotts. We intend to move forward.

This means that we must have in 1954 the kind of moral and financial support that our readers have given us so splendidly year after year. Your support.

It was your support that made possible in 1953 the publication by M&M of Charles White's distinguished folio of drawings and of outstanding books like Steve Nelson's The Volunteers, Phillip Bonosky's Burning Valley, John Howard Lawson's Film in the Battle of Ideas, Nazim Hikmet's Poems, carrying out a program begun with Lloyd L. Brown's Iron City, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois' In Battle for Peace, V. J. Jerome's A Lantern for Jeremy, Pablo Neruda's Let the Railsplitter Awake.

Think of what the American literary scene would be like if such books were denied publication! Our plans for 1954 call for a further expansion of this program.

We badly need $7,500 to keep us punching for the next twelve months. That is the sum we asked for last year. You came through then. We are confident that you won't let M&M down now.

Shall the magazine---at a moment like this---be stifled for lack of funds? We ask you to give generously to the publication that speaks and fights for you. We have no "angels." We have only the rank-and-file reader who knows that every dollar counts. Every dollar you send will be translated into fighting words.

Won't you send us your contribution now?

Cordially yours,

THE EDITORS

January 27, 1953

Prof. Z.K. Matthews
99 Clairmont Avenue
McGiffert Hall
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Matthews:

Will you jot down for me some facts concerning your life:

1. Where you were born and when.
2. Whether or not you have any tribal connections or are classed among the "colored".
3. Where you were educated, what degrees you have received and what work you have been doing.
4. Details concerning your family.

I just want a few of the most important facts so that I can use them when I introduce you February 3rd.

My best regards to you and your family.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-53-4

[Matthews]

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
BROADWAY AT 120TH STREET
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

25-53-2

Jan. 28, 1953

Dr W. E. B. Du Bois,
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr Du Bois,

Please find enclosed copy of a statement from which you will be to get some of the facts asked for in your letter of January 27.

I was born on October 20, 1901 in the district of Kimberley, the Diamond City in the Cape Province where Cecil Rhodes made the money with which he furthered his imperialistic designs on Africa.

As regards tribal affiliation I belong to the Bamangwato tribe whose chief-designate, Seretse Khama, has been exiled by the British Government because he acted honourably towards an English girl he loved.

My wife you have met already. Our family consists of two sons and three daughters. Our eldest son is a law student, our eldest daughter and younger son are both at College taking the B.S. degree and our two younger daughters are at High School. We have left at home in South Africa, but are looking forward to joining them in a few months' time.

Yours sincerely
Z.K. Matthews

[ENC.]

PROFESSOR Z. K. MATTHEWS

Prof. Z. K. Matthews is the representative of the African National Congress and president of the Cape Province Branch and a member of the Executive Committee. He is now at Union Theological Seminary in New York, U.S.A., as Henry Luce Visiting Professor of World Christianity. Himself an African and a national of the Union of South Africa, he is Professor of Social Anthropology, Native Law and Administration, and head of the Department of African Studies at the University College of Fort Hare in South Africa. This institution was established in 1916 to provide for the higher education of the non-white groups. There are eight universities established primarily for white students.

25-53-3

As a member of the South African Native Representative Council and of the Union Advisory Board on Native Education, Professor has held the highest offices open to an African in South Africa. As a member of the De la Warr Commission appointed by the British Government in 1936 to inquire into and report upon Higher Education for Africans in East Africa, he played a part in the development of Mankerere College in Uganda and Gordon Memorial College in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

From his intimate knowledge of the African National Congress as an organization, his long association with the leading personalities in the movement, his experience as elected representative of the African people in various public bodies, and as a frequent contributor to learned journals on South African racial and political questions, he is eminently fitted to speak and to interpret the present events in South Africa.

Professor Matthews holds the degrees of B.A. and LL.B. from the University of South Africa, the M.A. from Yale University, and did post-graduate work in anthropology at London University.

Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee
April 12, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois,

Enclosed you will find a copy of a recent article of mine which appeared in the Journal of Negro History. It is entitled "Booker T. Washington and the Negro Press, with special reference to the 'Colored American Magazine.'"

I believe you will be interested in the article, because it shows conclusively that Washington did subsidize, and in two cases even partly own, certain newspapers and magazines, as you others claimed fifty years ago, though Washington denied the fact. The findings are particularly significant because they are based on a study of Washington's own correspondence (at the Library of Congress). There is of course much material in the papers on which I have merely touched in my article. Indeed there is really enough material there for a whole book on the subject.

For your information I am a graduate student at Columbia University, doing my dissertation on "Negro Thinking on the Race Problem in the United States from Reconstruction to the First World War." The ambitious scope of the topic has been made possible by a grant, last year, from the American Council of Learned Societies. I am currently working as a research assistant to Dr. Charles S. Johnson here at Fisk University, while completing my dissertation.

I would very much appreciate having your comments on the article.

Very sincerely yours,

August Meier

August Meier

25-31-79

April 21 , 1953

Mr. August Meier
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tenn.

My dear Mr. Meier:

I appreciate very much the copy of your article in the Journal of Negro History.

When many years ago I made the charge in print that Booker T. Washington was controlling the Negro press, there were vehement protests against it. One I remember especially was from John Foster Peabody asking for proof.

I am glad at last to see such detailed proof as you furnish.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-31-80

[Meier]

617 Highland Avenue
Newark 4, New Jersey
June 22, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. DuBois,

You will undoubtedly recall our correspondence a couple of months ago concerning my article on "Booker T. Washington and the Negro Press." I wish to thank you for your appreciative comment about it.

As I stated when I wrote you in April I am currently completing the research for my doctoral dissertation on "Negro Thinking on the Race Problem in the United States from Reconstruction to the First World War." I am interested in the social thought of leading personalities like Frederick Douglass, J.C. Price, Booker T. Washington and yourself, as well as in a large number of less well-known figures. I have studied the ideological outlook of such organizations as the Niagara Movement, the N.A.A.C.P., the Urban League, the Afro-American Council, the Convention Movement, the Equal Rights Leagues and Suffrage organizations, the National Negro Business League, the National Labor Union, the Colored Alliance and so on. I have worked extensively in the biographical and polemical literature, in Negro newspapers and magazines, in the published proceedings of religious and fraternal organizations, and in various manuscript collections—especially the Booker T. Washington papers. Furthermore I have been interested in relating the shifting ascendancy of different types of social thought or ideology to the underlying political, economic and intellectual currents in American life during the period under consideration. I think that the enclosed reprint (a condensation of my master's thesis), will give you some idea of the sort of work I am doing.

Before finishing my dissertation I would very much appreciate the opportunity of being able to discuss my project with your personally, and obtaining your viewpoints and suggestions about it. I would also like to explore with you the possibility of my consulting your papers, which would be very valuable in helping me to understand your point of view, in studying the story of the Niagara Movement and the early years of the N.A.A.C.P., and in enlarging my knowledge of the thinking of certain key figures like Kelly Miller, the Grimke brothers, Monroe Trotter and certain others.

For your information I am a graduate of Oberlin College, 1945, and I have an AM from Columbia, 1949. I have completed all requirements for the PhD in history at Columbia except for the dissertation. Most of the research

25-31-85

for the dissertation has been done under a fellowship grant from the American Council of Learned Societies. From 1945 to 1949 I taught history at Tougaloo College, Mississippi. This past spring I have been research assistant to President Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, and have been appointed a member of the Fisk faculty for the coming year. Mr. Johnson will be glad to serve as a reference for me should you wish to have one.

Enclosed you will find a stamped, addressed envelope for your convenience. I can arrange to see you at any time convenient for you.

Very sincerely yours,

August Meier

August Meier

25-31-86

June 26, 1953

Mr. August Meier
617 Highland Avenue
Newark 4, N.J.

My dear Mr. Meier:

Answering your letter of June 22, may I say I shall be in my office most of the month of July. I usually get there at noon and stay until about 4 p.m.

If you will get in touch with me at my residence, (Telephone: Maine 4--2929), I will make an appointment with you.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-31-87

Nov. 13, 1953

Miss Eve Merriam
1 West 68 Street
New York 23, NY

35-62-31

My dear Eve:

May I thank you very much for letting us have "Tomorrow Morning."

I have already glanced at it and shall read it from time to time. I like it.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

STANLEY MOFFATT
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW
8169 SEVILLE AVENUE
SOUTH GATE, CALIFORNIA
LOgan 5-5389

Feb. 17th 1953.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
326 West 3rd St.,
Los Angeles Calif.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I wish to join with millions of other Americans in sending you my heartiest felicitations on your birthday.

Your magnificent fight for Peace and Freedom has been a source of courage for many of us, and will bring great results in the end.

Sincerely yours

Stanley Moffatt

Former Judge of San Antonio
Township, LA. County.

35-51.4

May 11, 1953

Mr. Ivor Montagu
Knowle Buckshill
Kings Langley
Herts, England

Dear Mr. Montagu:

Enclosed is a message from Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois to the Peace Council.

He has already sent the original to Joliot-Curie in Budapest, but some of his mail is tampered with and he is afraid it may not get through.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

EHC.

MONTHLY REVIEW

AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST MAGAZINE

66 BARROW STREET
NEW YORK 14, N. Y.
TELEPHONE WA 4-7497

January 7, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

23-52.17

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your letter of January 5.

Agreed - we will pay $50 for your article on the "Critical Place of the American Negro in United States Capitalism."

Our usual length is 3000 words; if you want to write a longer piece, please do so.

Deadline: February 1; alternative deadline, March 1.

Sincerely yours,

Leo Huberman

Leo Huberman

LH:w

EDITORS • • LEO HUBERMAN • • PAUL M. SWEEZY

MONTHLY REVIEW

66 BARROW STREET
NEW YORK 14, N. Y.

Feb 3, 1953

Dear Dr du Bois,

Thank you for the article.

I am rushing it to my co-editor, Paul Sweezy in New Hampshire, so we may consult with you, if necessary, before you leave town on Feb. 11

Sincerely yours,

Leo Huberman

25-54-44

264 EDITORS • • LEO HUBERMAN • • PAUL M. SWEEZY

MONTHLY REVIEW

66 BARROW STREET
NEW YORK 14, N. Y.

Feb 6, 1953

Dear Du Bois,

Since we cannot run your article in our next issue, we need not bother you with our edited copy until your return from the West.

Meanwhile, I enclose our check for fifty dollars.

We will get in touch with you on your return to New York.

Sincerely yours,
Leo Huberman

35-56 : 20

MONTHLY REVIEW

66 BARROW STREET
NEW YORK 14, N. Y.

March 10, 1953

W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

25-55 1/8

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am enclosing your article with suggested changes for your approval.

You will note that the first seven pages are omitted as you suggested in your letter of January 30. Other changes include both matters of style and phrasing. In addition we submit two pages of queries for your consideration.

We go to press for our April issue on March 16. It may be that you won't have time to make the corrections before that date. In that event we will hold it over for the May issue. I would, however, appreciate your reading the article as soon as you can.

Sincerely yours,

Leo Huberman

Leo Huberman

lh:w
encl.

EDITORS • • LEO HUBERMAN • • PAUL M. SWEEZY

Box 1985
Hollywood 28, Cal.
Jan. 6th, 1953

My dear Mrs. Dubois:

I'm working with the prmmotion committe fhr the DuBois meeting to be held here in Feb. I aan't seem to find a good photo of the Dr. Would you please send me a copy of the photo on his latest book--The Battle for Peace? Thank you .

Sincerely yours,

Carlton Moss

25-60-1

January 9, 1953

Mr. C. Moss
Box 1985
Hollywood 28, California

Dear Mr. Moss:

Enclosed is a photograph of Dr. Du Bois.

I could not find a copy of the one on his book, but I hope this will prove satisfactory.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

DB:lh

25-60-32

MAIN EPISODES IN THE LIFE OF DU BOIS.

(for Carleton Mason Movie

I AFRICAN DESCENT: AFRICAN ART

2 IRON

3 MY FAMILY: EUROPEAN, AFRICAN

4. GREAT BARRINGTON: HIGH SCHOOL

5. FISK

6. HARVARD & EUROPE

7. TWO MAIN LINES OF WORK

8. WORK FOR AFRICA

9. MY WRITINGS

IO. SEARCH FOR FACTS: HARVARD, UNIV. OF PENN., ATLANTA.

II. BOOKER WASHINGTON: NIAGARA MOVEMENT

I2. NAACP, THE CRISIS

I3. PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES

I4. MARRIAGE & FAMILY

I5. BOOKS & PLAYS

I6. RETURN TO ATLANTA: BLACK RECONSTRUCTION

I7. TEN YEARS IN ATLANTA

I8. IN NEW YORK, I944 TO I948.

I9. IN NEW YORK, I948 tO the present.

20. MY LIFE

46-11-7

Freedom
Where one is enslaved, all are in chains!
53 WEST 125 STREET, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. · ENright 9-3980

George Murphy

January 21,1953

Dr. W.E.B.Dubois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. Dubois,

People from Baltimore, Negro and white, have a peculiar kind of procincialism, which, while different in its cultural, social and economic aspects from other sections of America, is not unlike, in its basic roots, [redacted] provincialism in any city of comparable background, size etc. in any part of the world where people are perceiving the great changes that are affecting mankind everywhere.

So, while Lou Barnham,will, no doubt be writing you for himself and the staff, with which I associate myself heartily, I am writing you now, mainly from the background of a Baltimorean.

15-57-2

You see, I have known you from the time when I regarded you as a distinguished person(who could have been from Timbuctoo, for all I knew at the time), to college, when I used your fiery editorials in the Crisis to buttress my highly charged arguments against white supremacy in College, to my slow anger at your seeming reluctance to "march" with the great upsurge of struggling Negro people; to my feeble beginnings of comprehending the fact that I had actually read only a few of your basic writings; to the glorious awakening of your emergence as a great poet, writer, and leader of Negro thought and action; to a closer knowledge of you as a person; to a warmer knowledge of you as a friend, now going forward with every more youthful (even puckish love of life and laughter and people), and finally as an avowed defender of you, objectively, as an American who has greatly influenced a whole generation, a conclusion which could only comme from a love for you and your whole life as it continues to shine with the shine of the wonderful admisxture of youth, vigor and determination.

Never mind the long sentence(that's me and only me as I am at the moment in my developing understanding of life and people) but this is how I feel at the news of your winning the World Peace Prize for America.

Long live"W.E.B."; and now we can look forward to some kind of a celebration in which W.E.B. and P.R. and all their host of friends and well-wishers can participate.

As our folks say when introducing the "speaker of the evening," at a Sunday School Convention. " And Now dear friends I introduce to some and present to others, a great man, a kind friend, a valiant fighter in short, a man among men."

My best to you and Shirley.

Sincerely and fraternally,

George B.Murphy Jr.

264

January 26, 1953

85-57-4

Mr. George Murphy, Jr.
Freedom
53 West 125 St.
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murphy:

I appreciate very much your kind letter of January 21st.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Mrs. Josephine D. Murphy
749 Fair St. S. W.,
Atlanta, Ga.,
Jan. 25, 1953.

25-62-24

My dear Dr. Du Bois:—

In today's "Atlanta World" appears an announcement of a recent ~~honor~~ that has been bestowed on you—the International Peace Prize.

It gives me unusual pleasure to have you get this recognition which you certainly deserve and which I hope is only the forerunner of other citations which must certainly come

2.

When the world really makes up and evaluates all of the pioneering that you have done thru the long years in the past.

I hope that you and Mrs. Du Bois are enjoying your work and will remain undaunted laborers for a better world for the citizens of the future.

Best wishes -

Very sincerely

Josephine Dibble Murphy

25-62-25

February 6, 1953

Mrs. Josephine D. Murphy
749 Fair St. S.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Murphy:

Thank you so much for your letter of January 25th which I deeply appreciate.

Mrs. Du Bois and I are quite well and are leaving next week for the Pacific coast where we shall be lecturing for two or three weeks.

My best regards to you and Mr. Murphy.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-62-26

[Murphy]

227 Riverside Dr.
Feb. 24, 1953 (date of last entry)

Dear Doctor Du Bois:

I just read the excerpt of your book "Souls of Black Folk" in M & M, and I cried and cried. It was so beautiful, so moving and it touched me deeply. I'll be so happy to get a copy of that book when they republish it.

The volunteer, Ellen Kane, came in yesterday and it took us an hour to do one shelf. It's very tedious work, checking the cards and books, especially since the cards are not filed altogether properly. We'll go over them before continuing/checking the against the books.

Lou and I saw "The Emperor's New Clothes" last night. It was simply wonderful. We heard people say it was better than "The Crucible". Lee Cobb is a marvellous actor, and Tabori is a wonderful playwriter. (He wrote "Flight into Egypt" which was a success last year). This play was so well constructed, and it showed up fascism so clearly, that it's no wonder many pressures are forcing it off Broadway! It's a shame, tho.

We're going to see Charles White's exhibition of paintings at the ACA today.

Tues: Lee Lorch sent you a nice letter. Cedric Dover sent birthday congratulations. Angelina Grimke sent $5 for the CAA which I sent to them. I answered Harcourt Brace as you said, and mailed receipt to NAACP.

S12-01-215

We saw Moulin Rouge. It was beautiful. The paintings of Toulous-Lautrec seem to come to life, because of the wonderful integration of the acting, scenes pictures of costumes and characters with/actual paintings. The color is beautiful. Ferrer does a wonderful job (the worm). Of course, the whole approach to Toulous-Lautrec's life is one love after another, without any conception of France was in what/those days historically - the Dreyfus case, the people outside of cafes and dance halls. and his place in the struggles, (if any).

The Charles White exhibition was gratifying. He has made people to look more like human beings and individuals instead of all the same. Almost all the pictures were already sold. He's really achieved quite a great deal for art today. I met the Joyces there. He told me they're starting a New York edition of the National Guardian - with more local news on art, movies, etc. He would like a print of you. Do we have any? I'll always regret throwing away those prints of you made for the senatorial campaign, last year when we were too ambitious about cleaning up!

Thanks for the forwarding addresses. I hope my letters aren't too long and boring.

Love,

Lillian

[Murphy]

Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, President
838 Fifth Avenue · New York 21, N. Y. · Regent 7-8200

June 10, 1953

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am wondering if you are still in New York or off to see the world again? I do hope you and Shirley are well and happy. Henry and I are fine.

I think I told you over the phone sometime ago that we now have a small apartment of our very own'.

We are located at 417 West 148th Street, on the second floor. It's only two and a half rooms but we are happy with it .

Are you still at 23 West 26th Street? I called on the phone but could not get a satisfactory answer. Then I met Mrs. Crawford and she told me you and Shirley were in California.

How do you like this typing? This is being done on our new I B M Executive model, it does everything but talk (and it should , it cost $750.00) it does lovely work .

Please let us hear from you, we have a phone at home , that is we receive calls, it really belongs to the house. The number is Au. 3-2013 , it is listed under Mrs. Jiggetts, who owns the house.

When have you heard from little DuBois? Please give her our love. I hope to hear from you soon.

Henry joins me in sending love to you both.

Fondly,

Lillian

25-62-22

June 18, 1953

Mrs. Lillian Murphy
417 West 148 Street
New York, N.Y.

25-62-23

My dear Lillian:

I am certainly glad to know that you and Henry have an apartment at last, although you must feel lonesome in not having another family with you.

Your typing machine is marvelous, although personally I would rather buy a house.

I hear from Du Bois once in a while but not very frequently. She is still at Morgan College.

Mrs. Du Bois and I spent three weeks in the Bahamas and had a very lovely trip.

My love to both of you,

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

February 9, 1953

Mrs. Ethel Ray Nance
505 Cole Street
San Francisco, 17, California

Dear Marielle:

As you know, I am coming to California and shall be in San Francisco and vicinity. We are leaving here on the 12th, stopping for a lecture in Detroit, and arriving in Los Angeles February 14th. Please write to me there c/o Mr. Peter Hyun, Southern California Peace Crusade, Room 310, 526 West 3rd Street, Los Angeles, 13, California.

25-58-20

I have recently received a letter from Mr. William Kerner, Executive Director of the Northern California Peace Council at 935 Market Street, San Francisco, 3, California. He has made certain plans which I presume are quite all right, but I would like to have you look them over and tell me if there is anything I had better be careful of or that would be unpleasant. Of course, keep this all "under your hat".

What about this Booker Washington Hotel? I hope it is not a honky-tonk. Also, I have told him that it would be better for us to stop in a hotel and not impose on you or other private hosts. I am sure that would be too much, and I hope you will back me up.

Shirley and I will both be very glad to see you.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
enc.
(copies of Kerner letter Feb 3/53 and answer Feb 5/53)

[NANCE]

Saturday, Feb. 14th

Dear André:

Thank you for your letter. I wanted to write you in New York more about your visit to San Francisco but feared you had left. I was not impressed by Mr. Kerner when he visited me at the office. He seemed "too sure" of what you would and would not do, and I felt I knew you better than that. He said he had worked with you in New York and gave the impression you and he were very close.

You would not be as happy at the Booker T. Washington Hotel as you might be. They do have numerous cocktail parties in the bar just off the lobby, and of course it is in the Fillmore District. I couldn't help but feel the idea was to make you available for "visitors" at will. I would think you would like the quiet of an inbetween hotel perhaps downtown, if not as elaborate as the Fairmont (which does run very high), then perhaps the Franciscan, at 350 Geary, or Stewart at 351 Geary. I have talked with Noah Griffin about this and he agrees with me that either of these last two named hotels would better suit you.

I understand you have refused the reception after the address in San Francisco -- I am glad of this.

His letter to you is very evasive. He doesn't say "anything" about any of the people on the committee. About the dinner -- I would like you and Shirley at my home, either for an evening or a dinner, to which I would ask Noah and his wife, and very few others. May I look for you? I do want to talk with you a few minutes as soon after your arrival as possible. Iunderstand you arrive Saturday afternoon. I will come to the meeting Saturday night. Perhaps I will have the opportunity to say a few words to you then, unless you write me before your arrival.

Let me know the best time for dinner

Love to Shirley.

Sincerely, Marielle

Marielle

Noah or I could arrange a trip to Muir Woods if you prefer us to.

Home phone: Skyline 2-1056
Office Yukon 6-6992.

25-58-18

April 20, 1953

Mrs. Ethel Ray Nance
505 Cole St.
San Francisco, 17, Calif.

Dear Marielle:

I have meant to write you before this and thank you for your hospitality while I was in California.

I have been pretty busy since my return, lecturing and writing and even appearing on television.

On the 25th Shirley and I are going to the Bahamas for three weeks' rest, which we both need.

I hope you are well and the boys and your husband.

I have heard from Kerner that you two are cooperating together as much as is possible, which may not be very much.

Shirley and I both remember our California trip with great joy, and are under deep obligations to you.

Yours with love,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

September 22, 1953

Mrs. Ethel Ray Nance
505 Cole Street
San Francisco, 17, Calif.

My dear Marielle:

I am glad you are going to get away from the difficulties of the San Francisco office, at least for a season. Of course, the Fisk assignment is not going to be easy. Johnson is a rather curious individual, but he is getting things done and I hope he will give you some leeway so that you can be happy in your work. Some other people whom I know and like have been with him and had a hard and unsuccessful time.

25-58-17

Of course, Fisk is in a very difficult position and what its future is going to be, indeed the future of any private institution of higher learning, black or white, I certainly do not know.

I am glad to hear about your boys and hope that the soldier will get free soon.

Let me know when you get to Fisk and write me such information as you can.

Shirley joins me in love.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Narayanan, Sri K.]

November 24, 1953

Mr. Sri K. Narayanan, Secretary
K.M.S. Library and Reading Room
Kozhikode-2
Malabar District, Madras State
India

My dear Mr. Narayanan:

At the suggestion of Mr. L.N. Rao I am writing to say that I shall be very glad for you to undertake a translation of my book IN BATTLE FOR PEACE, or the issue of a cheaper edition in English. I want it as widely known as possible.

Also, I am sending Mr. Rao a copy of another book of mine recently re-published, THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK. I shall be glad to have you look that over.

With best regards,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

25-49-10

Reprinted from the Special Civil Liberties Issue of

THE Nation

A.N.C.

32-1.13

Tooling Up for Mass Repression

THE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

By Laurent B. Frantz

Tooling Up for Mass Repression

by Laurent B. Frantz

EVEN persons acutely conscious of the importance of civil liberties are usually but dimly aware of the existence of the Subversive Activities Control Board. Most Americans have probably never heard of it. The newspapers have largely ignored it. Yet this tribunal may have a more disastrous impact on traditional American liberties than all the sedition legislation, spy scares, "loyalty" tests and oaths, and investigations of opinion that have preceded it.

It is sixteen years since Martin Dies, the premature McCarthyite, made the seminal discovery that Communists support most of the short-range objectives of progressives, liberals, New Dealers, and trade unionists, and that that fact may profitably be confused with support by the latter groups for the long-range objectives of the Communists. American reaction in the intervening years has been chiefly engaged in exploring the political potentialities of this false equation. A governmental board empowered to decide what activities are "subversive" and to control them was the natural outcome.

Yet while there has been no dramatic break in the line of development, the Subversive Activities Control Board represents a significant change of pace. As Franklin Roosevelt once noted, "the judicial process requires to be supplemented by the administrative tribunal wherever there is a necessity for deciding issues on a quantity-production basis." We are moving from political trials of individuals to political trials of groups and movements. Repression is tooling up for mass production.

The board derives its existence and powers from the McCarran Act, more formally known as the Internal Security Act of 1950. This was an omnibus measure, produced when the Eighty-first Congress, puzzled by the relative merits of several rival schemes for the curtailment of liberty, resolved the matter by combining them all into one. The part of the act which creates the board and defines its functions is a revision of the Mundt-Nixon bill which the House Committee on Un-American Activities proposed to Congress in 1948.

The committee offered its original bill as an alternative to proposals that the Communist Party be openly outlawed. A possible element in its calculation was the fact that its only previous legislative effort had been held unconstitutional as a "bill of attainder," which means that it imposed punishment based on a legislative finding of guilt. Representative (now Vice-President) Richard M. Nixon, a member of the committee and co-author of the original bill, testifying later in favor of the measure finally adopted, stated: ". . . we came to the conclusion that naming the Communist Party by name and attempting to build the entire registration provisions around such a definition was an unconstitutional approach, and consequently the committee attempted to find a legislative device for meeting the problem in a constitutional manner."

This bit of official history is revealing, but it evidently does not tell the whole story. One does not create and staff a permanent governmental body for the trial of a single case. The Communist Party, after all, can be tried only once and then the board must devote itself to the pursuit of organizations whose objectives are more immediate and have at least some non-Communist support. Thus its long-range function must necessarily be the application of Mr. Dies's principle that anything from civil liberties to rent control is subversive if the Communists are for it.

The "legislative device" invented by the House Committee on Un-American Activities begins with a series of Congressional findings on the evil intentions of "the world Communist movement" and "the Communist movement in the United States." The fact that this eloquent denunciation does not refer to the Communist Party by name is supposed to insulate it from constitutional objections to legislative findings of guilt.

EQUIPPED WITH these prefabricated opinions on the significance of the matters to be adjudicated, the board sits in judgment on any organization which the Attorney General sees fit to hale before it. If it finds an association to be a "Communist action organization" (a term apparently intended to refer only to the Communist Party) or a "Communist front," it does not formally proscribe it. It merely orders the organization to register. The distinction, however, seems to be largely theoretical. In view of the descriptions embodied in the act and the legal and practical consequences of such a registration, the order is, in effect, that the organization plead guilty to being a public enemy and extend its chin to receive the consequences.

"Fronts" must list officers and sources of funds. "Action" organizations must list these, plus members and all who have been members during the preceding twelve months. It seems probable, though the act does not make this wholly clear, that "fronts" must also give what amounts to a list of members by itemizing the source of all dues payments. All lists must be renewed annually.

In connection with other parts of the act, these lists may be of sinister significance. Thus, Section 4(a) makes it a felony, subject to ten years' imprisonment and a $10,000 fine, "for any person knowingly to combine, conspire, or agree with any other person to perform any act which would substantially contribute to the establishment within the United States of a totalitarian dictatorship" under foreign control. This is by far the vaguest and most sweeping sedition statute ever enacted in the United States. It could fairly easily be

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LAURENT B. FRANTZ was co-author with Norman Redlich of the widely read article Does Silence Mean Guilt? in The Nation *of June 6.*

construed to apply to such acts as selling the *Daily Worker,* campaigning for a Communist candidate, contributing to the legal defense of an accused Communist, or petitioning for the repeal of the Internal Security Act of 1950. The prosecutor, moreover, need not restrict himself to past acts. He can select any organizational objective, however remote, as an "act" which all members have "combined, conspired, or agreed" to perform. Fearful that this section might cause the registration provisions to be held unconstitutional as involving compulsory self-incrimination, the drafters have provided that registration of any person under the act shall not be received in evidence against him in a Section 4(a) prosecution. Nothing, however, prevents the prosecutor from using the registration list as a source of leads and of possible defendants.

Any such list would also have significance in connection with Title II of the act, which provides that in case of invasion, declaration of war, or insurrection in aid of a foreign enemy the President may proclaim an "internal-security emergency." When such proclamation is in effect, the Attorney General is "authorized to apprehend and by order detain" for the duration of the emergency "each person as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe that such person probably will engage in, or probably will conspire with others to engage in, acts of espionage or of sabotage." Although six camps have already been placed in readiness, this provision seems to be little known as yet, even to lawyers. A report on it produced a major sensation at a recent conference of the California state bar. Members or supporters of any organization which complied with a registration order would clearly form a handy check list of candidates for the concentration camp.

Members of registered organizations would be under automatic disabilities with respect to the use of passports and eligibility for government or defense employment. But the most pervasive and coercive effect of registration would be to supply a government-sponsored black list of persons who, in the name of patriotism, could be systematically denied an opportunity to earn a living.

If the organization survived at all after being compelled to subject its members and supporters to such reprisals, it would lead a branded existence, somewhat reminiscent of the time when Jews were compelled to wear the Star of David for easy identification. For example, anything sent through the mail and intended for two or more persons would have to be stamped "Disseminated by ——, a Communist organization." Since this must appear both on the document and on the outside wrapper, it clearly is intended not only to warn the recipient of threatened ideological contamination but also, if possible, to frighten him into requesting that his name be removed from the mailing list. A "front" organization which existed for some limited objective like rent control, civil liberties, or aid to refugees from Franco could function only by constantly red-baiting its own program. It would thus lose whatever effectiveness it might have had, either to Communists or to non-Communists, as a vehicle for that program.

THESE CONSEQUENCES of registration are not important in themselves, since there are unlikely to be any registrations. They are important because their total impact makes it a fairly safe bet that no organization will ever prefer registration to going out of existence—the drafters of the bill must have known this and taken it into account. If this is true, arguments that the act will "force Communist activities into the open" are either naive or dishonest. Efforts to justify the measure by reference to compulsory registration of lobbyists and reporting of political-campaign contributions rest on a false analogy. The registration provisions are merely a "legislative device" for accomplishing one thing while pretending to do another.

Non-compliance with a registration order, however, brings into view the act's real teeth, as distinguished from its numerous false ones. Failure to register makes the organization and each officer under a duty to register it subject to a $10,000 fine, plus five years' imprisonment. Members can be ordered to register personally and upon failure to do so are subject to the same penalties. Since each day of failure to register is a separate offense, fines sufficient to convert all the organization's assets into government property—and prison terms sufficient to keep the individuals behind bars for life—can be accumulated in a few weeks.

Senator McCarran

This last step in the "legislative device" is the application of an approach new in our law but being resorted to with increasing frequency. It may, until a better name is found, be called the go-hang-yourself technique. It consists in ordering someone, on the ground that he is an undesirable character, to take some action highly injurious to himself. You then punish him, not for being an undesirable character, but for disobeying the order. Another example, found elsewhere in this same McCarran Act, is a provision making it a felony for an alien under final order of deportation to fail to make timely and good-faith efforts to deport himself. The use of economic sanctions to punish persons unwilling to testify against themselves is an instance of the same tendency. Its effect, in the McCarran Act registration provisions, is that a voluntary association may be hounded out of existence, not for anything it has been or done, but for its refusal to commit suicide when so ordered.

THE administration of this remarkable piece of legislation is in the hands, not of the Subversive Activities Control Board, but of the Attorney General. As the hearing tribunal and fact-finder, however, the board has important authority to determine the shape and limits of what the Attorney General will do. After its creation in Oc-

tober, 1950, the board spent more than two years on the petition of the Attorney General that the Communist Party be ordered to register as a "Communist action organization." The stenographic record of this proceeding ran 14,413 pages and there were 507 exhibits, many of them full-length books. To date the Communist Party is the only organization against which the board has issued an order, but the Attorney General has filed petitions to proceed with hearings and findings against twelve "front" organizations. The first year was devoted not so much to the Communist Party case, however, as to the systematic McCarranization of the board, under personal supervision of the Democratic McCarthy from Nevada.

Senator McCarran was in the peculiar position of being the sponsor and nominal author of legislation finding "the Communist movement in the United States" to be an agency of a foreign power and at the same time the chairman of the committee passing on the names of board members appointed by the President to make an impartial determination as to whether the Senator's findings were correct. He took full advantage of this position. Senate confirmation of the board was withheld for nearly a year—during most of which time the Communist Party case was on trial before persons uncomfortably awaiting confirmation—before McCarran was finally satisfied.

THE FIRST chairman of the board—and Senator McCarran's first target—was Seth W. Richardson, a highly respected and very conservative Republican. The main charge against him was that as chairman of the government's Loyalty Review Board he had shown "softness" toward "Communists" by permitting clearance of too high a proportion of government employees accused of "disloyalty." He was also suspected of softness toward New Dealers, since he had been counsel to the investigating committee headed by Owen J. Roberts, Republican former Supreme Court justice, which failed to find the Roosevelt Administration guilty of culpable negligence in connection with the Pearl Harbor disaster. Like many of the government employees whose cases he had reviewed, Mr. Richardson was also up against a "sympathetic association" charge: he was a former law partner of Joseph E. Davies, author of "Mission to Moscow," an un-McCarranite book. There were no hearings. After eight months in office Mr. Richardson resigned unconfirmed, for reasons of health.

Charles M. LaFollette, one of the original and still unconfirmed board members, was appointed acting chairman after he had served as chairman of the panel hearing the Communist Party case. Mr. LaFollette, however, was also a "sympathetic association" case, having been an officer of Americans for Democratic Action, an organization which is anti-Communist but not anti-Communist enough to suit Senator McCarran.

The subcommittee studying the confirmation of board members actually voted to request the F. B. I. files on each of President Truman's appointees. The Communist Party, contending that a board exposed to such pressures could not be expected to show the impartiality formally required of it, tried to get the hearings delayed pending Senate confirmation of the nominees, but the board denied the motion.

The Communist Party was not alone in finding an inconsistency between the board's uncomfortable situation and its responsibilities. The Washington *Post* commented editorially:

> There is no doubt, as the board's chairman, Seth Richardson, declared, that "the board has lawful power to convene this hearing." Unhappily, however, there is a great deal of force to the contention put forward by Vito Marcantonio [counsel for the Communist Party] that "this board sits in jeopardy, and if at any time it takes a view contrary to that of the chairman of the Senate committee (Senator Pat McCarran) which is to pass on its nominations the members may never be confirmed in the positions to which they have been appointed." . . . The board entirely lacks the independence necessary to its quasi-judicial function.

Although the board uniformly denied all motions made in behalf of the Communist Party, the ultra-rightists in Congress remained dissatisfied. There was an attempt in the House to eliminate the board's budget from the appropriations bill on the ground that its members were not "interested in fighting communism." This move failed, but

The Road to Ruin

Courtesy St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

the $620,000 requested for the board by President Truman was cut to $235,000.

Mr. LaFollette at one point withdrew as chairman of the hearing panel, charging that government counsel treated him with "disdain" and communicated this attitude to government witnesses, so that he was no longer able to conduct an orderly hearing.

Ultimately, the four members of the board who remained after the Richardson resignation were summoned to the Capitol for a "get acquainted" meeting with the members of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. After this interesting but unfortunately unrecorded session, three of the four were at last confirmed, but no action was taken on the nomination of LaFollette. When the three were confirmed, the board had been in existence more than nine months, the Communist Party case had been before it more than eight months, and the actual hearing of testimony had gone on more than three months.

On withdrawing from the panel, Mr. LaFollette remarked of his fellow-member, Peter Campbell Brown, formerly of the staff of the Department of Justice: "We will have speedier hearings, I am sure, because the panel member, Mr. Brown, whom I have asked to preside from now on, has already evidenced the remarkable capacity to make speedy rulings upon all objections. . . . The fact that they almost uniformly amount to a sustaining of any position taken by the petitioner [the Attorney General] and a rejection of any position taken by the respondent [Communist Party] is purely coincidental, I am sure."

When LaFollette's recess appointment expired without Senate action, Brown became chairman of both the board and the panel. At the conclusion of the Communist Party case Brown resigned and was succeeded by Thomas J. Herbert, Ohio Republican appointed by President Eisenhower; Herbert is presiding over the fate of the organizations accused of being "fronts."

NO ONE was much surprised when the board, in April of this year, found the Communist Party to be a "Communist-action organization" as defined in the act and ordered it to register. Though the result was foreordained, some of the methods by which it was reached are of interest. It is instructive to remember that for some years before the McCarran Act we had laws on the books requiring the registration of any agent of a foreign principal and of any organization which aims to control by force or to overthrow the government. The present registration provisions, in so far as they are directed at the Communist Party, are inspired in part by the testimony of Attorney General, now Supreme Court Justice, Tom Clark that he had been unable to obtain evidence sufficient to prosecute Communists for failure to register under these acts. The purpose of the new act, therefore, was not to create registration requirements aimed at the Communist Party but rather (1) to transfer the fact determination from the regular courts to a specially created board, (2) to authorize this board to draw inferences of foreign control from ideological evidence, and (3) to extend the registration requirements to organizations deemed to be "Communist fronts."

In dealing with the Communist Party the difficulties of proving foreign "control" or "domination" become immediately apparent despite the fact that many persons might assume that this matter could be easily determined. The difficulties stem from the question of what is meant by control. It cannot mean actual physical control, in the sense, for example, that the Red Army could enforce Soviet decisions on the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The transfer of funds might be an important element, but there seems to be little evidence, if any, of the use of "Moscow gold." Inevitably, therefore, the exploration gets back to some ideological measure or standard of control. A group of people, it is argued, have agreed to believe rigidly in certain concepts promulgated by a foreign power and to urge others to accept these concepts. As part of their indoctrination, they have agreed in advance to change their views, from time to time, at the behest of the same foreign power. But merely to state this standard of proof should be sufficient to indicate its dangers. Many organizations—nationality groups, for example—steadily support the "line" of a foreign power.

Apart from this, our government has never insisted on its right to promulgate a fixed, official line of its own. Yet this is exactly what is involved in the insistence that all those who believe our policy should be changed to conform to the programs of another government are "agents" of that government. To take such a position precludes significant debate on vital issues of foreign policy. Hence the attempt to prove foreign domination by reference to an ideological standard leads back to the basic proposition that only overt acts should be punished, not beliefs, not even the agreement in advance to adhere to a particular belief, for such an agreement is, after all, still a belief.

IN APPLYING the ideological test in this first case the board found it to be quite unimportant whether the Russian or the American expression was the earlier. It also refused, on the ground of irrelevance, to permit the Communist Party to show that many of the views used as tests of non-deviation had been shared by a considerable portion of the non-Communist world. The test would thus be equally valid to show that the Soviet Union is controlled and dominated by the Communist Party of the United States if that were the desired result. It would also, if sound, go far to show that the board is controlled and dominated by the Department of Justice, since its report does not deviate by a hair's breadth from the department's contentions on all the numerous and complex issues presented for determination.

The Communist Party, of course, argued that there was nothing inherently improbable about two organizations applying the same theory to given facts and arriving independently at the same result. In answer to this the board cut many Gordian knots by deciding that the theory is itself the organ of control. Thus the board finds that Marxism-Leninism "has been promulgated and issued by the Soviet Union as the overall philosophy, authoritative rules, directives, and instructions governing the world Communist movement" and that "the [Marxist-Leninist] classics are one of the chief means by which the C. P. S. U. directs, dominates, and controls the C. P. U. S. A." The board does not hesitate, either, to plunge into obscure doctrinal disputes, deciding which of the possible interpretations is true Marxism-Leninism and then pin-

ning that interpretation on the protesting Communist Party. Thus the board remarks: "In view of the divergence of testimony of witnesses for Petitioner and those of Respondent concerning the meaning and application of this tenet [dictatorship of the proletariat], we have taken particular pains to ascertain its real character. It is best understood from the volume . . . Lenin's postulates on this question make clear. . . ." And again: "Adherence to Marxism-Leninism, as its principles and precepts are stated in the Classics, is completely incompatible with Respondent's contention. . . ."

THE BOARD'S permanent function, however, for which the Communist case is merely a legal opening gambit, is the control of the principle of voluntary association.

This is indeed an awesome power. Tocqueville, more than a century ago, found this principle to be a basic characteristic of American institutions. "Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions," he said, "constantly form associations. They have not only commercial and manufacturing companies in which all take part, but associations of a thousand other kinds, religious, moral, serious, futile, extensive or restricted, enormous or diminutive. If it be proposed to advance some truth or to foster some feeling by the encouragement of a great example, they form a society." It may be seriously contended that these associations have played an even greater part in making change possible by democratic methods than the amorphous political parties, which have often tried to be all things to all men and have seldom been willing to embrace any new idea until it had first been thoroughly popularized by associations. Certainly a new idea will have little impact on a society subjected to radio, television, movies, and the daily press unless it has some organized backing. Consequently, the traditional freedoms of which we are more acutely conscious, those of speech, press, and religion, are of little practical value without freedom of association.

It is thus an event of no slight importance that we now have a board of five persons empowered to sit in judgment on any organization and to issue orders capable of destroying it. Since organizations will be judged in large part by the causes they promote, this is also a power over the fate of the causes themselves.

The twelve petitions already filed by the Attorney General give some hint as to the type of accusation the board will be called upon to try. Space does not permit a detailed analysis of the petitions, but an examination of five

of them—those against the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, the Civil Rights Congress, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign-Born—reveals the following significant facts:

Each of the organizations is accused of having persons in its leadership who are also Communists. It is not stated who these persons are, what positions they hold, whether they were democratically elected, whether they are known as Communists to the other members. It is not alleged—and the Attorney General, therefore, presumably considers it unnecessary to prove—that these persons used the organization for any unlawful or immoral purpose, for any purpose inconsistent with the maintenance of democratic capitalism, for any purpose outside the scope of the organization's professed objectives, or even for any purpose not known to and approved by the membership.

Each is accused of having "received favorable publicity and support through the Communist Party press."

Each is accused of "non-deviation" from the Communist Party line on the basis of taking positions which might be approved by a substantial number of non-Communists, such as "urging the recognition of and trade with the Chinese People's Republic."

Several of the organizations are accused of "non-deviation" for taking positions which seem implicit in the organization's professed purposes. For example, the Civil Rights Congress is accused, among other things, of having defended Communist leaders prosecuted under the Smith Act, of having "supported the position of the Communist Party with respect to the 'Hollywood ten,'" and of having "supported the position of the Communist Party in its protest against the trial and conviction of Harry Bridges." It is not mentioned, of course, that the conviction of Harry Bridges was reversed by the non-deviationist majority of the Supreme Court. Both the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee are alleged to have "supported and followed the position and actions of the Communist Party in its opposition to and campaign against the Franco government of Spain." The American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born showed non-deviation by "opposing the deportation of aliens who were members of the party," although there is no allegation that the committee failed to give similar aid to aliens who were not members, which they have done in many cases. Apparently it is characteristic of organizations which are not "Communist fronts" that they will jettison the very purposes for which they were founded rather than do something which Communists might applaud.

Three of the organizations are charged with opposition to the Internal Security Act of 1950, under which they are currently on trial, and three with opposing its predecessor, the Mundt-Nixon bill. Three showed Communist domination by disliking the Hobbs bill, the Smith Act, or the government loyalty program. Four are charged with opposing the House Committee on Un-American Activities, which puts them in a class with many religious groups.

HOW FAR will such reasoning be carried? Justice Holmes long ago noted the tendency of any principle to expand to the limits of its logic. Any estimate of the potentialities of this logic must take account of the fact that, as has happened with individuals in the government loyalty program, an organization may suffer virtual ruin just for having been cited before the board, even if it ultimately wins its case. It must also take into account the invisible pressure on organizations which may

never be cited but will hesitate to take any stand which might involve the slightest risk. The threat, even if unspoken, to complain to the Attorney General may give right-wing minorities in many organizations a virtual power of veto over the majority's program.

Power to tame and control voluntary associations necessarily includes power to tame and control unions—the act says "any organizations." Indeed, for many reasons—Communist enthusiasm for labor militancy, a corresponding lack of enthusiasm in reactionary groups, the ease with which strike action can be decried as tending to aid the enemy in the cold war—unions are especially susceptible to this type of attack. Although the Subversive Activities Control Board could probably order a union to register as a "Communist front" under the present act, bills to give it even more drastic and lethal powers over unions are waiting in the Congressional hopper. (See my discussion of the Butler bill in *The Nation* of November 28.)

That the expansive possibilities of the principle were not entirely unintended was suggested by Representative Allen of Illinois speaking in the House in defense of the original Mundt-Nixon bill, which differed from the present provision in that the determination of facts would have been made by the Attorney General rather than by a special board:

> Another criticism offered to the bill is that it vests in the Attorney General the arbitrary power to prosecute, try, and judge persons violating the provisions of the bill. When I heard this objection to the bill, I was not only surprised but also mildly amused. Here are the people who have long advocated the persecution and harassment of business men through administrative processes. Here are the people who wanted to continue forever the control measures under which government bureaus would prosecute, try, convict, and punish business men. These people who wanted to see the free-enterprise system crushed and our nation's business men bankrupted through a systematic persecution under the New Deal—these people say this bill puts too much power of discretion in the Attorney General. To this objection I would say that the New Dealers who built the present administrative guillotine for business men should have remembered the fate that befell Dr. Guillotine. He learned that a knife cuts both ways—and now the New Dealers are being taught the same lesson.

Attorney General Brownell has sole power to determine what organizations shall be charged before the board. The length to which he may be expected to push Mr. Dies's formula is shown not only by the charges incorporated in his first "front" petitions but also by his recent announcement of intention to put the National Lawyers Guild on his own "subversive" list. With control of the American Bar Association in very conservative hands, the Lawyers Guild is virtually the only vehicle through which the views of liberal lawyers can be given organized expression. Mr. Brownell says that "on every major issue" in recent years the guild "has steadfastly followed the party line, and its programs and actions have been consistent with it, excepting only those issues so notorious that their espousal would too clearly demonstrate the Communist control." Mr. Brownell seems to have learned from Senator McCarthy that the accuser can rely on deviation and non-deviation simultaneously, the latter to show Communist control and the former to show efforts to conceal Communist control. Or, as a last resort, instances of deviation may be shrugged off as not involving a "major issue." The Lawyers Guild's membership and activities have always been open to the public, and it is not accused of promoting its ideas otherwise than by the methods of a bar association—public debate and participation in litigation. Mr. Brownell, essentially, is attacking the idea of a free and independent bar.

There seems to be nothing in the Attorney General's record or the board's to suggest that the principle will not be expanded to the limits of its logic unless the courts or public opinion call a halt. (In what seems likely to be the key test of the act, the guild has brought suit to enjoin the hearing of the petition). If each accused organization is left to fight its solitary battle, effective resistance will become increasingly difficult. The board will be progressively strengthened by the accumulation of precedent, and the opposition will be progressively weakened by the spreading paralysis of fear. It is of the nature of this type of attack that it tends to isolate each current victim by making people afraid they may incur some associative guilt if they come to his defense.

Still, it ought not to be necessary for Americans to relearn the hard way the lesson that liberty is indivisible.

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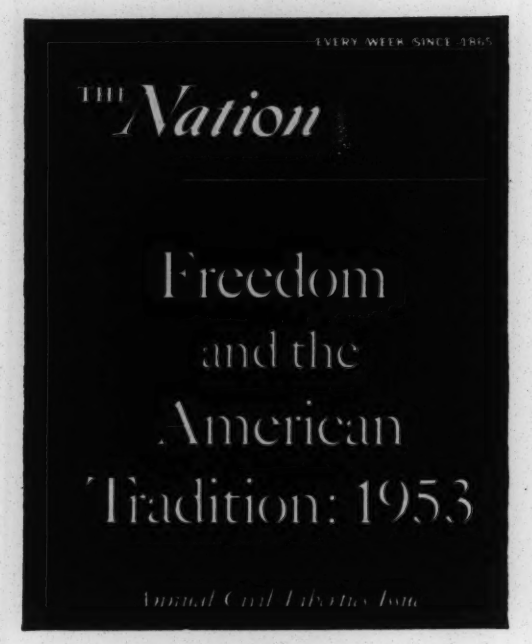

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May 21, 1953

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40 St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Will you kindly send me, with bill, the latest report on Civil Rights issued by the NAACP and the B'nai Brith.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

June 6, 1953

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40 Street
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly send me a copy of the incorporation papers of the NAACP and the list of those who were the incorporators?

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

CABLE ADDRESS: NACAPEOPLE, N. Y

LONGACRE 3-6890

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40TH STREET NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

December 10, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

25-58-27

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am writing in reference to your Hospitilization payment for the year 1953. At the end of the year 1952, we deducted the total amount for Hospitilization from your last check. I would like to know whether or not you would like me to follow the same procedure this year.

The Hospitilization cost for the year 1953 is $71.52, ($5.96 per month). Will you please let me know as soon as possible if it is all right to follow the same procedure as last year so that we may process your check.

Sincerely yours,

Richard W. McClain

Richard W. McClain
Chief Accountant

RWM:gd

Send Dec 11

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25-55172

ID 38368

Date 12/14/53

20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People acknowledges with appreciation receipt of $ 71.52 *for* Hospitalization, 1953

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
Thirty-One Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

Allan Knight Chalmers
Treasurer

January 14, 1953

Mrs. A. S. Hancock
NAACP, Trenton Branch
166 Millerick Avenue
Trenton 8, N.J.

Dear Mrs. Hancock:

In accordance with our understanding, I am arriving in Trenton on January 18th on the 3:36 train #129, The Potomac, Pennsylvania Railroad. I shall await you at the depot.

After the lecture I shall leave for New York.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

January 20, 1953

25-30-61

Mrs. A.S. Hancock
NAACP, Trenton Branch
166 Millerick Avenue
Trenton, 8, N.J.

Dear Mrs. Hancock:

May I thank you very deeply for the lecture which you arranged in Trenton.

It was a surprise to me that so excellent an occasion could be carried through in these days of hysteria.

It was a pleasure to meet many of the people whom I had not met before.

Will you kindly give my best regards to the hostess where the reception was held, and to the highschool teacher who was kind enough to introduce me.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

March 31, 1953

Dr. William Gribble
2635 Second St.
Alexandria, La.

Dear Dr. Gribble:

I am writing you as Secretary of the National Baptist Convention of America. If you do not occupy this position at present, will you kindly forward this letter to the secretary?

Fifty years ago, in 1903, I published my book, "Souls of Black Folk". It went through twenty or more editions, and went out of print only about ten years ago.

I have in mind the publication of a jubilee edition of this book, and since I own the original plates the cost of such an edition should not be large.

I am writing, therefore, to your organization and especially the Book Department, to know if they would be in a position to undertake this publication. I think it might prove profitable.

Will you kindly let me hear from you at your convenience?

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

SOULS 1903 [NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, USA]

March 31, 1953

Dr. U. J. Robinson
405 Saint Michaels St.
Mobile, Ala.

My dear Dr. Robinson:

I am writing you as Secretary of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A. Inc. If you do not occupy this position at present, will you kindly forward this letter to the secretary?

Fifty years ago, in 1903, I published my book, "Souls of Black Folk". It went through twenty or more editions, and went out of print only about ten years ago.

I have in mind the publication of a jubilee edition of this book, and since I own the original plates the cost of such an edition should not be large.

I am writing, therefore, to your organization and especially the Book Department, to know if they would be in a position to undertake this publication. I think it might prove profitable.

Will you kindly let me hear from you at your convenience?

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Bu-K

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405 St. Michael Street
MOBILE, ALABAMA

April 2, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In reply to your letter of March 31st, I am advising that you take up the matter of publication of your book with Dr. A. M. Townsend, Corresponding Secretary of the Sunday School Publishing Board of the National Baptist Convention, 412 Fourth Avenue, North, Nashville, Tennessee.

I am forwarding your letter to Dr. Townsend with my recommendation.

I am,

Very sincerly yours,

U. J. Robinson

U. J. Robinson, Secretary
National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc.

UJR:j

1/29/52

April 8, 1953

Dr. A. M. Townsend, Secretary
Sunday School Publishing Board of the
National Baptist Convention, U.S.A.
412 Fourth Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee

My dear Dr. Townsend:

At the suggestion of U. J. Robinson, Secretary of the National Baptist Convention, I am writing you concerning a jubilee edition of my book, "Souls of Black Folk."

Fifty years ago, in 1903, I published this book. It went through twenty or more editions, and went out of print only about ten years ago.

I have in mind the publication of a jubilee edition, and since I own the original plates the cost of such an edition should not be large.

I am writing, therefore, to your organization to know if they would be in a position to urdertake this publication. I think it might prove profitable.

I may add that the book is small, less than 150 pages. If you do not have a copy you can easily find one in the Fisk University Library, or I can send you one.

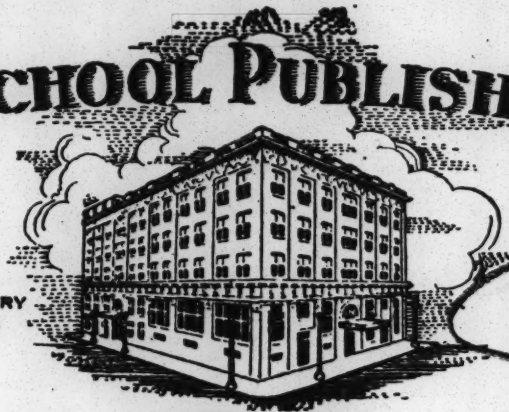
Will you kindly let me hear from you at your convenience?

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

SUNDAY SCHOOL PUBLISHING BOARD



A. M. TOWNSEND, D.D., SECRETARY
FOURTH AVENUE AND CEDAR ST.

NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION
U. S. A.

MORRIS MEMORIAL
HOME OF SUNDAY SCHOOL PUBLISHING BOARD
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

May 12, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th St.
New York 10, N. Y.

1/69/63

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We acknowledge your letter inquiring whether or not we might be in position to publish the jubilee edition of your book, "Souls of Black Folk."

We regret very much that we would not be able to publish this edition for you. The Sunday School Publishing Board has not been able to do any commercial or outside printing on account of the huge task that is ours to print, especially the Sunday school and Christian Education literature for the constituency of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A.

We appreciate very much your offer to print this edition for you.

Very truly yours,

A. M. Townsend
SECRETARY

AMT:GL

[NATIONAL BAPTIST VOICE]

March 31, 1953

Rev. J. P. Barbour, Editor
National Baptist Voice
Chester, Pa.

My dear Mr. Barbour:

It has just occurred to me to bring to your attention a fact in which you might be interested.

Fifty years ago in 1903, I published "Souls of Black Folk". It had an unusual reception all over the world, and went through twenty or more editions. In fact, it went out of print only about ten years ago. I bought the plates and have them now.

I have always had the idea that this year a jubilee edition of the""Souls of Black Folk" might be issued, using these plates at a comparatively small cost, and that such a book would sell.

The question is, however, who would undertake such a venture. I do not believe that, under the circumstances, any leading white publisher would edit it, although I have not approached any, and the original publisher, A.C. McClurg & Co., have long been out of the publishing business.

On the other hand, it would be ideal if some Negro organization would undertake it. Would it be possible for the Publishing Division of the National Baptist Convention to make such a venture?

Please think this over and let me hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

TR-5-0200

FT

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK

FOREIGN TELLERS DEPARTMENT

386330

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF N.Y.
PEOPLES TRUST BRANCH
181 MONTAGUE ST.
BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

OFFICE AT WHICH YOU SHOULD CALL

25-56-5

OCTOBER 8, 1953

MAIL TO

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS
31 GRACE COURT, BROOKLYN 2, NY

We have payment instructions from abroad for a certain amount of money naming you as beneficiary.

Will you please call at the above office of this Bank, bringing with you sufficient means to identify yourself personally as well as any information that will assist us in establishing your ownership of the funds.

If inconvenient for you to apply in person, and you desire us to mail our Cashier's Check, please advise our Foreign Tellers Department, 55 Wall Street, in writing to this effect, referring to the above Check Number, stating for identification purposes the amount expected by you as well as the source of the remittance. Should your identification prove satisfactory, we will mail the check as requested, with the understanding that this is done at your risk. This notice is not to be construed as any engagement upon the part of this bank to effect payment.

Very truly yours,

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK

FT 8058 REV. 11-50

[Nat'l. Comm. to Defend Negro Leadership] 32-19-15 [1953]

Join in honoring these Negro leaders—recent victims of attack

Sunday, January 11
3 to 6 p.m.

UNITED MUTUAL AUDITORIUM
310 Lenox Avenue, N.Y.C.
(Near 125th St.)

Master of Ceremonies: Rev. Charles A. Hill, Detroit

Entertainment, Speakers, Refreshments

Contribution: One Dollar

Reservations: PR 8-2057
NE 8-4067

Auspices of
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND NEGRO LEADERSHIP
1660 Fulton St., Room 21, Brooklyn

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A Special Occasion . . .

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND NEGRO LEADERSHIP

ROOM 21 • 1660 FULTON STREET • BROOKLYN 13, N. Y.
PResident 8-2057

January 15, 1953

Dr. W.E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

85-58-30

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We regret that you were unable to attend the Reception in Honor of Negro Leaders Under Attack held on January 11, but hope you shall be able to participate with us at some future time.

We know you would like to hear that the affair was successful which makes our work look more promising.

We are enclosing a check made out to you in behalf of the Committee. A card from the senders is also enclosed on which they explain why the transaction was done in this manner. The check will require your personal endorsement in order to be entered in our records. We hope this is satisfactory to you.

Please return the card with it.

Sincerely yours,

James W. Ford

James W. Ford
(For the Committee)

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND NEGRO LEADERSHIP

ROOM 21 • 1660 FULTON STREET • BROOKLYN 13, N. Y.

PResident 8-2057

March 20, 1953

Dr. W. E. B Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Here is a copy of the phamplet at last!

Your criticisms and suggestions were of great value to me. If you like the phamplet, would you be good enough to write a statement which we could use in publicity that goes out from this office.

I would like to come in and see you some time next week if at all possible.

Thanks again!

Very sincerely yours,

Esther

Esther Jackson

95-52 .15

March 26, 1953

Mrs. Esther Jackson
Nat'l. Comm. to Defend
Negro Leadership
Room 21; 1660 Fulton St.
Brooklyn, 13, N.Y.

My dear Esther,

I thank you very much for the pamphlet which you sent. It is a very interesting document.

I should be glad to see you almost any time you could call. I am usually here 12--4 p.m., but call up before you come.

Yours, with love,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND NEGRO LEADERSHIP

ROOM 21 • 1660 FULTON STREET • BROOKLYN 13, N. Y.

PResident 8-2057

June 2, 1953.

25-62-11

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The National Committee To Defend Negro Leadership is convening its First Regional (Eastern Seaboard) Conference in New York City, at the United Mutual Auditorium, June 27, 1953. And I have been instructed to ask you to deliver the principal address at the Evening session, on the topic "Leadership", or as you see fit.

You will note by the enclosed Call that this session will also be featured by a cultural program.

Your participation in the Conference will be a high honor, and we know your address will be a marked contribution to the Conference as a whole for the fight back of Negroes at this moment.

We do hope you will find it convenient to take part.

With best personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

James W. Ford

James W. Ford (For the Committee)

June 5, 1953

Mr. James W. Ford
National Committee to Defend
Negro Leadership
Room 21, 1660 Fulton Street
Brooklyn 13, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Ford:

Answering your letter of June 2, I regret to say that I am undertaking no speeches this month and perhaps not this summer, the main reason being that Mr. Carleton Moss of Hollywood is in town and is working on a moving picture of my life.

This has already taken a good deal of my time and promises to take a good deal more. In fact, I do not know when I shall be free and whenever I am I shall be very tired.

I appreciate your kind invitation and am sorry that I cannot respond.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND NEGRO LEADERSHIP

ROOM 21 • 1660 FULTON STREET • BROOKLYN 13, N. Y.
PResident 8-2057

October 14, 1953.

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Mr. Broackman Schumacher, chairman of the St. Louis Emergency Defense Committee, not knowing your exact address, has communicated to us to ask you to send a statement in behalf of Mr. Marcus Mupphy, one of the St. Louis Smith Act defendants.

Mr. Schumacher writes:

"Would it be possible to obtain for us a short statement from Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois on Mr. Mupphy's arrest? We know that Dr. Du Bois probably does not know Mr. Murphy, so it could not be a statement based on personal association, but perhaps something on the order of - "Mr. Murphy's arrest in St. Louis is an example of, etc.".

25-58-21

Mr. Schumacher can be reached at:

Brockman Schumacher, Chairman
St. Louis Emergency Defense Committee
P.O. Box 481, Wellston Station
St. Louis, Mo.

You probably recall that Mr. Murphy was an organizer of the Sharecroppers' Union in the 1930s.

We ourselves do hope that you can meet the request in Mr. Murphy's behalf.

Sincerely yours,

James W. Ford, For the Nat'l Committee
To Defend Negro Leadership

Oct. 20, 1953

Mr. James W. Ford
Nat'l Comm. to Defend Negro Leadership
Room 21
1660 Fulton St.
Bklyn, 13, NY

Dear Mr. Ford:

I have your letter of October 14 and appreciate your wish. At the same time, I think you will admit that it is going a little too far for one man to send a commendation about an entire stranger. I have no doubt but that Mr. Murphy's arrest is unjust. At the same time I do not know Mr. Murphy and I know nothing about his case.

Under the circumstances I do not think I ought to write a letter.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

25-58-3

[Nat.'l Comm. to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case]

AMICUS BRIEF in the ROSENBERG CASE*

WE BELIEVE that the trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and Morton Sobell on a charge of conspiring to commit espionage, which resulted in death sentences for the Rosenbergs and a 30 year sentence for their co-defendant, lacked guarantees of fairness which all Americans have a right to expect under the Constitution.

WE BELIEVE that the Prosecutor and Trial Judge permitted fear and prejudice to dominate the trial by 1) attributing to the defendants social beliefs which are today the target of virtually every public tribunal, and 2) attributing to them reversals and casualties suffered in Korea.

WE BELIEVE that transient political and social passions have no place in our courts, that to deprive even one American of the right to a fair trial is to injure the rights of all Americans.

32-17

WE THEREFORE authorize the inclusion of our names in an Amicus Brief to the Supreme Court of the United States, petitioning that the verdicts and sentences be set aside, and that a new trial be ordered based on Constitutional guarantees of impartiality and fairness in accordance with the best traditions of American justice.

Name	*Address*	*City*	*State*

Please return to: NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE IN THE ROSENBERG CASE, 1050 6th Avenue, New York, N. Y., BR 9-9695.

Name of person returning this Amicus_____

Address_____ City and State_____ Organization_____

*Signers of an Amicus Brief act as friends of the court, petitioning because they believe an important principle is at stake.

the FACTS in the ROSENBERG CASE

On April 5, 1951, Julius Rosenberg and his wife Ethel were sentenced to die in the electric chair, and Morton Sobell was sentenced to 30 years imprisonment, having been convicted on a charge of conspiracy to spy on behalf of the Soviet Union.

The Rosenbergs and Sobell have unswervingly maintained their innocence from the day of their arrest.

On February 25, 1952, the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the verdict and the sentences in a shocking decision that held, among other things, that persons could be considered disposed to commit espionage by virtue of their political or social views.

Thousands of people, among them many eminent public figures, do not believe the Rosenbergs and Sobell guilty or that their trial was a fair one. Thousands more, who have grave doubts of their guilt, are horrified at the death sentence.

THE ROSENBERGS

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, until their arrest, led the life of every-day people, struggling for a livelihood and education, and hoping that their two young sons, aged nine and four, would be spared the hardships familiar to the parents.

Since their marriage they lived solely on Julius' $70-a-week income as a government engineer, except for the past few years when they managed a meager living from the profits of a small machine shop business. Julius was an active member of his trade union. Ethel did volunteer work in community and civilian defense organizations.

THE PROSECUTION'S CASE

Before the trial the prosecutor announced that he would call 118 witnesses, among them top scientists Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, Dr. Harold C. Urey; Gen. Leslie R. Groves, head of the atom bomb project during the war; agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; alleged associates of the Rosenbergs and Sobell in the "conspiracy"; and two "star" witnesses.

Of these 118, the prosecutor called only 20, among them none of the above named scientists or FBI agents. One witness, Max Elitcher, admitted that he faced a five year prison sentence for perjury, that he had been threatened by FBI agents with prosecution for espionage, and that he "hoped for the best" as a result of his uncorroborated testimony. He is free today, never having been tried. The two chief witnesses, David and Ruth Greenglass, were both, according to the prosecutor, and their own statements, involved in the alleged conspiracy, but as a result of their testimony, Ruth was never brought to trial, and her husband got off with a 15-year sentence.

The government's entire case is based on the Greenglasses' uncorroborated testimony, a fact conceded by the Court of Appeals, which in upholding the convictions declared that without the testimony of the Greenglasses, "the conviction could not stand." The prosecutor produced 32 exhibits as "documentary evidence." Not one of these documents, by the prosecutor's own admission, connected the Rosenbergs with a conspiracy to commit espionage.

THE STAR WITNESSES

David Greenglass, brother of Ethel Rosenberg, and his wife Ruth, were the star witnesses against the Rosenbergs. Both admitted that they had committed espionage for which they received money and for which both could be given the death penalty.

The Greenglasses' uncorroborated testimony was the only evidence presented that the Rosenbergs had conspired to steal the atom-bomb secret. Their testimony in respect to the Rosenbergs was solely oral, and no documents or other proofs linking the Rosenbergs to espionage were introduced. No witnesses were called to substantiate any conversations on espionage that allegedly took place between the Greenglasses and the Rosenbergs. David Greenglass testified that, relying solely on his memory of snatches of overheard conversation at the atom-bomb project at Los Alamos, and his remembrance of details of blueprints which had been shown to him as part of his work as a machinist, he had drawn up an elaborate sketch of the atom bomb, together with twelve pages of written material, which he allegedly conveyed as a description of the bomb to Rosenberg.

The following are Greenglass' actual qualifications for this impressive feat:

1) experience as an ordinary machinist in both army and civilian life;

2) a high school education, plus 8 technical courses at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, in all 8 of which he admitted he was graded "failure";

3) an admission that he was ignorant of the formulae governing component parts of the atom bomb, and that he had never taken courses or read books on such essential subjects as elementary, differential or advanced calculus, thermodynamics, quantum mechanics, nuclear or atomic physics.

Not a single atomic scientist was called to support David Greenglass' testimony concerning the atom bomb or to confirm the authenticity of the "sketch" of the atom bomb he made for the trial.

Responsible periodicals and science editors commented as follows on Greenglass' testimony:

TIME MAGAZINE: "Some of his testimony made little scientific sense."

LIFE MAGAZINE'S Science Editor: "Greenglass' implosion bomb appears illogical, if not downright unworkable."

SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN: "History's most elaborately guarded secret—how to make an atomic bomb—was casually let out of the bag in a courtroom last month. Or was it?"

POLITICS INSTEAD OF EVIDENCE

The prosecutor set out to show that the Rosenbergs were Communists and that Communists are spies. This had nothing to do with either the indictment or proof that the Rosenbergs had conspired to commit espionage. But he did not establish that the Rosenbergs were Communists. Instead, he showed:

1) the Rosenbergs had a Spanish Refugee appeal can in their home;

2) Ethel Rosenberg was one of 50,000 New York citizens who had signed a nominating petition in 1941 for Peter V. Cacchione, successful Communist Party candidate for New York City Councilman;

3) the Rosenbergs carried sick and death benefit insurance with the International Workers Order, a multi-national, inter-racial fraternal insurance society with 160,000 members in 18 states;

4) the Rosenbergs were both active members of their trade unions; Ethel in Local 65 of the Wholesale, Retail and Warehouse Workers Union; Julius in the Federation of Architects, Engineers and Technicians;

5) the Rosenbergs occasionally read the *Daily Worker;*

6) the Rosenbergs believed that the Soviet Union had borne the brunt of the war against Nazi Germany, and that it had done its share in wiping out the murderers of 6 million Jews;

7) the Rosenbergs had been pleased and lauded the United States and Great Britain for opening up a second front;

8) Julius Rosenberg had once been accused of being a Communist, for which he had been fired from the Signal Corps, although he had sworn that he was not a Communist.

JEWISH ASPECTS

The Rosenberg and Sobell trial, in a city whose population is one-third Jewish, proceeded without a single Jewish juror.

Here are comments from the Jewish press:

THE DAY: "The death sentence imposed by Judge Kaufman left the feeling that precisely because he is a Jew did he go to an extreme and deal judgment with a heavy hand . . . that Judge Kaufman is a Jew has perhaps unconsciously motivated him to issue a sentence which, in the opinion of many, is considered to be unjust and brutal."

DAILY FORWARD: "Too horrible . . . every Jew feels the same way."

CHICAGO SENTINEL, an Anglo-Jewish paper, in a column on Feb. 7, 1952 by Rabbi G. George Fox, one of the most widely known Rabbis in the Mid-West, an eminent scholar and author: "I am certain that Judge Kaufman's decision will be found unjust, if not illegal."

THE DEATH SENTENCE

In imposing the death sentence against Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, Judge Irving Kaufman said that they had "altered the course of history to the disadvantage of our country . . . we have evidence of your treachery around us every day . . . I believe your conduct has already caused, in my opinion, the Communist aggression in Korea, with resultant casualties exceeding 50,000 and who knows but that millions more of innocent people may pay the price of your treason."

From the Judge's comments, it appears that he sentenced the Rosenbergs to death for crimes with which they were not at all charged. They were neither accused of treason nor was any evidence brought in linking them in any way to the instigation of any wars, past, present, or future.

It is unthinkable that the same verdict and the same sentence would have been given had these accusations formed the basis of a "case" during the war years (when the USSR was our ally), when the alleged conspiracy was supposed to have taken place, or even in the first years following the end of the war.

Further, we can compare the sentences given to confessed or convicted traitors and saboteurs such as Axis Sally and Tokyo Rose, who got ten years each, and the famous Molzahn case in which four men who gave vital secrets to Germany in the Fall of 1941 were let off with 5 to 15 year sentences.

Finally, this is the first time in the history of our country that a civil court has imposed the death sentence for a charge of espionage. No person committing treason, the gravest of all crimes, has ever been executed.

CONCLUSIONS

1) The Rosenbergs and Sobell were convicted on unsubstantial and incredible evidence.

2) The prosecution prejudiced and inflamed the jury by bringing in extraneous issues in every phase of the trial.

3) The suspicion of anti-Semitism taints the entire trial.

FOR JUSTICE

WRITE to President Truman and ask that the government consent to a reversal of the Rosenberg-Sobell conviction, thus permitting a new trial or discontinuance of their prosecution.

SPONSORS (*partial list*):

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NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE IN THE ROSENBERG CASE
1050 Avenue of the Americas, New York 18, N. Y. BRyant 9-9694

I want to receive your material. I enclose $..... to help. Please send me .....copies of the pamphlet on the Rosenberg case, and.....copies of the fact sheet.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....

PARENTS TO DIE ON WEDDING ANNIVERSARY
ROSENBERG CHILDREN PLEAD WITH PRESIDENT

32-1112

ROBERT AND MICHAEL ROSENBERG

Dear President Eisenhower,
I saw on television on Monday Mr Oatis is not in prison anymore because the President of the country let him go. It said his wife wrote a letter to the President over there and she told why Mr Oatis should be let on. I think it is a good thing to let him go home because I think prison is a very bad place for anybody to be.

My mommy and daddy are in Prison in New York. My brother is six years old his name is Robby. He misses them very much and I miss them too. I got the idea to write you from Mr Oatis on television. Please let my mommy and daddy go and not let any thing happen to them. If they come home Robby and I will be very happy we will thank you very much

Very truly youre
Michael Rosenberg

Letter Sent to President Eisenhower May 20, 1953

Write and Wire President Eisenhower:

CLEMENCY FOR THE ROSENBERGS

Issued by: NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE IN THE ROSENBERG CASE
1050 Sixth Avenue, New York 18, N. Y. • LOngacre 4-9585

over

"We Are Innocent"

SAY ETHEL AND JULIUS ROSENBERG

They are told, "Talk and you can live." But only days from death, they swear they are innocent. Against their word is the word of proven perjurers!

PERJURY! Newly-discovered documents — in the handwriting of chief prosecution witness David Greenglass — prove Greenglass lied when he swore in court that Julius Rosenberg sent spy Harry Gold to him. "I didn't know who sent Gold to me," Greenglass admits.

My husband is "an hysteric" who would "say things were so even if they were not," says Mrs. Ruth Greenglass of her husband, David, in an interview with her lawyer.

PERJURY! AN AFFIDAVIT from a staff member of R. H. Macy's department store proves Greenglass lied when he claimed the Rosenbergs got an expensive console table from the Russians. The affidavit proves the table was an inexpensive one bought at Macy's, as the Rosenbergs had testified.

AN AFFIDAVIT from FBI agent John Harrington reveals a major witness lied on the stand in identifying the Rosenbergs.

PERJURY! Witness Max Elitcher faced a perjury indictment for swearing falsely to the government and admitted he hoped to make things easier for himself by his testimony against the Rosenbergs.

Even as you read this, new evidence of perjury is being uncovered.

Don't let them die on perjured testimony. See that the FULL facts come to light NOW . . . NOT AFTER THEY ARE ELECTROCUTED!

WRITE—WIRE PRESIDENT EISENHOWER:

CLEMENCY FOR THE ROSENBERGS

CLEMENCY RALLY

THURSDAY, June 11th, Union Square, 5 P. M.

Issued as a public service by: NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE IN THE ROSENBERG CASE, 1050 6th Ave., New York 18. LO 4-9535

over

20-55.2

Sunday, June 21, 1953

2 O'clock P.M.

Funeral Services

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg

I.J. Morris Funeral Home

9701 Church Ave. (at Rockaway Parkway)

Brooklyn, N. Y.

ADMIT ONE

555

National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO WIN AMNESTY FOR SMITH ACT VICTIMS

ROOM 644 · 799 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 3, N. Y. · GRamercy 3-6473

February 4,1953

Dear Friend:

The ordinary prisoner in a federal jail, if his conduct is satisfactory, is eligible for parole after serving one third of his sentense.

Mr. Ben Davis, Jr., one of the eleven Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act is now eligible for parole. He has made the proper application and has had a hearing before the Parole Board. Their decision is now awaited.

Mr. Davis's background and record amply warrant the granting of parole which is an accepted practice thruout the federal penal system. Mr. Davis was elected to the New York City Council in 1943 and re-elected in 1945. He is a graduate of Amhurst College and Harvard Law School. He served as an attorney in the defense of Angelo Herndon and the Scottsboro boys. A native of Georgia, his father, Benjamin J. Davis, Sr. was a national committeeman of the Republican Party for many years. As an attorney, writer and editor, and as an elected City official, Mr. Davis fought for anti-lynch legislation, for F.E.P.C., against poll tax, as well as for decent housing, rent and price control.

There is grave danger that unless public spirited citizens make their sentiment known to the Parole Board, parole may be denied

Our Committee was greatly encouraged by the very moving and effective petition for Amnesty for Smith Act victims addressed by you to the President of the United States.

May I therefore most urgently suggest that you send a similar personal letter to:

Board of Parole
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

While parole of course, is not the full amnesty for all Smith Act victims for which you petitioned the President and for which our Committee is working, parole would mean immediate freedom for Mr. Ben Davis, Jr. I would deeply appreciate if you would send me a copy of any letter which you may send to the Board of Parole.

Allow me to thank you and remain

Very truly yours,

Edward K. Barsky

Edward K. Barsky, Chairman

25-58.32

National Committee

To Win **Amnesty** For The

SMITH ACT VICTIMS

667 Madison Avenue • Room 611 • New York 21, N. Y. • TE 2-8620

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Chairman

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F. W. Stover
Leon Straus

December 2, 1953

Dear Friend:

Christmas time is Amnesty Time! Therefore, I think it is fitting that as a focal point of its Christmas Campaign to win Amnesty for Smith Act victims, our Committee is sponsoring a Christmas Amnesty Rally, Thursday night, December 17th, at Manhattan Plaza, 66 East 4th Street, New York City.

We want to fill that hall to overflowing. It is time that the citizens of the great city of New York let the government know that they demand amnesty for those men and women in prison today only for what they think.

It is time that the citizens of New York let the government in Washington know that they will not tolerate the murderous attack on Robert Thompson, World War II hero, Anti-fascist, Anti-McCarthyite!

Because you have shown interest in our Committee since its inception, I am writing to alert you about the Christmas Rally. I am counting on your support to make the rally the success it must be - the success the issue demands that it be. I am proud to tell you that our speakers include the eminent lawyer, Royal Wilbur France, and Dorothy Parker, poet, playwright, short-story write, outstanding Anti-fascist.

The tickets for the rally are modestly priced - 50¢. The Committee is counting on you not only to come yourself, but bring your friends.

Peace on earth, good will to men can become a reality - not just a beautiful song to be sung once a year and then forgotten. When Amnesty opens the prison doors for Smith Act Victims, we will be much nearer to that cherished peace on earth.

Sincerely yours,

Edward K. Barsky

Edward K. Barsky,
Chairman

25-54-59

Dec. 3, 1953

Nat'l. Comm. to Win Amnesty
for the Smith Act Victims
667 Madison Avenue
Room 611
New York 21, N.Y.

35-54-50

Gentlemen:

I can speak for you December 17th.

My charge will be $25.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[Nat.'l Council Am.-Sov. Friendship]

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1220

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

1953 FEB 19 PM 7 37

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DR W E B DUBOIS.CARE PETER HYUN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PEACE CRUSADE=ROOM 310 326 WEST THIRD ST LOSA=

SW

:AGAIN WE EMBRACE HEARTILY THE OPPORTUNITY TO OFFER YOU AN ANNIVERSARY SALUTE. WE ACCLAIM YOU OUR LETTER IN THE STRUGGLE TOWARD THOSE INDIVIDISABLE GOALS OF PEACE AND FREEDOM. WE TAKE HEART IN YOUR CONTINUOUS AND BOLD INSISTENCE UPON AMERICAN-SOVIET UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION AS INDISPENSABLE AND YOUR CONFIDENCE THAT OUR PEOPLES COULD LIVE TOGETHERLY PEACEABLY.

25-51'76

¶ YOU MUST SHARE OUR PRAISE WITH MRS. DUBOIS. AS A MEMBER OF OUR NATIONAL COUNCIL FAMILY SHE ALSO BEARS A FAITHFUT WITNESS TO THESE CONVICTIONS AND WORKS FOR THEIR REALIZATION.

¶ ALL HONOR TO YOU BOTH=

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP RICHARD MORFORD DIRECTOR=••

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

114 east 32nd street • new york 16, n. y. • murray hill 3-2080

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Prof. Dirk J. Struik
Pauline Taylor
Max Weber

March 23, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois

This letter is to thank you in the name of the Directors of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship for your acceptance to speak at our meeting on the approaching Thursday night, March 26th at Rockland Palace, 155th Street and 8th Avenue.

We expect a very great turnout. May we suggest that you and Mrs. DuBois get to the meeting before 8:00 o'clock, if this is not going to be too difficult for you, because we want to start the meeting as early as possible and we would like to have all of our speakers on the platform around 8:00 o'clock to participate in the formal memorial part of the meeting.

We hope that this meeting will be a very interesting one and that you may be compensated for being there throughout the program because we expect to put you on late in the evening.

We did not discuss, as I remember, the time element. May we suggest a speech of twenty minutes, if this is agreeable to you.

I will take the liberty of calling you on the phone to find out if you have any requests concerning this meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Theodore Bayer
Administrative Secretary

TB:bc

25-54-6

for world peace...

MEMORIAL MEETING

To PREMIER JOSEPH V. STALIN

Dedicated to World Peace

SPEAKERS

DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS — **MR. PAUL ROBESON**

MR. ROCKWELL KENT — **MISS JESSICA SMITH**

MR. LEON STRAUS — **MR. ALBERT KAHN**

MUSICAL PROGRAM

25-54-5

Thursday Eve., March 26, 1953 • 7:30 p. m.

Rockland Palace, 8th Avenue and 155th St.

Admission — 75 cents (tax included)

for American-Soviet cooperation

Please fill in attached ticket order blank and return to:

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP
114 EAST 32nd STREET — SUITE 803 — N.Y.C., 16

Please send me..... tickets @ 75 cents each for the MEMORIAL MEETING to be held on Thursday Evening, March 26th.

I enclose check, money order, cash in the amount of $.....

Address.....

Name.....

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

114 east 32nd street • new york 16, n. y. • murray hill 3-2080

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R. A. Resika
Curtis Ritter
Dr. Holland Roberts
Joseph P. Selly
Jessica Smith
Rev. Wm. B. Spofford
Prof. Dirk J. Struik
Pauline Taylor
Max Weber

25-54-3

March 27, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Our offices and the Board wish me to extend to you our gratitude for your participation in the meeting last night and your splendid contribution to it. We only hope and pray that you have not been over-taxed by an effort to live up to your promise even at the risk of your health.

If it is at all possible, we would like to have the text of your speech for which there has been great interest expressed today in many quarters. If you have only one original manuscript, we promise to return it immediately after we have made a copy which will not take more than a day or two.

We hope that you derived some satisfaction from the success of this meeting which in a large measure can be attributed to your notable participation in it.

Sincerely yours,

Theodore Bayer

TB:MJ

Theodore Bayer
Administrative Secretary

March 27, 1953

Mr. Ted Bayer
American-Soviet Friendship Council
114 East 32 St.
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Bayer:

I am enclosing a copy of the speech which I delivered last night and which, of course, you are at liberty to use as you wish.

Also, I am enclosing a bill for my services. I wish I could afford to do such work free, but I cannot.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-54-7

[Nat'l Council of Am.-Sov. Friendship]

March 27, 1953

American-Soviet Friendship Council
114 East 32 St.
New York, 16, N.Y.

To W E B Du Bois's Dr

For speech at rally, March 26:

Preparation and delivery; secretarial help; cabfare, dinner and incidentals:	$50

Received Payment:

25-54-8

[Nat.'l Council of
Am.-Sov. Friendship]

April 21, 1953

Mr. Theodore Bayer
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship
114 East 32 St.
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Bayer:

25-54-4

If you have a copy of the program of the Stalin meeting, and texts or outlines of any of the speeches, will you kindly send copies to:

Dr. L.D. Reddick
Trevor Arnett Library
Atlanta University
273 Chestnut St., S.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

He wants them for his files. I have sent him a copy of my speech.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

114 east 32nd street • new york 16, n. y. • murray hill 3-2080

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Max Weber

25-54-45

April 22, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In line with your suggestion, we have sent the enclosed letter and material mentioned in it to Dr. L. D. Reddick.

Very sincerely,

Theodore Bayer

TB:MJ
enc:

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Curtis Ritter
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Joseph P. Selly
Jessica Smith
Rev. Wm. B. Spofford
Prof. Dirk J. Struik
Pauline Taylor
Max Weber

25-54-28

October 23, 1953.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

After considerable battling, we are happy that we have today completed a contract for a hall for the Annual Rally of the National Council to be held on Thursday - November 12, 1953. The place is the Hotel Capitol - Eighth Ave. at 51st Street.

At you know the annual rally in November is in observance of the dual anniversaries - this year the 36th anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet state and the 20th of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Because it is the 20th - we shall put some stress on this anniversary and make plea for better diplomatic relations between the two countries in the future for the sake of the peace of the world.

We would be honored to have you share in this program and extend our earnest and sincere invitation. The thousand or more persons will welcome your straightforward message on this historic occasion.

We shall gladly arrange honorarium as before.

We do hope your schedule is clear and that you will think this occasion worthy and will come. It will be helpful to have an early decision, permitting us to complete the program and announce to our friends since the struggle to get a hall has already brought us uncomfortably close to November 12.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Morford

Richard Morford
Executive Director

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York City.

October 27, 1953

Richard Morford, Executive Director
Nat'l. Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.
114 East 32 Street
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Morford:

I shall be glad to speakkbriefly at the meeting of the Nat'l. Council of American-Soviet Friendship on November 12th.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

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Prof. Dirk J. Struik
Pauline Taylor
Max Weber

25-54-27

October 29, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
51 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are very happy that you will speak at the Rally on November 12.

Dr. Kingsbury will be the chairman of the meeting. Your colleagues in speaking will be Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, Mr. Paul Robeson, Mr. Melish, Miss Jessica Smith and possibly Mrs. Victoria Garvin and Mr. Leon Straus representing labor. This appeals to us as a good line-up for this occasion.

Perhaps an address of ten minutes' length meets your measurement when you say you will "speak briefly" For such an occasion, where a number of speakers are to take part, this would seem a wise length but it might be moved up to fifteen minutes if you chose.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Morford

Richard Morford
Executive Director

RM:bc

[National Council of American-Soviet Friendship]

25-54, 59

PROGRAM

Annual November Rally — Thursday, Nov. 12, 1953

8:00	Opening	Mr. Richard Morford
8:05	Anthems of the U.S. and U.S.S.R.	Mr. Serafim Strelkoff acc. Mr. Aron Pressman
8:10	Introduction of Chairman	Mr. Morford
8:10 - 8:20	Chairman's Address	Dr. John A. Kingsbury
8:20 - 8:30	Address	Rev. Wm. H. Melish
8:30 - 8:40	Address	Dr. Robert Morss Lovett
8:40 - 8:50	Address	Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
	(Safety allowance 10 min.)	
9:00 - 9:20	Songs	Miss Martha Schlamme acc. Miss Tanya Gould
9:20 - 9:50	Collection	Mr. Elliott Sullivan
9:50 - 10:00	Address	Mr. Leon Straus
10:00 - 10:15	Address	Miss Jessica Smith
	(Safety allowance 5 min.)	
10:20 - 10:50	Songs Address	Mr. Paul Robeson acc. Mr. Allen Booth
10:50	Dismissal	

# # #

ASP

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS inc.
35 West 64th Street, New York 23, N. Y. Telephone: SUsquehanna 7-4677

IRVING ADLER
National Director

April 16, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Our National Convention opens on April 25, at a time when there are signs of an increasing opposition among sections of the population to the attempts to destroy our civil liberties. The menace of McCarthyism is rousing more and more resistance; the people's will for an end to discrimination and for the achievement of peace becomes more and more manifest. We have every reason to hope that the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, through its professional, cultural and non-partisan political activities, will play a significant part in the liberal revival now in the making.

25-58-16

We are proud of our members who have stood firm for democratic principles through this trying period and we deem it an honor that you were among those who were with us on the national board. You have been renominated for another term of service as Vice-Chairman and we earnestly hope for your acceptance.

I am enclosing the first draft of a new policy and program to be submitted to the forthcoming convention. I would value your comment and criticism.

Sincerely yours,

Henry Pratt Fairchild

April 21, 1953

Dr. Henry Pratt Fairchild
National Council of the
Arts, Sciences and Professions
35 West 64 St.
New York 23, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Fairchild:

Shirley and I would be glad to attend the national convention of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, but we are going to the West Indies on the morning of April 25th for three weeks' rest.

Your new policy and program has our complete approval.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh
enc.

W.E.B. Du Bois

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DR. F. W. WEYMOUTH
CHARLES WHITE
HENRY WRIGHT

August 11, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
31 Grace Court,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have the honor of inviting you to be a guest speaker at a meeting in behalf of international peace at Carnegie Hall on Sunday evening, September 27th.

The National Council is scheduling its meeting at a time when the General Assembly of the United Nations will be convening in New York to plan the Political Conference on the Far East. In this atmosphere of negotiation, it seems appropriate that spokesmen of culture, labor, industry and the church proclaim their views on paths to peace not only in Korea but in the whole world.

As an indication of the quality of speakers whom we hope to secure, let me say that in addition to yourself, we have invited such persons as Jean Paul Sartre; Dr. John A. Mackay, President of the Princeton Theological Seminary; Mr. Ernest T. Weir; Dr. Lawrence Rosinger; Prof. Frederick Schuman; and Mr. Ralph Helstein, President of the International Packinghouse Workers Union.

In confidence that an expression from you and the other distinguished speakers will make an important contribution to the progress of peace, we await hopefully your favorable reply. Will you let us know soon?

Cordially,

Henry Pratt Fairchild,
National Chairman

Received Aug 12

HPF/NB

23-54-29

ASP

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CHARLES I. STEWART
PAUL M. SWEEZY
DR. F. W. WEYMOUTH
CHARLES WHITE
HENRY WRIGHT

25-54.21

August 14, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

We are happy that you are able to accept our invitation to speak at the peace meeting on Sept. 27.

As soon as the complete program for the evening takes more definite shape I shall let you know how many mimutes to prepare for.

Sincerely yours,

Irving Adler

Irving Adler

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HENRY WRIGHT

September 14, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I want to thank you again for being so cooperative through all our changes of date for the Carnegie Hall peace meeting. This note is to confirm the information I gave you in our last telephone conversation. The date is fixed for Sunday evening, September 27th. A copy of the circular announcing the meeting is enclosed.

You may count on twenty minutes for your share of the program.

We are arranging for all the speakers to have dinner together before the meeting, as guests of the National Council. Time: 6:30 P.M. Place: The Park-Sheraton Hotel, 7th Avenue and 56th Street. The dining room is just off the lobby at the 56th Street entrance. We hope that you and Mrs. Du Bois will both join us at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Irving Adler

Irving Adler

412

September 24, 1953

Mr. Irving Adler
National Council of the
Arts, Sciences and Professions, Inc.
35 West 64 Street
New York 23, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Adler:

Enclosed is my speech for Sunday. I should be glad to receive any criticism.

Will you kindly send me two extra tickets to:

31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, 2, N.Y.

We have guests whom we would like to bring Sunday night.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
enc.

25 54 62

[Nat'l Council" A.S.P.]

Resolution adopted at Carnegie Hall, September 27, 1953

One thousand Americans gathered in Carnegie Hall, New York, under the auspices of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, join unanimously in an urgent plea to all those who represent them in the Government of the United States to approach all questions of international adjustment in the spirit of flexibility, understanding, and honest compromise. No people is justified in assuming that it has all right on its side. In matters of economics, trade, and political relations there are many different concepts and approaches. Every people is entitled to its own interpretation of these considerations, and, when they necessarily come into contact, the only way to avoid hostility is through a mutual attitude of give-and-take. The rich, powerful, influential nation of the United States can afford to go half-way in these negotiations. It is in this spirit that we should approach the problem of convening the Korean peace conference and settling the Korean conflict.

25-58-78

The same spirit of understanding and conciliation is needed to solve the problem of international regulation of atomic weapons. The fact that the Soviet Union, as well as the United States, possesses atomic weapons of both the A-bomb and H-bomb types has created a new situation. Stubborn adherence by any government to old unsuccessful formulas for atomic disarmament clearly will not solve the problem. The time is ripe for a persistent search for new approaches to the problem, and for a serious effort to find a basis for agreement rather than to line up votes on opposing sides. The penalty for failure could well be destruction of the human race. The reward of success would be a world released from international tensions, and freed for peaceful , constructive activity.

.....

The National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions 35 W. 64 St., N.Y.

September 30, 1953

Mr. Irving Adler
National Council of Arts, Sciences & Professions
35 West 64 St.
New York 23, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Adler:

25-56-20

Shirley tells me that you are trying to have my Carnegie Hall speech published in Huberman's "Monthly Review".

I should be very glad to have this done, but if it is accepted Mr. Huberman must pay me for it.

I did not mention a charge for the Carnegie Hall speech, but as of course you know, I am retired and have to eat, and in most cases I ask payment for my talks.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Nat'l Council of the I.S.P.]

ASP NATIONAL NOTES

October 5, 1953 — 35 West 64th St., N. Y. 23

"SEEK PEACE AND PURSUE IT" In the spirit of this line from Psalm 34, one thousand persons assembled at Carnegie Hall last week at an ASP sponsored peace rally to explore the road "From Korean Truce To World Peace". They heard brilliant talks by Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, Bertha C. Reynolds, Prof. Philip Morrison and Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild. A copy of the resolution adopted at the meeting is enclosed.

"WORLD FORUM" An exciting new series of publications is now in preparation as part of ASP's program of fostering international cultural exchange. Under the general title "World Forum", this will be a series of international debates and symposia on significant problems in art, science and technology. A threefold purpose will be served: 1) to promote international understanding through a friendly exchange of ideas; 2) to promote freedom of thought by re-establishing the custom of hearing all sides of a controversial question; 3) to provide an educational service to the general public by presenting authentic material in popular form. The editor of the series if Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, our national chairman. Six booklets are already in preparation: The Theory of Resonance in Chemistry, edited by Dr. Vernon King; Inheritance of Acquired Characteristics, edited by Prof. Theodosius Dobzhansky; Modern Cosmology, edited by Prof. Lloyd Motz; The Crisis in Physics, edited by Dr. Melber Phillips; Realism in Literature, edited by Millard Lampell; Architecture and City Planning, edited by Henry Wright. Other subjects to be included in the series are Music, Philosophy, Art, Psycho-Therapy, Population and Food Supply.

"DR" JENNER HANGS OUT HIS SHINGLE In a move that would be ludicrous if it were not so ominous, Senator William E. Jenner has set himself up as an authority on what should be the content of a book on psychiatry. He used his Senate committee hearings to attack the scholarly work on "Soviet Psychiatry" by Dr. Joseph Wortis. The basis for the attack was the fact that the book is an objective study of current psychiatric theory and practice in the Soviet Union. Jenner would have preferred to see in the book politically motivated denunciations of alleged "slave labor", "impoverishment", etc. The Health and Welfare Division of the New York Council of ASP is planning a meeting on this new interference with scientific inquiry.

POLICY AND PROGRAM After a long delay caused by lack of funds, the new policy and program adopted by the national convention last Spring has finally gone to the printer. It will appear as an attractive 12-page booklet, and it includes thumbnail sketches of our chapters in action from coast to coast. It will be an effective aid to your 1954 membership drive. ORDER COPIES NOW at $4.00 per hundred.

CLERGYMEN'S DIVISION Attacks by congressional committees on clergymen who actively helped win the reforms of the New Deal period threaten the very foundation of religious liberty. In effect these congressional committees are forbidding clergymen to live by the ethical standards that they preach. In order to strengthen ASP's contribution to the fight for religious freedom, the National Executive Committee is undertaking to organize a Clergymen's Division of ASP. To help in this project, please send us the names of clergymen who belong to your chapter or who should be invited to join the division.

CONTEMPORARY READER The second issue of ASP's own literary quarterly came out in August, with short stories, poems and literary criticism. Contributors include new writers as well as such veterans as Thomas McGrath, Edwin Berry Burgum, Millard Lampell and Abraham Polonsky. Prof. Burgum's provocative article on "Playwriting and Arthur Miller" has aroused considerable discussion. Single copies are 75¢. Annual subscription is $2.50.

NATIONAL NOTES This is the first issue of what we hope will be a monthly newsletter. It can serve to bind our chapters together and co-ordinate their activities with the work of the national office. To be sure that future issues will really be national in scope, please send in regular reports on your chapter's activities and plans. Send material for the next issue by Oct. 30. Comments and criticisms are invited.

ASP

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS inc.

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CHARLES I. STEWART
PAUL M. SWEEZY
DR. F. W. WEYMOUTH
CHARLES WHITE
HENRY WRIGHT

25-56-21

October 6, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I want to thank you for your outstanding contribution to the success of our peace rally at Carnegie Hall on September 27th. The requests we received for printed copies show that your talk was deeply appreciated.

Enclosed is a check for $50, a sum we know to be wholly inadequate as a fee for your splendid talk. We wish it could be more.

I spoke to Leo Huberman, and he said that if the talk is printed in Monthly Review, they will, of course, pay for it.

Sincerely yours,

Irving Adler

Irving Adler
National Director

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ASP

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS inc.

35 West 64th Street, New York 23, N. Y. Telephone: SUsquehanna 7-4677

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HENRY WRIGHT

25-56-28

October 19, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Mr. Huberman has informed me that he is not planning to print your talk in Monthly Review. Because of our grave financial problems we can't undertake to print it ourselves, and we see no other possibility of printing it at this time. I am therefore returning the corrected copy to you.

Thanks again for a splendid contribution to the success of our meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Irving Adler

Irving Adler

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS

PROPOSED POLICY AND PROGRAM

The National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions is dedicated to the defense and further development of a free, democratic culture. In the pursuit of this goal it seeks to accomplish two distinct, but related results: first, it encourages the members of the groups it represents to take the distinctive part in the affairs of the community for which their particular capacities qualify them; to use their professional skills in advancing popular welfare, through an improved standard of living, better health and cultural enrichment. Second, it seeks to protect and advance the special interests of these groups and to provide a free field for the exercise of their talents. At the present time the second of these objectives has been forced into a predominant position. The current practice of singling out individuals and groups in the arts, sciences and professions for special investigation, attack, restriction and humiliation, has compelled the National Council to assume the defensive in a considerable part of its activities. But for the achievement of our positive goals, as well as for the defense of traditional rights, we believe that the atmosphere of freedom guaranteed by our Constitution and its Bill of Rights is indispensable and the determination to preserve and protect it permeates and inspires every activity the Council engages in. We therefore pledge our best efforts to the following:

1. We challenge all forms of "thought control" and official and unofficial censorship of political, intellectual, scientific and artistic work or conduct. We regard the current "loyalty" oaths, "investigations" of opinion and belief, blacklists, trials and imprisonment for teaching and advocacy, as a direct violation of the First Amendment to the Constitution - and the antithesis of a free society. Enforced conformity dries up the springs of creative effort, destroys the free exchange of ideas, which is the lifeblood of scientific progress, and undermines integrity.

II. We call for freedom of communication and publication, unrestricted travel and the unhampered international interchange of knowledge, ideas and artistic achievements.

The banning - and even the burning - of books, the denial of passports, the interference with scientific and cultural conferences, the elimination of recognized classics from our libraries abroad, are all manifestations of the same growing hysteria - which is an unmistakable forerunner of fascism.

III. We demand full and equal opportunities for the practice of the arts, sciences and professions. The latent talents of the people are a priceless national resource and must not be restricted, squandered or diverted to non-constructive ends. To permit the fullest cultivation of these talents equality of educational opportunity must be provided. This should include opportunity for professional training and employment, with financial assistance to overcome economic handicaps, and without discrimination on grounds of race, religion or national origin.

IV. We condemn and reject the assumption of superiority on the part of any group of people which leads to the oppression or subjection of other groups. In the United States this takes the characteristic forms of anti-Semitism and discrimination against Negroes and the foreign-born. Every such act is a direct denial of democracy, undermines the very foundations of the country and unfits it for leadership in a world striving for national and racial equality. In particular, because this is one of our great national responsibilities, we demand the full extension of political, social and economic rights and equalities to our Negro population. This is essential, not only as a matter of simple justice, but also in order that the nation may have the benefit of the vast reservoirs of talent and ability which are inherent in the Negro people.

The immense contribution already made by the Negro people to the cultural life of our country is indicative of the further contribution that might be made if existent handicaps were removed.

V. We propose resumption of the advance in social and economic well-being which has been interrupted and threatened by the development of the cold war. Much still remains to be done before we can reach the goal of adequate health services, decent housing at reasonable cost and a higher standard of living.

VI. We place particular emphasis on the encouragement of cultural activities of all kinds. We shall do our utmost to widen opportunities for artistic and scientic expression. We shall make our own special contribution through our forums, publications, theatrical productions, films, concerts and art exhibitions.

VII. Finally, and most importantly, as the central and indispensable basis of all that the National Council stands for, we demand PEACE. None of the foregoing objectives is capable of attainment in an atmosphere of war or the preparation for war - cold or hot - actual or contemplated. We categorically reject all doctrines that hold that war is desirable or inevitable, or that it produces any values that cannot better be achieved by peaceful negotiation. We are convinced that all the difficulties, differences and tensions that afflict mankind at present can be resolved through the medium of peaceful negotiation. And we believe that only in an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity can the members of the Arts, Sciences and Professions achieve that fruition of their special talents which is essential to the realization of their own personalities and the rendering of their greatest contribution to society.

To achieve these goals, we shall cooperate with other organizations of the people -- economic, cultural, religious and civic -- to the extent that their programs and activities are consistent with ours. Artists, scientists and professionals are traditionally independent in politics, judging legislative proposals and candidates for office on their merits. We aim to give organized expression to this traditional attitude, on matters on which there is a clear consensus of our members. The freedoms we demand are, in a more profound sense obligations. The inalienable right of the artist, scientist and professional is the right to serve. We shall serve our country and its people, with the full measure of our devotion and professional skill.

25-58. 77

You are invited to attend

A Party and Reception

in honor of

Marvel Cooke

new director of

N.Y. Council Arts, Sciences and Professions

Friday Evening
June 26th at 8:30 pm

ASP HEADQUARTERS
35 WEST 64 STREET

Refreshments

SUBS. 1.00

June 26, 1953

Marvel Cooke
409 Edgecombe Av.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Marvel:

I was very sorry not to come to your party Friday evening, but I had another engagement which I could not break.

I wish you all success in your work.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

January 7, 1953

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
National Guardian
17 Murray Street
New York 7, N.Y.

25-64-4

Dear Mr. Belfrage:

I am enclosing an article.

I have a dim feeling that you spoke to me about something on another subject, but I cannot for the life of me remember.

Have you any of the articles which I have already sent you which you may use?

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Would you care to reply?
CA.

WILLIAM Y. TURNER
1717 W. NORTH SHORE AVE.
CHICAGO 26, ILLINOIS

January 11, 1953

National Guardian
17 Murray Street
New York 7, N. Y.

Gentlemen: Attention: The Editor

It seems that we who support the National Guardian should take special pride in being among the best of true Americans until such time as our shrinking world has fused all nations into a brotherhood of man.

To me it therefore appears most unfortunate that Mr. W. E. DuBois (who has done so many things basically good for all Americans) should have written the following:

> "Most of these animals whom I have met, are placid and polite, having manners far better than the average American."

This excerpt appears on Page 4, of the December 18, 1952, issue of your paper.

Possibly nations might be compared to families. One may deeply disagree with members of his own family, but one does not go around the neighborhood running down his father, mother, sister, or brother.

You may agree with me that it is a mistake for Mr. DuBois to give any group justification for calling us Un-American, and thereby place us at a disadvantage in obtaining all possible converts to a policy in the best interest of the United States first, and then all mankind.

Those capitalists who put themselves first and their group next, often appear to debase our government and its foreign policy to their own purpose, which appears clearly Un-American.

It therefore seems necessary for us to maintain the best possible position for converting as many of our fellow Americans as possible to a policy of not soiling themselves by any voluntary cooperation in such Un-American activities.

Your comments would be appreciated.

Yours very truly,

Wm Y Turner

WYT/T

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-3960

Jan 14 1953

Dear Dr DuBois:

Thank you for your gracious forgiveness of my stupidity.

We like your statement on democracy very much. One thing struck both Jim and myself. The paragraph on p. 2 beginning "Now who was it..." is hard to understand on first reading, perhaps owing to the thought having been a little too much compressed. We both think it might be made simpler andclearer though this would mean making it a little longer. If you agree, perhaps you would be willing to re-phrase it.

25-64-2

I would raise two other things, though not to make any big point of either one. (1) The article is a little on the long side for us and, while we ourselves will not cut it, we would accept any suggestions you might feel like making for small cuts. (2) The theme seems to lend itself well to our Negro History Week issue, but if so used, the article might [redacted] benefit contextually by briefly bringing up into the first paragraph or two the thought in the last paragraph.

I leave it to you to make whatever small changes along these lines you feel like making.

One other thing: We need a review of Annette Rubinstein's new book. I understand from her that you have been reading it. As you know, it is quite impossible for us to publish long book reviews, and a short review of this one presents a real problem. Would you undertake a 300-400 word review - or maybe (that at length it should be called a report - which would at least give our readers an idea of the scope and value of the book?

Sincerely yours,

Cedric Belfrage

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February 5, 1953

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
National Guardian
17 Murray St.
New York, N.Y.

25-64-3

Dear Mr. Belfrage:

In November I sent you an article on the last election which I am sure you are not going to use. But in any case, I have sent it elsewhere, so that I am writing to forestall any possibility of your using it in the future.

Mrs. Du Bois and I are leaving February 11th, to be gone until some time in early March. We are lecturing in the middle west and on the Pacific coast. Have you any suggestions concerning contributions I might make while I am away?

Best regards,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

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WESTERN UNION

1201

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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1953 FEB 19 PM 4 16

W E B DUBOIS, CARE PETER HYUN, PEACE CRUSADE=

RM 310 326 WEST 3 ST LOSA=

:WE SUSPECTED THAT YOUR PLEAS TO PROGRESSIVE TO STOP GIVING YOU BIRTHDAY DINNERS WOULD BE IN VAIN. WE ALL LOVE YOU TOO MUCH TO GIVE UP THE HABIT AT LEAST DURING THE NEXT FEW DECADES WHILE YOU PERSIST IN HAVING BIRTHDAYS. WARMEST AFFECTION AND RESPECT TO OUR MOST DISTINGUISHED CONTRIBUTOR=

:STAFF OF NATIONAL GUARDIAN=:

["Nat.'l Guardian"]

AE 1-15-53

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-1750

February 20, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
c/o Calif. Peace Crusade
326 W. 32nd Street -Rm.310
Los Angeles 13, Cal.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I owe you a profound apology for not answering your note of February 5 before you left for the Coast. We have been absolutely snowed under by the crisis in the Rosenberg Case and my time has been even more limited by the absence of Jim Aronson in California for the past three weeks.

I do not have any special suggestions for articles but in the hope of continuing to get in the paper a short piece by you every two or three weeks, I would most certainly not discourage you from sending us an occasional report on significant incidents or encounters that you may have during your travels. I was delighted by the last piece that you sent about cats and it has priority for a column if and whenever the life and death news will yield that much space.

With warmest regards to Mrs. DuBois and yourself,

Cedric Belfrage

Cedric Belfrage
Editor

25-55-5

May 21, 1953

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
c/o National Guardian
17 Murray St.
New York 7, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Belfrage:

Shirley and I have just returned from three sun-drenched weeks in the Bahamas, to learn that the government has begun to persecute you. I do not know whether this will reach you, but I venture to send you a word of deepest sympathy.

I am beginning to feel that unless I get in jail very soon I have not been doing my duty towards my nation and times.

Shirley says that deportation to almost any country just now does not seem to hurt or be so bad, but I am disposed to believe that one of our freedoms is to live where we will in the world so long as we do the needed work. Certainly this you have done, and I hope from my heart that we are not going to lose you.

I am writing this just as a greeting and hope and believe that I shall have the pleasure of seeing you soon.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
The Progressive Newsweekly

~~17 Murray Street~~
~~New York 7, N. Y.~~
Ellis Island

Cedric Belfrage
Editor

June 1st, 1953

Dear good friend:

I am embarrassed (also of course flattered) by comparison between myself and John Peter Zenger, who edited his Weekly Journal from a New York jail in 1735 when the Government tried to suppress it. I never aspired to become a second Zenger, and I must confess that Ellis Island is a little better than a jail -- although the slight difference is rather cold comfort.

I would rather remain free to write and edit the Guardian in the fight for peace and political sanity. But since the McCarthy-McCarran rulers of America decree otherwise, I shall carry on the fight from Ellis Island as long as I must.

My personal predicament is not uppermost in my mind, however. My over-riding concern, like yours, is for the Guardian. The Guardian can never be silenced by cell bars or intimidation, but might be silenced by inability to pay its bills.

The Guardian's principles stand unsullied by compromise -- but the spring storms have done considerable damage. We have $13,000 worth of winter-spring bills that must be cleared away so we can square off for new assaults -- sure to come this summer. Our growing number of "Buck of the Month" pledgers is a good omen for the Guardian's future, but we need immediate help to clear away those past and present bills. That is the point of this letter.

(Is there a spare dollar in the house? My colleagues at 17 Murray Street can certainly use it right now by return mail. And please do send it by return mail.)

All our best to the best people in this land -- you who by your courage and action have won for the Guardian the honor of being attacked by the Grand Inquisitors.

Faithfully,

Cedric Belfrage

P.S.: The enclosed gadget is magic! You fold it into a coinbox for your pocket or purse, feed it daily with pennies, nickels and (most appropriately) Roosevelt dimes, and Presto! You're a Guardian Angel, with more than enough saved up each month to join the Guardian's Buck of the Month Club. Won't you try it? C.B.

42/1A/3

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the newspaper that covers the world

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-3960

Room 146 MC
Ellis Island N Y

June 3

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Of the hundreds of letters I have received here, yours did me the most solid good, not only for what you wrote, but for who you are. Please forgive me for not acknowledging it sooner.

I reciprocate your hope that we may meet again soon, but after nearly three weeks the judge is still pondering the question of whether the republic will fall if I am allowed on bail. I hardly expect a favorable decision, so that we shall have to start the long process of appeals. Fighting the McCarran-Walter Act, once it has got you in the net, is like fighting a down pillow. They can do practically anything they like.

However, my physical and mental health remains good, so far as I can judge; I am still unhinged enough to think that this is an asylum in which only the inmates are sane.

My cordial regards to you both,

Sincerely,

Cedric Belfrage

25-55-4

[Nat'l Guardian]

September 25, 1953

Mr. John McManus
National Guardian
17 Murray St.
New York 7, N.Y.

Dear Mr. McManus:

The GUARDIAN has ommitted to pay me for two contributions.

One, September 21, which you may still have in mind, the other May 25th. That one you seem to have quite forgotten.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-3960

Sept. 25, 1953

Dear Dr. DuBois:

At last we have nailed down the date for the Guardian's Fifth Anniversary dinner: It is November 17 in the Century Room of the Hotel Commodore.

We all hope most earnestly that you will agree to be one of the guests of honor and our chairman for the evening. The program, we hope, will be bried and brilliant: we are asking speakers other than the chairman (and the collection speaker, of course) to limit themselves to five minutes at the most and I am sure they will all agree!

25-54-25

Our other guests will be, pending acceptances, Mr. Marcantonio, Barrows Dunham, Mrs. Bessie Mitchell, Emanuel H. Bloch, Carl Marzani, perhaps Judge Norval Harris of Indiana, and Cedric Belfrage.

We hope, of course, that you will accept an honorarium for undertaking the task of sending these wild horses to the starting post.

It is a great occasion for us, having lasted these five tough years, and it will be a real privilege to have you among those helping us on to another five years.

Respectfully,

John T. McManus

September 28, 1953

September 28, 1953

Mr. John McManus
National Guardian
17 Murray St.
New York, 7, N.Y.

Dear Mr. McManus:

Answering your letter of September 25th, may I say that I shall be gladdto preside at your Fifth Anniversary dinner November 17th.

The proposed honorarium is not my main reason by any means, but it had its influence.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W. E. B. Du Bois

25-54-26

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-3960

September 29, 1953

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed you will find a check for $25 - $15 for the May 25 article and $10 for the September 21 piece. We are glad you reminded us of the indebtedness; we slipped up on the May 25 payment - a rare thing for us - and had you scheduled for the September 21 payment.

Cedric and I both hope that you will continue to send us short pieces when the mood strikes you. We share our readers' pleasure with them -- and may we both tell you how much we enjoyed your remarks Sunday night at Carnegie Hall. They were in the tradition of your ever-fresh presentation.

Sincerely yours,

James Aronson

JA:V

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N.Y.

25-64-6

October 5, 1953

Theodore Peck
National Guardian
17 Murray St.
New York 7, NY

Dear Theodore:

I cannot tell you how much Shirley and I enjoyed the ballet last night. It was magnificent.

I want to thank you for giving us the opportunity.

Yours with love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

WEBDB/lh

25-55-3

[Nat.'l Guardian]

WEEKLY GUARDIAN ASSOCIATES, Inc. • • • • •
17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-1750

Nov. 23 1953

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In sending you the enclosed, in warm memory of the skill with which you piloted our birthday party, we are rather overwhelmed by the realization of its inadequacy. Its relationship to the value of your contribution that evening is dim, to say the best that can be said. The affair seems to have been regarded by everyone present as the best-conducted meeting in years. A tremendous amount of the credit for this is rightfully yours.

I believe I hardly need tell you that the collection, like all collections so far as I know, was not quite as fabulous as it might sound to the uninitiated, in terms of "new" contributions. But excellent as it was, a gaping hole of existing obligations was waiting here at the office to engulf most of it.

I hope you will accept from our hearts the full measure of our appreciation which the hard facts of our economic life make it impossible to translate into figures.

Most cordially yours,

Cedric Belfrage

25-54-24

[National Guardian] [1953]

2090 Princeton Street
Palo Alto. Cal.

Kyrle Elkin

Dear Sir,

I wondered where you had got to, I am all for it of course. Enclosed is my check, but don't you think? or have you considered? that inasmuch ~~that~~ as In Battle for Peace is already on the market that all this would be better applied to the first volume of the new work?

I have no doubt that you have considered it, but I can't think of an answer.

42-10-12

Sincerly,

Edward Lowis

Edward Lowis

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

March 6, 1953

To the Members of the Institute:

The next dinner meeting of the Institute will be held on Monday evening, April 6, at seven o'clock at the

Knickerbocker Club
2 East 62nd Street
New York City

at which we hope that many of the newly elected members listed herewith will be present, as well as the new Honorary Associate, Gian Carlo Menotti:

Department of Art: Louis Bouché, John F. Folinsbee, Leo Friedlander and William Zorach

Department of Literature: Rachel Carson, Mary Colum, Rolfe Humphries, Marquis James and Reinhold Niebuhr

Department of Music: Wallingford Riegger.

At a dinner of the Institute, held on December 22, the Council was requested "to re-study the method of elections to the Institute with a view of presenting more candidates to the membership than there are vacancies so that the general membership may have a choice in the final selections."

In conformity with this suggestion, the Council at a meeting held on December 23, prepared the attached amendment to the By-Laws, which will be voted upon at the meeting.

Please answer on the enclosed postal card whether or not you will be able to attend.

Very sincerely yours,

Louis Kronenberger

Secretary

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

March 17, 1953

To the Members of the Institute:

The Council acting as an ad hoc committee recommends the approval by the Institute of the intent of the bills herein described, proposing the establishment of a National War Memorial Arts Commission.

This does not in any way imply that the ad hoc committee approves or disapproves the exact specifications of the bills, but as remarked above, merely the intent: the recognition of the arts as an essential phase of the morale and natural resources of the country.

Would you sanction such an approval by the Institute? Please answer on the enclosed postal card.

Very sincerely yours,

Louis Kronenberger

Secretary

REPORT ON A NATIONAL ARTS COMMISSION

On January 26, 1953 Mr. Henry Hope, Chairman of the ad hoc committee of Unesco, named to consider ways and means of effecting closer international cooperation between workers in the fine arts, wrote as follows to Mr. Marc Connelly:

> "During the discussion last Friday at our ad hoc Unesco Committee on the arts you will recall that several members expressed the hope that as a follow-up to the International Conference of Artists held in Venice last fall, there might be formed in the United States an American Council of Arts based very freely on the British Arts Council and with both a domestic and international program of activities which would include all of the major arts, music, Theatre, Opera, the Fine Arts as well as a publication program embracing Poetry and Letters.
>
> "This is such a large and complex proposal that it requires far more investigation, study and planning than anyone of us would be in a position to undertake... Therefore the committee voted to seek out an organization related to some or all of these arts and to ask if it could consider financing the necessary research program... This brief...note is merely to serve as a reminder and to express the hope that the Institute of Arts and Letters might feel able to undertake the cost of the preliminary research."

Before any decision on this matter could be taken, a copy of H.R. 452, introduced into the 83rd Congress by the Hon. Charles R. Howell of the 4th District of New Jersey on January 3, 1953*, was received by Mr. Connelly. Mr. Howell, by his own statement, has made just such a preliminary study of various European models for an Arts Council as Mr. Hope described, before adapting their programs to the American scene.

*The identical bill has since been introduced into the Senate by Senators Murray, Neely, Humphrey, Langer and Kefauver.

For purposes of comparison, therefore, it might be useful to make a brief resume of the scope and intent of assistance to the fine arts in France and in England before proceeding to an outline of Mr. Howell's bill.

The protection that many European countries offer to the arts is traditional, stemming originally from the patronage of royalty and the dependence on that patronage of artists in all fields -- music, drama, literature and the plastic arts. Since the fall of the Bourbons every French government has maintained a similar attitude of responsibility towards its creative workers. This has been heightened in recent years, partly in consequence of the important role played by artists of every rank in the resistance movement during the late war.

Leaving aside a description of the Institut de France and its subsidiary, the French Academy, as well as the Department of Fine Arts (which deals with architecture, historic monuments and museums), as too well known to need any discussion here, we find that the state in France recognizes all the arts and their proponents as part of the natural resources of the country, to be exploited for the benefit of the people, and to be conserved and protected to the same degree as other aspects of the national wealth.

The state therefore subsidizes the great theatres of the capital -- the two sections of the Comédie Française and the Théâtre National du Palais de Chaillot. In an effort to counteract the effects of too great centralization it also gives financial aid to six Provincial Dramatic Centers, which are further subsidized by the cities and regions where

25-58-58

they are established, as well as to an increasing number of regional festivals of drama and music. The drama is also brought to the people through a partially subsidized venture known as the Théâtre Populaire, which produces plays at popular prices in the Paris suburbs. To encourage a fresh approach to dramatic techniques, funds are allotted to young repertory companies, which also vie in competitions for money prizes and the signal honor of producing one of their plays in a Parisian theatre. The emergence of new playwrights is likewise stimulated by what is called l'aide à la première pièce--the allocation of special funds to theatres producing plays by hitherto unknown dramatists.

Subsidies for music are equally generous. At the head of the list of organizations receiving state aid are the Opéra and the Opéra Comique, but no less significant is the subsidizing of the great symphony societies and chamber music groups. An important feature of the state's attitude towards its musicians is the practice of giving grants in aid to composers and executants, of awarding medals and prizes for new compositions, and of commissioning operas, librettos and other musical works.

Some of these activities fall within the province of the Minister of Education, some under the Department of Beaux-Arts, but all are coordinated to a certain degree under the Association Française d'Action Artistique, which makes arrangements with the various government departments for the execution of artistic projects, and plans all international interchanges of traveling exhibitions, theatrical troupes, ballet companies and films.

The British Arts Council, the counterpart of these various French departments and bureaux, is of more recent origin, being an outgrowth of the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, which was founded during the war to satisfy the hunger for solid cultural fare among the people of all classes. (The Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, a private organization, was by an odd chance financed in part by an American, through the Pilgrim Trust.)

25-58.60

The Arts Council exists under a Royal Charter of August 9, 1946, with the avowed purpose of developing "a greater knowledge, understanding and practice of fine arts exclusively, and in particular to increase the accessibility of the fine arts to the public...to improve the standard of execution of the fine arts and to advise and cooperate with...Government departments, local authorities and other bodies on matters concerned directly or indirectly with those objects." Although sponsored by the Government, it is not a Government department, but an autonomous body. It makes no attempt to control the output of the artist, or to prescribe the type of entertainment, for example, provided by the theatres or opera companies to which it contributes grants and subsidies. Its aim is to "provide the conditions in which art might flourish," to raise the standards both of performance and appreciation of the arts, to encourage the production of new works, while giving full play to the initiative of individual artists and local groups.

The Council is made up of a chairman, a vice-chairman and fourteen other members who serve without pay, save for any expenses

incurred while attending to Art Council business. Advisory panels in art, drama, music and poetry, consisting of from 14 to 21 members, are drawn from the highest ranks of their professions to assist the Council in determining how it can best fulfill its functions under the Charter in their special fields. These also serve without pay, except for their chairmen, who, with the chairman and vice-chairman of the Council, act as an Executive Committee. The panels for art, drama and music have been exceedingly active since the inception of the project. For lack of funds the poetry panel, apart from sponsoring a poetry competition and several interesting series of poetry readings during the Festival of Britain, has been obliged to limit itself to making suggestions for the future, when more funds might be available.

The Council attempts to support the arts by giving financial aid or guarantees to non-profit groups, but in a few cases it provides concerts and exhibitions, or manages a company or theatre directly, without any intermediary. It may lend or give money outright to appropriate organizations associated with it; it may also give a limited guarantee against losses. Its purposes are sometimes fulfilled merely by giving general approval and moral support to the aims of associated organizations. Among the organizations associated with the Council are the Edinburgh Festival, the London Philharmonic Orchestra, the Hallé Orchestra, the Covent Garden Opera, the Sadler's Wells Company, the Old Vic, and innumerable other more obscure theatre and music groups, art centers and

clubs throughout England, Scotland and Wales. Local interest in the arts is encouraged by art exhibitions, lectures and demonstrations, and by the creation of art centers designed to house a variety of art expressions under one roof. Through the good offices of the Council, traveling art exhibitions of works from domestic and foreign collections, music groups of all kinds, and repertory companies are sent to areas where they had never penetrated before.

25-58-62

Supplementary legislation passed by Parliament in 1948 has also authorized local and municipal governments to impose added taxes for the support of the arts. As a result, cities, towns and villages all over the British Isles have begun programs similar to those of the Arts Council on the local plane, establishing theatres, granting subsidies or offering guarantees against loss to orchestras, choral societies, art centers, music clubs and local festivals. This tendency toward decentralization, which the Arts Council itself is promoting energetically, not only offers resistance to standarization from the capital, but also awakens strong feelings of worthy emulation and civic pride in the participating municipalities.

Contrary to the European experience, what few steps have been taken in the United States in the direction of government support of the arts are limited to the local level. Representative Howell, for example, cites the civic center in the capital of his native state of New Jersey and other local centers for the encouragement of the humanities as models for certain provisions of his bill.

In a prepared statement describing the background and purposes of H. R. 452, he expresses the hope that this measure will prove to the older nations that "we here in America have reached maturity and have much to offer in the way of leadership in the cultural field" as well as in the way of economic and military aid. The form and scope of H.R. 452, he writes, have been based on the National Science Foundation Act, passed by the 81st Congress, which was drawn up in such a manner as to preclude Federal domination and control of scientific research. (Under this act the Federal government allocated about $340,000,000 to colleges and universities for 1952-53, while Mr. Howell's bill calls for an allocation of no more than $20,000,000 yearly for fine arts projects.) Quoting from the report of the President's Commission on Higher Education in 1947, Mr. Howell points out that the arts, and active encouragement of artistic expression in its various forms, cannot be left to the artists alone or to any other single group, but must become the responsibility of all citizens.

The summary of H. R. 452 that follows is in the exact words of the bill except where abridgements have been indicated by brackets. In order to make it read more easily, subheadings have been introduced, and cuts have been made in the legal verbiage without use of ellipses.

A BILL TO PROVIDE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL WAR MEMORIAL ARTS COMMISSION, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES.

Purposes

It is the purpose of this Act 1) to encourage the growth and development of the fine arts throughout the United States for the purpose of developing greater knowledge, understanding and practice of the fine arts,

2) to increase the accessibility of the fine arts to the public and to raise the standard of execution of the fine arts, by professionals and amateurs alike, throughout the Nation,

3) to establish a Federal agency to advise and cooperate with public and private agencies and organizations operating in the field of the fine arts on all matters directly or indirectly concerned with these objects,

4) to provide for the establishment in the Nation's Capital of a suitable theater and opera house designed for use by the National War Memorial Arts Commission in the presentation of fine arts programs, and

5) to encourage the development of a strong American theatrical and operatic art through maximum use of the English language in productions assisted under this Act.

Establishment of a National War Memorial Arts Commission

Section 2. There is established a commission to be known as the National War Memorial Arts Commission, to be composed of 1) the President of the United States, ex officio, who shall be chairman, the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and the Chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor, [the ranking

minority members of those committees, the Secretaries of Defense, Interior and State], the Librarian of Congress, the Director of the National Gallery of Art, the Chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts, the Commissioner of Education, the Chairman of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, the Chairman of the National Planning Commission, the Director of the Smithsonian Gallery of Art, the Director of Radio, Television and Motion Pictures in the Department of Agriculture, the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and

2) fifteen citizens to be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, eminent in the fields of the fine arts, education, recreation, veterans' affairs, business, agriculture, labor, the professions, State, county and municipal government and public affairs, selected solely on the basis of established records of distinguished service, so as to provide adequate representation for the views of leaders in the fine arts in all areas of the Nation. [These shall be appointed for a period of six years, three being revolved off each year, and the appointees divided between the two major parties in a ratio of 8 to 7.]

Functions of the Commission

Section 3. (a) The Commission is authorized and directed 1) to develop and encourage the pursuit of a national policy for the promotion of and education in the fine arts; 2) to initiate and support both professional and amateur activities in all fields of the fine arts by

making contracts or other arrangements (including grants, loans, and other forms of assistance); 3) at the request of any head of any department, agency or independent establishment of the Federal Government, to initiate and support specific fine arts activities; 4) to award scholarships and graduate fellowships in the fine arts; 5) to foster the interchange of fine arts information among professional and amateur artists (both individuals and organizations) in the United States and those in foreign countries; and between the Federal Government and governments of foreign countries; 6) to evaluate fine arts programs undertaken by agencies of the Federal Government, and correlate the fine arts program of the Commission with similar programs and activities undertaken by individuals and by public and private fine arts groups; 7) to establish, maintain and administer in the Nation's Capital a theater and opera house to be known as the National War Memorial Theater and Opera House; 8) to employ artists and other personnel and to do such things as may be necessary to encourage the development of contemporary art and effect the widest distribution and cultivation of such art by professionals and amateurs alike; 9) to assist financially and otherwise in the preparation and presentation of professional and amateur fine arts productions and programs which are carried on by Federal, State, county and municipal agencies, by accredited colleges and universities, and by other non-profit organizations in the field of the fine arts;

(b) It shall be one of the objectives of the Commission to strengthen

professional and amateur activities in the fine arts, including independent work in all parts of the United States and its possessions, and to avoid undue concentration of such activities.

Director of the Commission

Section 5. There shall be a Director of the Commission who shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Commission may make recommendations to the President with respect to the appointment of the Director, and the Director shall not be appointed until the Commission has had an opportunity to make such recommendations. He shall receive compensation at the rate of $15,000 per annum and shall serve for a term of six years unless sooner removed by the President.

Executive Committee

Section 6. The Commission shall appoint from among its members an Executive Committee [with appropriate duties except that it may not establish policies]. The Executive Committee shall render a quarterly report and an annual report to the Commission, summarizing its activities and making such recommendations as it may deem appropriate. [The Commission is also empowered to set up other committees as necessary.]

Divisions of the Commission

Section 7. There shall be within the Commission the following divisions:

1) Opera and other forms of music
2) Drama and Speech
3) Ballet and other forms of dance
4) Literature and poetry

5) Architecture
6) Motion Pictures and still photography
7) Radio and Television
8) Arts Personnel and Education
9) Painting and Sculpture and other plastic arts
[and such other divisions as the Commission may deem necessary].

Section 8. There shall be a committee for each division of the Commission [consisting of not less than nine persons who may be members of the Commission, eminent in the field of the fine arts, etc.], chosen so as to provide representation for all areas of the Nation. The terms of members of each divisional committee shall be two years.

Special Commissions

Section 9. [Special commissions set up from time to time shall consist of eleven members, six eminent in the fine arts and the others eminent in education, recreation, public affairs, etc., to make a comprehensive study of fine arts activities in their fields and to recommend to the Commission an over-all fine arts program in their particular fields.]

Powers of the Commission

Section 10. The Commission shall have the authority, within the limits of available appropriations, to do all things necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act, including the authority

1) to appoint personnel, purchase materials, and contract for services;

2) to erect a building or buildings or other structures for its own use [including a theater and opera house, with the approval of the National Capital Planning Commission];

3) to allot funds to any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Federal Government, or to any State, county or municipal agency, or to any non-profit organization, or to any accredited non-profit college or university, for direct expenditure in preparing and presenting professional or amateur fine arts productions and programs approved by the Commission, Provided, that funds shall be allotted only upon application satisfactory to the Commission, and the total amount of funds allotted shall not (except where the application is made by a department or agency of the Federal Government) exceed 25 per cent of the total of the expenditures required;

4) to award scholarships and graduate fellowships for work or study in the fine arts at accredited non-profit American or foreign institutions of higher education;

5) (A) to make the National War Memorial Theater and Opera House available without charge to any Federal, State, county or municipal agency, or any other non-profit organization, for the presentation of professional and amateur fine arts productions, [the Commission incurring no financial responsibility for these productions except the furnishing of heat, light and other incidental services];

(B) to develop and carry on in the National War Memorial Theater and Opera House a worthy fine arts program, including opera and other forms of music, ballet and other forms of dance, both professional and amateur, [and to produce similar programs in other parts of the country and in foreign countries];

6) to solicit, receive and use funds, materials and other property donated by others, if such funds, materials and other property are donated without restriction;

7) to publish and arrange for the publication of fine arts information.

International Activities

Section 11. The Commission is hereby authorized to cooperate and participate in any international fine arts activities consistent with the purposes of this Act and to expend for such international fine arts activities such sums as the Commission may deem desirable. The Director, with the approval of the Commssion, may defray the expenses of representatives of Government agencies and other public and private non-profit organizations, and of individual artists or groups of artists, incurred in attending accredited international fine arts festivals, events, or meetings, or in performing in other countries. [This authority is to be exercised only with the approval of the Secretary of State, so as to be consistent with the foreign policy objectives of the United States.]

25-58, 70

Remuneration of members

Section 12. Each member of the Commission and each member of a divisional committee or special commission shall receive $25 for each day he is actually engaged in the business of the Commission and shall be allowed travel expenses.

Appropriation

Section 14. To enable the Commission to carry out its powers and duties, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated not to exceed $1,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1954, and not to exceed $20,000,000 for each fiscal year thereafter.

Use of the English language

Section 19. All opera and drama productions presented by or under any arrangement with the Commission, with the exception of performances by visiting foreign companies, shall be presented in the English language to the maximum extent possible. Suitable translations into English shall be provided when foreign opera and drama productions are presented.

Department of Education and Arts

85-58-71

Section 20. The Congress hereby reaffirms its belief in the essential nature of the contributions being made by fine arts to the morale, health and general welfare of the Nation, and in the need for taking all possible steps to further encourage the development and increase the stature of the fine arts in the United States. The Congress accordingly expresses the hope that, with more complete recognition of the fine arts in our society, action will be taken to establish in the Government, on an equal footing with the other departments of the Government, a new Department of Education and the Arts, and to transfer to such Department the functions vested in the Commission.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

April 14, 1953

To the Members of the Institute:

On March 17 I wrote to the membership of the Institute asking them to vote on the Council's recommendation that the Institute approve the intent of the bills now before Congress providing for the establishment of a National War Memorial Arts Commission.

I can now report on the results of the voting. In such balloting 75% affirmative votes of those voting is required before the Institute can take an official position on any matter of public concern, as laid down in the Hocking-Lippmann report.* We received more than the necessary 75% in this instance.

The Council has therefore authorized the President to acquaint Congressman Howell of the Institute's approval of the intent of his bill and the similar measure introduced into the Senate, to express its serious concern with the progress and possible modification of the bills, and to ask him to inform the Institute of any hearings in connection with the proposed legislation.

The Institute's attitude in this matter will not be made public because the Council does not approve of the bills in their present form. The Council merely wishes to be informed of hearings so that the Institute, as a body of ranking artists, writers and musicians, may exert an influence and perhaps be called upon for advice and counsel in the future formation of a Fine Arts Commission.

Very sincerely yours,

Louis Kronenberger

Louis Kronenberger
Secretary

* See Proceedings, Second Series, Number One

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

April 15, 1953

To the Members of the Institute:

Nominations for membership in the Institute are now in order. The Council has apportioned the five vacancies as follows:

2 in Literature
2 in Art
1 in Music

If you have a nomination to make, will you fill in the enclosed form with your signature as proposer and obtain the signatures of two seconders? Any member may nominate a candidate in any of the departments but at least two of the three signatories required for the nomination must be members of the department for which a candidate is proposed. Members of the Institute must be native or naturalized citizens, qualified by notable achievement in Art, Music or Literature.

Very sincerely yours,

Louis Kronenberger

Secretary

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS

PROPOSAL OF CANDIDATES

"Any nomination for membership in the Institute must be submitted in writing signed by three members, of whom two must belong to the department for which the candidate is proposed, and must be received by the Secretary not later than October 1st." By-laws, ARTICLE VI, Section 3.

Name .....

Address .....

Department of Literature ☐ Art ☐ Music ☐

Name of Proposer

.....

Names of Seconders

.....

.....

Qualifications:

(IF NECESSARY USE REVERSE SIDE)

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

July 17, 1953

Dear Fellow Member:

On June 23, Mr. Archibald MacLeish telegraphed Mr. Marc Connelly, President of the Institute, making formal complaint against the announced policy of the State Department to exclude books from our libraries abroad, not on the basis of judgments affecting the books themselves, but on the basis of the connections or affiliations of their authors.

In accordance with the procedure laid down by the Committee of Six on Public Statements (see Proceedings, Second Series, Number One, p. 40ff.), an ad hoc committee was appointed to consider the complaint, consisting of Miss Isabel Bishop, and Messrs. Archibald MacLeish, Douglas Moore, Allan Nevins and Ralph Walker.

This committee has come to the conclusion that although the State Department's revised statement of policy (July 9) largely meets the criticism of its earlier policy or policies, it does not dispose of the issue, nor does it relieve the Institute of a responsibility to take a clear and unmistakable position on a matter going to the heart of its interests, and, indeed, of its reason for existence.

They therefore agreed that we should state our position notwithstanding, and propose that this be done in a letter to the President of the United States (of which a copy is herewith enclosed), which we would ask his permission to release to the press.

According to the agreed procedure an affirmative vote of three quarters of the members voting shall be necessary for acceptance of the Ad Hoc Committee's recommendation. Will you please indicate on the enclosed postcard whether you approve? If so, your name will appear as one of the signatories of this letter.

Very sincerely yours,

Louis Kronenberger

Secretary

821-11-48

[Nat.'l Institute of Arts & Letters]

To the President of the United States

Sir:

The undersigned, artists, composers and writers, as members of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, wish to express to you our appreciation of the forthright and heartening stand you have taken on the freedom of literature and the arts, and our deep satisfaction that the policy of the government with relation to its Overseas Libraries has now been brought into conformity with the position thus defined.

Writers and artists are necessarily concerned with the preservation of free institutions: their lives and their work depend upon it. We were therefore profoundly disturbed by the revelation that the United States Government had been removing books from its libraries abroad not on the basis of their merit or lack of merit as books but on the basis of the political orientation of their authors. We would be the last to wish to see books advocating the destruction of the freedoms by which we live as Americans, and work as artists, circulated throughout the world by libraries maintained by our own government. But we are equally reluctant to see the government of this Republic adopt a policy with reference to books and works of art appropriate only to a Communist police state. For the evaluation of books or works of art on the basis of the beliefs of their creators rather than on the basis of their merit or lack of merit in themselves is a standard Communist procedure which Americans, down to now, have despised and rejected and which our government, above all others, should not emulate.

40-11-129

No one has put this more forcibly than yourself in your letter of June 24 to the American Library Association: "...freedom cannot be served by the devices of the tyrant. As it is an ancient truth that freedom cannot be legislated into existence, so it is no less obvious that freedom cannot be censored into existence, and any who act as if freedom's defenses are to be found in suppression and suspicion and fear confess a doctrine that is alien to America".

We thank you for this forceful and unanswerable declaration of the American position. We were gratified to find it reflected in the statement of policy subsequently issued by the Department of State through the Administrator of its International Information Administration; particularly in the words: "...there is no place for book-burnings in an American library, let alone a library operated by our government. We don't deal with ideas we dislike by imitating the totalitarian techniques we despise. The burning of a book is not an act against that book alone; it is an act against free institutions". To that statement every loyal American must say Amen.

Very respectfully yours,

Copy for files

copy

July 28, 1953

Secretary
National Institute of Arts and Letters
633 West 155 St.
New York 32, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I disapprove of your proposed letter to the President of the United States on the State Department's policy on books. It is self-contradictory and made an occasion for red-baiting and unsupported slander of the Soviet Union. Have Americans, and Americans of intellect, stature and learning, got to the place where they cannot talk or think without slurring Russia? If the National Institute is interested in the truth about the Soviets, why not study and debate the situation instead of simply repeating current fear. Suppose it were true, as some of us believe, that the people of Russia today read more books of the best world literature than Americans ever had a chance to read or, at the present rate, will have in the next centuries?

25-31-90

You start by asserting your belief in "freedom of literature and the arts" and your profound disturbance by "the revelation that the United States Government had been removing books from its libraries abroad not on the basis of their merit or lack of merit as books, but on the basis of the political orientation of their authors."

Then you begin to hedge. You are willing to exclude books "advocating the destruction of the freedoms by which we live as Americans." You are unwilling to throw out books and works of art, but you have to add this policy is "appropriate only to a Communist police state." You then jump right into red-baiting by an entirely unsupported statement that "evaluation of books or works of art on the basis of the beliefs of their creators rather than on the basis of their merit or lack of merit in themselves is a standard Communist procedure which Americans, down to now, have despised and rejected and which our government, above all others, should not emulate."

So far you have succeeded in saying more about Communist procedure concerning books than you have about present American practice. You have done this gratuitously, without attempted proof, and apparently simply for the purpose of placating those who hate and fear the Communist state.

Your next paragraph on legislating freedom into existence or censoring it into existence is a contradiction of your red-baiting.

COPY

July 28, 1953

The last paragraph which expresses obsequious gratitude to President Eisenhower for what he did not do and did not say is a declaration as to what "every loyal American" should say, and which you in this very letter do not say.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

25-31-91

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

August 6, 1953

Mr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

I have your letter of July 28th addressed to the Secretary of the Institute and have forwarded it to him. I am sure he will be interested in the expression of your views.

With cordial greetings,

Very sincerely yours,

Felicia Geffen

Felicia Geffen
Assistant Secretary

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

August 26, 1953

25-31-5

Dear Fellow Member:

As the response to the proposed letter to the President of the United States on the State Department's policy on books was small (out of 239 living members only 127 voted - 113 in favor, 14 opposed) it has been decided not to send it - even though more than the required 75% of those voting were in favor of it.

Very sincerely yours,

Louis Kronenberger

Secretary

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

October 14, 1953

To the Members of the Institute:

A dinner meeting of the National Institute of Arts and Letters will be held on

Tuesday evening, November 17, 1953
at seven o'clock
at the Knickerbocker Club
2 East 62nd Street, New York City

There will be a discussion of the candidates for the awards of

The Gold Medal for Graphic Arts

The Gold Medal for Drama.

The attached amendment submitted by the Council will be discussed and voted upon.

Following the meeting, Mr. Virgil Thomson, member of the Institute, distinguished composer and critic, will give a talk on

"The Music Reviewer and his Assignment"

Please make every effort to attend and designate on the enclosed postal card whether or not we may expect you.

Very sincerely yours,

Louis Kronenberger

Louis Kronenberger
Secretary

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS

To the Members of the Department of Literature

Ballot for New Members

The names of the candidates who have been duly proposed for the Department of Literature are herewith respectfully submitted for consideration. There are at present TWO vacancies in the Department of Literature.

Before marking your ballot please read carefully the following extract from the By-laws: ARTICLE IV - Section 4: "Each member of a Department shall number the names proposed in order of his preference, and return the ballot to the Secretary not later than December 19th. Ballots received later than this date shall not be counted."

25-58-53

It is essential that the names of the ten candidates be numbered in the order of your preference, (1, 2, 3, etc.).

Candidate	Order of Preference	Candidate	Order of Preference
HAMILTON BASSO Novelist		CAROLINE GORDON Novelist	
ELIZABETH BISHOP Poet		ROBERT LOWELL Poet	
RICHARD P. BLACKMUR Critic		LLOYD MORRIS Historian	
H. L. DAVIS Novelist		ANNE PARRISH Novelist	
WALLACE FOWLIE Critic and Novelist		MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL Critic	

The name on the outside envelope is necessary for authentication but will not be identified with the ballot. The smaller envelope enclosing the ballot should be sealed and then remailed in the large envelope.

November 20, 1953

MALCOLM COWLEY
Chairman

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

November 30, 1953

To the Members of the Institute:

The next regular meeting and dinner of the Institute will be held on:

Monday evening, December 21, 1953
at seven o'clock
at the Knickerbocker Club
2 East 62nd Street, New York City

for the purpose of discussing the candidates for membership in the Institute, who have qualified in their respective departments.

Following the meeting, Miss Louise Bogan, member of the Institute, distinguished poet and critic, will give a talk on

"Poetry at its Source."

Please make every effort to attend and designate on the enclosed postal card whether or not we may expect you.

Very sincerely yours,

Louis Kronenberger

Louis Kronenberger
Secretary

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

December 22, 1953

To the Members of the Institute:

The Annual Meeting and Dinner of the Institute will be held on Friday, January 22, 1954, at seven o'clock at the

Knickerbocker Club
2 East 62nd Street
New York City

at which the election of new members will be announced and the enclosed slate of officers for the ensuing year voted upon.

Action will be taken on the attached amendment to the By-Laws, submitted by the Council. This amendment is designed to combine the honorary membership of the Institute and the Academy under one listing. A similar amendment will be submitted to the membership of the Academy.

Please make every effort to attend and answer on the enclosed postal card.

Very sincerely yours,

Louis Kronenberger

Louis Kronenberger
Secretary

[Nat'l Inst. of Arts + Letters]

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO BY-LAWS

ARTICLE II SECTION 4

Not more than twenty-five foreign citizens distinguished in the arts may be nominated and elected to the Institute as Honorary Associates.

The method of nomination and election shall follow the same procedure as for regular members.

Honorary Associates shall have all rights and privileges of membership except the right of voting and of sharing in the assets of the Institute.

When an Honorary Associate acquires American citizenship, he automatically becomes a member of the Institute, provided there is a vacancy. If no vacancy exists, he would fill the first one that occurs in the department for which he is eligible.

[Nat.'l Inst. of Arts + Letters]

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE BY-LAWS

ARTICLE II SECTION 4

Foreign citizens distinguished in the arts may be elected as Honorary Members of the Academy - Institute. The number of Honorary Members shall not exceed 50.

The method of nomination shall follow the same procedure as for regular members of the Institute.

The names of candidates proposed shall be considered by the Council, and if approved by the Council, shall be submitted to a joint meeting of the Board of Directors of the Academy and the Council of the Institute.

The approved list of names shall be submitted to the membership of the Institute for postal ballot. For election a candidate must receive affirmative votes to the number of 2/3 of those voting. Those receiving the highest number of votes to the number of existing vacancies shall be declared elected.

Honorary Members shall have all rights and privileges of membership except the right of voting and of sharing in the assets of the Academy or the Institute.

[Nat'l Inst. of Arts + Letters]

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE BY-LAWS

Article VI, Section 5 to read:

The names of those candidates receiving the highest preferential vote shall be submitted to the entire membership for approval or rejection by secret written ballot. The number of names submitted shall be determined as follows:

For one to two vacancies, one more candidate than is to be elected; for two to five vacancies, two more candidates than are to be elected; from five to ten, three more candidates than are to be elected; above ten vacancies, four extra candidates than are to be elected.

This ballot must be returned to the Secretary before the annual meeting. For election, a candidate must receive affirmative votes to the number of two-thirds of those voting; those receiving the highest number of votes to the number of existing vacancies, shall be declared elected.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS

OFFICERS PROPOSED FOR 1954

By the General Nominating Committee

25-58-51

President

MARC CONNELLY

Vice-Presidents

IRWIN EDMAN

CLARE LEIGHTON

OTTO LUENING

ORONZIO MALDARELLI

JAMES KELLUM SMITH

WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS

Secretary

LOUIS KRONENBERGER

Treasurer

VIRGIL THOMSON

January 12, 1953

Mr. Coleman A. Young, Exec. Secy.
Nat'l. Negro Labor Council
410 E. Warren Avenue, Suite 314-6
Detroit, 1, Michigan

Dear Mr. Young:

I would like very much to have a copy of the study on the status of the Negro in this country, based on the 1950 census, which was done by the National Negro Labor Council.

Will you kindly send it to me as soon as possible, with bill?

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

President
WILLIAM R. HOOD
UAW-CIO, Detroit

Executive Secretary
COLEMAN A. YOUNG
ACWA-CIO, Detroit

National Negro Labor Council

410 E. WARREN AVE. • SUITES 314-16 • DETROIT 1, MICHIGAN • TEmple 2-1733

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UERMWA, N. Y. City

Treasurer
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UAW-CIO, Chicago

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ILWU, San Francisco
EWART GUINIER
UPW, N. Y. City
SAM PARKS
UPWA-CIO, Chicago

25-58-32

January 14, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Vice-Chairman
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In your letter of January 12th, you requested a copy of the "study on the status of the Negro life in this country, based on the 1950 census" which was done by our organization.

We are enclosing a copy of "The Truth About the FEPC Fight" which we hope is what you want.

If we can be of further assistance, please call on us.

Fraternally yours,

Nadine Baxter

nb
encl.

Nadine Baxter,
Administrative Assistant

January 20, 1953

Miss Nadine Baxter
National Negro Labor Council
410 E. Warren Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Miss Baxter:

May I thank you very much for your prompt response to my request.

The figures sent were just what we wanted.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Nat'l Negro Labor Council]

May 28, 1953

Mr. Coleman A. Young
National Negro Labor Council
410 E. Warren Avenue
Suites 314-16
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Mr. Young:

I am sorry to trouble you with a matter that has been pending since last December and which I am unable to get straightened out. I do not know whether or not it is under your jurisdiction.

In December I accepted an invitation sent me by Mr. James Watts, FEPC Director, Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO, 10550 Dix Avenue, Dearborn, Michigan. He invited me to lecture in Detroit for his organization and to accept a dinner. A long series of negotiations followed in which I planned to take a trip from New York to San Francisco and return, basing the trip mainly on this Detroit engagement. In order to make my dates I had to ask him to change the date of the proposed dinner from February 13th to February 11th or 12th. This Mr. Watts wrote he was unable to do, since the [redacted] had been contracted for in the India Room of the Detroit Leland Hotel. I therefore re-arranged my schedule and it was finally settled that we were to speak the 13th and start for California the 14th.

On February 9th I received a telegram from Mr. Watts saying that the engagement had been cancelled "due to conditions beyond our control." He offered to pay any financial loss, and promised to write giving me full details. From that time to this I have not heard a word from Mr. Watts, nor has he returned or made any accounting for nearly $60 worth of books by Shirley Graham which he asked my wife to consign to him for sale.

I have written him several times. Now finally I am writing you. As I told him, I incurred a loss which I estimate at $100, and even if that cannot be paid I do wish that the books would be returned immediately as otherwise we shall have to pay for them.

I am sorry to bother you with this matter, but I do not want to have it hanging on longer.

I am writing a similar letter to Mr. William Hood.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh W.E.B.Du Bois

25-62-3

NATIONAL UNION of MARINE COOKS AND STEWARDS
86 COMMERCIAL ST., SAN FRANCISCO 11, CALIFORNIA SUTTER 1-8657

June 1, 1953

Dear Friend:

I am writing to you on behalf of some 5,000 members of the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards who, for the past two years, have been engaged in a bitter struggle to preserve their Union, and to tell you how this attack can establish a dangerous precedent if allowed to succeed.

The most recent attack against our Union has been the indictment on April 7, 1953 of our National President Hugh Bryson, on the false charge of perjury in connection with signing the non-Communist affidavit required under the Taft-Hartley Law.

Here are a few events leading up to his indictment and which were the direct cause of it:

President Bryson has spearheaded the militant fight for better wages and conditions, complete job equality, and participation in the Union's leadership for all members, and for dignified unity of Negro and white workers.

As we see it, if any one group wants to keep another group in the gutter, they must get in there with them. We have fought for the rights of everyone to hold a job, in accordance with his ability to produce, and we have successfully forced our contract companies to live up to these rules by taking economic action when necessary to eliminate Jim Crow hiring. No, we have not merely given lip service to this program. In an organization of more than 5,000 members, over 2,000 are Negroes. There are eight Negro officials in the Union, including a Dispatcher, two Port Agents, four Patrolmen, and a National Secretary-Treasurer, which position I am proud to hold.

Our Union's program has paid off remarkably well for all of our members. When President Bryson took office, the lower ratings in the Stewards Department were paid approximately $70 per month. Today the lowest ratings receive at least $100 per week take-home pay. Our Union is the only cooks' union I know of in the United States with a 36-hour week for Cooks, Bakers, Butchers and Pantrymen.

This policy has enabled our people to get very lucrative jobs never held before

in this industry on a non-segregated basis, such as First-Class Waiters, First-Class Bedroom Stewards, Lounge Stewards, Bartenders, Chefs, Sous Chefs, and, most important of all, Stewardesses. Our people are also sailing as Chief Stewards on freighter ships.

Our Union, during this period, has been fighting a raid conducted by an unprincipled gang of racketeers under the direction of a notorious bigot and confirmed racist, Harry Lundeberg, head of the Sailors Union of the Pacific (men who work on deck) which bars Negroes from membership and from employment. Harry Lundeberg has organized about 10 per cent of the Cooks and Stewards on this Coast, among these, members who feel as he does, people who deserted our Union during the 1948 strike, and those who have never accepted the placing in our Constitution rules against discrimination, with an expulsion clause after the third offense, and others who have had disciplinary action taken against them by the membership of our Union for violating this section of the Constitution.

25-65-37

The action of Lundeberg has been a blow against the unity of seamen in the Stewards Department while in the midst of their struggle with the shipowners for better conditions and wages that has been successful in creating the best wages, conditions and welfare program in the industry.

This gang, by themselves, could never be successful in their raid against our Union because our membership is extremely alert, and besides, over half of our members are of minority races, such as Negro, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Latin-American and others.

Lundeberg, however, has received the full support of certain elements in high places in our Government today who are doing everything they can to wreck unions and protect the poll taxes, lynch laws, and destroy by hook or crook any kind of full suffrage and fair employment practices for many citizens of our country.

And Lundeberg has the help of the Taft-Hartley National Labor Relations Board, which is part of the plot to wreck our Union, and which has violated or evaded important provisions of the Act itself, particularly those provisions concerned with elections and certification. This Board has encouraged and cooperated with paid organizers of the raiding unions through a variety of methods, particularly by stalling, delays, paralyzing collective bargaining with the shipowners, thereby saving these shipowners over two million dollars in back pay alone, and depriving our members of that amount in wage increases.

They have caused legal snarls, tied up the officials of our Union for at least one-third of their total working hours, spent in legal proceedings. They have bled our Union financially, causing us to incur exorbitant legal expenses. They have ordered that organizers for the raiding unions be given jobs through our hiring halls in order to help them raid us, while they have not once ordered Lundeberg to end discrimination in the SUP by dispatching Negroes to jobs in the Deck Department.

They have allowed goonery. Besides being discriminated against, many of our members have been beaten, coerced, intimidated and threatened, and as usual, we have received the overwhelming majority of it (most of those attacked are Negroes) and we have taken it without retaliation in kind because we did not want to becloud the issue or do anything that might further delay the election.

One of our Hawaiian members, George Kane, was shot twice in the abdomen by an SUP organizer , Thomas Giblin, with a forty-five. (Brother Kane lived, however, and is still a strong fighter for the Union.)

Even a beautiful young Negro stewardess, 24 years old, was shoved down a ladder (stairway) aboard the SS Lurline and is now lying in the hospital with multiple fractures of the neck and back, with little hope of walking again.

25-65-32

It was on this ship, the Luxury Liner Lurline, that our Union, back in 1950, took economic action to get the company to hire a competent and qualified Negro woman, Luella Lawhorn, something that had never been done in the history of that company's operation.

The members of our Union have demanded an NLRB election to settle this issue once and for all. We had a small sample of the results of such an election when the steam schooner election was held. This involved approximately 8 very small lumber schooners on which Lundeberg and his gang have traditionally had great influence. Our Union won this election two to one. We were not certified. The election was challenged and we were accused of intimidation and coercion by this undemocratic group, a group with a record as shameful as that of the East Coast gangster-dominated unions which were recently exposed.

They accuse us of being Communist-dominated, a worn old tale without an element of truth in it. Our officials have all signed non-Communist affidavits as a result of a motion passed unanimously at our General Council session in 1950. It would be scandalous, inexcusable and unforgiveable if we were to ride along with the popular theme and refuse to fight for the rights of all of our members, to establish democracy and eliminate hypocrisy and fail to expose the double-dealing and crookedness of these scoundrels.

The latest maneuver in this sordid history is the indictment of Hugh Bryson. Here again the real target of the indictment is not Bryson as an individual, but the MCS as an organization. Our great concern is that there is no union in America where our people have advanced more rapidly, not on a favoritism basis but by their own strength and dignity because they have had the opportunity to work as full partners.

As soon as the indictment was handed down, these same vicious forces made a motion before the NLRB to rule our Union off the ballot, based on the indictment. (They, along with many anti-union publications, have already convicted Brother Bryson by headlines.) Such a petition, if granted by the NLRB, would not only

be illegal, but would mean that the 5,000 members of this Union, who have been continuously screened and re-screened before every trip they make to sea, under the provisions of the Magnuson Act, who can easily under the present Coast Guard procedure be denied the right to work, without due process, without the right to face their accusers, without the presumption of innocence until guilt is proven -- these people would be deprived of the right to have a union of their choice, democratically run and operated, with weekly financial reports, and would have to take a gangster-dominated, bigoted union whose leadership and organizers have openly said: "It is not so much Communism in MCS as Negroism" (using the derogatory term); "The N----- are taking over that union. They're taking our jobs. They even have N----- lounge stewards, first-class waiters and bartenders"; "When we get control, we'll cut it down to 10% and we'll take only the 'respectable' ones." You and I both know what they mean when they refer to us as "respectable".

25-65-31

Here are just a few of the things they refer to when they talk about "Negroism" etc., a partial record of the activities of MCS:

1946:

Supported FEP on the California State ballot.
Wired Senators demanding an end to the filibuster against FEPC in the U.S. Senate,
Demanded martial law be declared in Georgia by President Truman until those responsible for lynching four Negroes were brought to justice.

Urged anti-lynch laws.
Won reinstatement of Colin Clarke, Negro Third Mate, on the Marine Flasher by refusing to sail without him.
Baltimore Branch got 700 signatures on petition demanding repeal of Jim Crow laws, enactment of civil rights and FEP bills in Maryland.

1950:

Tied up the Lurline when Matson Company refused to hire a Negro stewardess; won the hiring of the stewardess who is sailing the Lurline today, as are other Negro stewardesses.

1951:

Backed FEP campaign in San Francisco.
Protested and ended discrimination in tavern adjoining Portland hall.
Condemned indictment of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois.
Defeated attempts on certain freighters to keep Negro Chief Steward from eating in Saloon Mess and backed it up by charging the company one hour's overtime per meal, and forced them to pay it.

Defeated attempt of Customs officer who called Brother a b---- SOB to keep the Brother in jail.
Backed candidates for Supervisor in San Francisco who pledged support to FEP.
Protested firing of Negro doctor at Permanente Hospital. Doctor reinstated.
Joined committee in Honolulu to fight discrimination against Negroes in restaurants.
Protested to President Truman shooting of two Negroes by a Florida sheriff.
MCS delegation visited Jerry Newsom, supported his defense.
Supported Trenton Six, Wesley Wells.
Carried on campaigns for jobs for Negroes at Safeway Stores, Sears-Roebuck, Bank of America and other companies.

MCS Officers' Report to the 1951 Convention pointed out that:

"In many sections of the country, MCS took a leading part in the fight to save the life of Willie McGee. We worked hard to prevent the murder of the Martinsville Seven.

"We are fighting to see that justice is done in the Gilbert (Lieutenant Gilbert) case, that Rosa Ingram returns to her family, and to save the lives of the six Negro workers who were framed in Trenton, New Jersey.

"MCS was the only seafaring union which demanded that the Maritime Administration and the newly created National Shipping Authority establish a policy of fair employment practices. When Secretary Tangen, at a Washington conference of government and union representatives, urged that discrimination be officially barred on government-owned and operated ships, Curran, Malone and Lundeberg failed to support him."

1952:

Wired President Truman demanding federal intervention in Florida bombing of home of Harry T. Moore.
Took action in Wilmington against housing project manager who attempted to discriminate.
Supported William Kent's demand for a Negro on his hearing board in screening case.
Had MCS Research Department issue pamphlet "Prejudice is for Profits."
In San Francisco protested biased waitress at Key System Terminal Restaurant who insulted Negro member. Waitress fired.
Helped guard Gary home in San Pablo when vandals attempted to make Garys move from this lily-white neighborhood.
Demonstrated in front of San Francisco YMCA barber shop that refused to cut Brother Julian Carter's hair. Barbershop closed.

Wilmington delegation visited and protested to the Los Angeles Mayor the bombing of Negroes' homes in that city.
In New York, protested continued employment of Captain Weaver, who shot and killed Negro Steward William Harvey, on Flying Trader.
Joined with Negro Labor Council in drive for hiring of Negroes by Yellow Cab Company in San Francisco.
In Wilmington sent letters of protest to insurance companies who won't insure Negroes.
In San Francisco, sued Lottie's Kitchen for bias.

The above record does not include innumerable incidents of upgrading of Negroes over the protest of the employers, in spite of the present hysteria and attacks against our Union.

25-65, 38

Being a Negro yourself, you have had a wealth of experience of this kind, and I ask you for some suggestions, for your help, and for anything you feel you can do to help us in this fight. We are going to win because the members of our Union are alert and know where they are going and how to get there, and they know that our Union is attacked because our leaders refused to sell out.

We have a strong, powerful ally, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, led by that great fighter and trade union leader, Harry Bridges. These framers, with their crude technique of tagging a subversive label on to anyone not subservient to them, are out to destroy the American labor movement and the Bill of Rights along with it.

We can't allow this frame-up to stand. They are trying to perfect a formula to eliminate every union in America that can't be turned into a labor front or become employer-dominated, and especially trade unions such as ours.

White trade union leaders like Brother Bryson are a rare find in America today. The records will show that since 1936, Brother Bryson consistently, as a rank and file member, as a secondary official, and finally, as National President, has led an uncompromising fight for dignified Negro-white unity and an end to Jim Crow hiring. Not that we owe him any debt of gratitude, but we certainly must encourage leaders of this caliber to continue the role they are playing, for they are continuously attacked by not so well-informed trade union leaders who feel that they are making a sacrifice when they fight for this kind of democracy, and they don't have the support of the beneficiaries.

Therefore, I urge you personally to contact by wire, phone or letter, Attorney General Brownell, and demand that this indictment and frame-up attempt against Brother Bryson be dropped. I also urge that you bring this vital matter to the attention of those wherever your influence reaches. I will appreciate it if you will advise me of your action.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Joe Johnson

JOE JOHNSON
Secretary-Treasurer

uopwa 34

NATIONAL UNION of MARINE COOKS AND STEWARDS
86 COMMERCIAL ST., SAN FRANCISCO 11, CALIFORNIA SUTTER 1-8657
October 15, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
c/o Dr. Robert Morss Lovett
Room 312, 166 W. Washington
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Brother DuBois:

Our country is indeed fortunate to have a determined, unselfish fighter for peace like Dr. DuBois.

It is because of fighters like Dr. DuBois that our struggle for peace, security and full freedom will be won much sooner, and the evil monsters of darkness will be destroyed by the brilliant torch of peace and freedom, carried by leaders such as Dr. DuBois.

This night we are also commending Brother Hugh Bryson, who is today persecuted by these haters of peace, but we are confident of victory and we all join in a special commendation.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Joe Johnson

JOE JOHNSON
Secretary-Treasurer

JJ/kt
uopwa 34

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS

INCORPORATED

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-0233 • 832 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

January 27, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We were most distressed to receive this morning (January 27th) a letter from Mr. Richard B. Henry, on behalf of the United Negro Assemblage, Inc., ordering upward of 300 copies of your book for your meeting on January 25th. This letter, in reply to a letter which I mailed to him on January 7th, was dated January 12th, and, according to the post mark, was mailed from Philadelphia on January 14th. Unfortunately, the precise address was not indicated on the envelope, being directed merely to my name at "Broadway, New York, N.Y." Apparently this was the reason that the letter did not reach me until January 27th, two days after your Philadelphia meeting.

I immediately wired to Mr. Henry, giving him the facts and inquiring whether he still wished copies of your book for your Philadelphia audience.

It is most regrettable that the full fruit of your engagement in Philadelphia could not be realized through failure of your book to be available to your listeners.

Sincerely yours,

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS

Joseph Felshin

Joseph Felshin, Pres.

JF:MB

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS
INCORPORATED

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-0233 • 832 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

January 28, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Just a word with regard to the reply we received from Mrs. Arthur S. Hancock, chairman, Program Committee of the NAACP in Trenton, New Jersey.

In reply to our letter offering to supply your book, IN BATTLE FOR PEACE, on a consignment basis and at substantial discounts to the Trenton branch for your lecture on January 18th, Mrs. Hancock wrote that: "We shall have to make our reply in the negative," giving as the reason that your lecture "constitutes the program for a regular meeting of the NAACP and the assigned subject is Africa, its present struggle for independence and the importance of that struggle for everyone." She added: "We do not wish to involve any other matters, particularly any other controversial matters, as the subject itself is sufficiently of that nature." She did, however, inquire about the possibility of securing copies of your previous book, THE WORLD AND AFRICA.

We regret that it was not possible to have IN BATTLE FOR PEACE at this meeting.

Sincerely yours,
NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS

Joseph Felshin

Joseph Felshin, Pres.

JF:MB

25-49, 14

March 9, 1953

New Century Publishers
832 Broadway
New York 3, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

Concerning the enclosed account, I have already communicated with Masses and Mainstream and asked that the price of books which I order personally be subtracted from my royalty returns. This they promised to do. Will you kindly bring it to their attention?

Concerning the Committee for the Du Bois Foundation, may I say that this bill should be sent to Mrs. Shirley Graham Du Bois, 31 Grace Court, Brooklyn 2, N.Y. I will, however, add that Mrs. Du Bois strongly objects to a sales tax being added to the clearly understood costs of publication, which costs have already been paid.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Bdk

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS
INCORPORATED

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-0233 • 832 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

April 9, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

With reference to your letter of recent date, we wish to advise that we have cancelled the charge of $15.00 which constitutes the amount of the sales tax on the purchase of a de luxe edition of your book, IN BATTLE FOR PEACE, by the Committee for the Du Bois Foundation.

We also wish to advise that we have applied the sum of $99.33 due from you for the purchase of copies of your book against the royalties due you from M&M.

Finally, we wish to advise that we have received an inquiry from Dr. Vojtech Strnad, head of the Czechoslovak Theatrical and Literary Agency, Jecna 6, Prague II, Czechoslovakia, expressing interest in acquiring the Czech translation and publication rights to your book, THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK. We advised them that we do not own the foreign rights of this work and referred them to you at your home address. We can advise that they are a fully reliable firm and they have published a number of works issued in the past by both Masses & Mainstream and by New Century Publishers, in every case faithfully forwarding the due royalties.

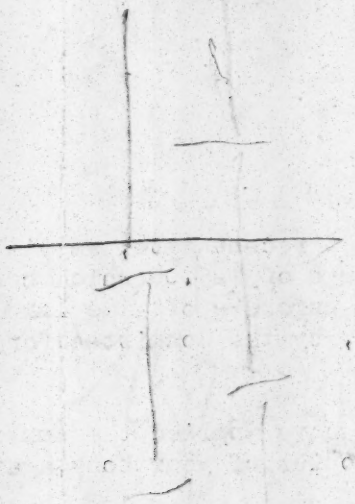
With warmest wishes for your continued good health and warm regards to Mrs. Du Bois, we are

Sincerely yours,
NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS

Joseph Felshin

JF:MB

1/29/98



25-63.67

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS, Inc.

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Invoice No. 8512

Date 4/28/53

Terms a/c

Ship via

W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Date of Order Customer's Order No.

Quantity		List Price	Extension	Discount	Net
30	In Battle for Peace - Paper	1.00	30.00		
20	In Battle for Peace - Cloth	2.50	50.00		
			80.00	40%	48.00
	NYC TAX				1.44
					49.44

25-63,68

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS, Inc.

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

INVOICE No. 1202

Date 12/1/53

Terms a/c

209

W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Date of Order ..... Customer's Order No. .....

	Quantity		List Price	Extension	Discount	Net
	25	In Battle for Peace - Paper	1.00	25.00	40%	15.00
		NYC TAX				.45
						15.45

INVOICE

new

575 Avenue of the Americas, New York 11, New York

foundations

May 26, 1953

Dear Dr. DuBois,

This summer New Foundations will co-sponsor, along with the student division of the Labor Youth Leauge, a series of lectures. You can refer to Doxey Wilkerson if you wish any further information about our magazine and the lectures.

We would be delighted if you would lecture for us on any aspect of the African liberation movement and its relationship to peace. And the whole student movement, of course, would greatly appreciate this. We can arrange the date for your convenienne. I shall call in a few days to answer any questions. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Herb Shapiro

25-62/13

[New Foundations]

May 28, 1953

Mr. Herb Shapiro
New Foundations
575 Avenue of the Americas
New York 11, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Shapiro:

I regret to say that it would be impossible for me to take many lectures hereafter, and the few that I do take I shall be compelled to charge a fee for.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

THE NEW LINCOLN SCHOOL

31 WEST 110th STREET, NEW YORK 26, NEW YORK
ENRIGHT 9-5600

JOHN J. BROOKS, DIRECTOR

January 15, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

A few weeks ago you were asked to serve as a key-note speaker for the afternoon assembly of the Inter-School Conference held annually by a group of some twenty-five private schools in the metropolitan area. You were gracious enough to consent, I understand, to serve as our speaker.

25-58-23

Our Steering Committee is very much embarrassed that our continuing discussion of plans for this Conference calls for a drastic revision of the program. We are, therefore, relieving you and our other speakers of this obligation.

I think you should know that this revision was occasioned, in part, by a change in emphasis in our program and also by the fact that a roster of speakers that included yourself, Dr. Harold Rugg, and others was too weighted with what this unhappy era designates as "controversial figures" to be acceptable to the wide variety of schools which make up this organization.

We are especially chagrined that we have had to re-formulate our plans after you had graciously accepted. We are comforted only by the thought that you are free of this obligation, at least, and can turn your wonderful energies to more important tasks.

Cordially yours,

John J Brooks

John J. Brooks, Chairman,
Inter-School Conference

JJB/ml

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November 6, 1953

New Press Inc.
35 East 12 St.
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I buy my Daily Worker at:

Schumann
82 Montague St.
Brooklyn, N.Y.

He complains to me that the distributor charges exorbitantly for delivering the Worker -- I think he said 45¢ for 15.

I advised him to complain to you.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-58-24

August 21, 1953

New Times and Ethiopia News
3 Charteris Road
Woodford Green
Essex, England

Gentlemen:

Will you please change my address, as I have asked you before. I am not connected with the NAACP.

My address is simply:

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York, 10, N.Y.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-58-25

NEW WORLD REVIEW

114 East Thirty-Second Street · New York 16 · Murray Hill 3-3855

January 8, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York City

25-414

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The January issue of our magazine with my review of your book and a half page advertisement is now out, and should reach you in a day or so if you have not already received it. I am sure that quite a number of orders for the book will come in from our readers.

We have just received a copy of Pravda for December 2, which contains a long review of the book. If it has not already been called to your attention, would you like me to translate it and send it to you ?

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Jessica Smith

Jessica Smith,

Editor

January 9, 1953

Miss Jessica Smith
New World Review
114 East 32 St.
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear Miss Smith:

I would love to have a copy of Pravda of December 2nd, and especially with your translation of the review of my book. Thank you for the offer.

I understand that we are going to be neighbors soon.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

NEW WORLD REVIEW

114 East Thirty-Second Street · New York 16 · Murray Hill 3-3855

January 13, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York City

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am enclosing herewith the clipping of the review of your book from Pravda, and my translation of it.

I hope you will forgive me for sending you such a messy copy and not having it re-typed, but we are rather overloaded in the office, and shorthanded in technical staff.

I did thetranslation at home without benefit of dictionary and with no copy of your book at hand from which to check the quotations, so I had to make corrections and add the quotes in my office, which accounts for the two different kinds of typing.

25-64-7

Very sincerely yours,

Jessica Smith

Jessica Smith

P.S. I'm afraid the translation is rather rough, since I merely tried to give a literal translation rather than a literary one.

January 15, 1953

Miss Jessica Smith
New World Review
114 East 32 St.
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear Miss Smith:

Thank you very much for your translation from Pravda. I feel guilty for making you do this extra work, with all you have to do.

I note that now and then you are short-handed in your technical staff. I have a good helper with me, Miss Lillian Hyman, who can give a half a day to secretarial work. She has been helping me very successfully during the last year.

During 1953 I shall be away in February, and possibly at other times during the year. Since we are going to be neighbors, if at any time you need a little help I shall be very glad to have you use her time.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-64-8

NEW WORLD REVIEW

114 East Thirty-Second Street · New York 16 · Murray Hill 3-3855

January 16,1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Many thanks for your letter. Your offer of secretarial help from your secretary, Miss Lillian Hyman, is wonderful. We shall certainly want to take advantage of it whenever she may be free after we move over to 26th Street. We expect that will be within two or three weeks, and are already in process of preparing for it.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Jessica Smith

Jessica Smith

25-55-2

735

Birthday Greeting by WESTERN UNION

LA016 PA352

P.YWD026 BDA DL PD=EF NEWYORK NY 20 1143A=

DR W E B DUBOIS=CARE PETER HUYN

RM 310 326 WEST 3 ST LOSA=

AS OLD FRIENDS AND STAUNCH ADMIRERS AND AS NEW NEIGHBORS THE ENTIRE STAFF OF NEW WORLD REVIEW SENDS YOU BIRTHDAY GREETINGS AND WISHES YOU CONTINUED SUCCESS IN YOUR NOBLE WORK FOR HUMAN UNDERSTANDING PROGRESS AND WORLD PEACE=

JESSICA SMITH=

7E:15-55

[New World Review]

New World Review

August 17, 1953

MEMORANDUM TO MISS JESSICA SMITH:

I have to take part next month in a ceremony connected with Paul Robeson's Peace Prize.

I wonder if you can furnish me with the following data:

1. The history of the inception of the Stalin Peace Prize.

2. The names of persons who have received it.

3. Any other important data of historic interest which I could put in a short statement.

I would be much obliged.

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-52-6

[1958]

from Jessica Smith

Inception of Stalin Peace Prizes

The International Stalin Prizes for Strengthening Peace were instituted at the opening of the celebration of Joseph Stalin's seventieth birthday on December 21, 1949.

Following is the text of a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the institution of the prizes:

32-12-45

1. International Stalin Prizes "For the Strengthening of Peace among the Nations" are hereby instituted. The Prizes are awarded to citizens of any country of the world, irrespective of their political, religious or rade distinctions, for outstanding services in the struggle against the warmongers and for the strengthening of peace.

2. It is established that persons awarded an International Stalin Prize shall receive:
(a) A diploma of the Laureate of the International Stalin Prize;
(b) A gold medal bearing the image of Stalin;
(c) A money prize of 100,000 rubles.

3. It is established that International Stalin Prizes "For the Strengthening of Peace Among Nations" are to be awarded annually in a number ranging from five to ten prizes by a special committee on International Stalin Prizes formed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR from among representatives of the democratic forces of various countries of the world.

4. The award of the prizes is to be made each year on the birthday of Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin - December 21. The first Prizes are to be awarded in 1950.

(Signed) M.M. Shvernik, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet,

A.F. Gorkin, Secretary of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Kremlin, Moscow, December 20, 1949.

(It was announced in the press at the time that the awards would be paid in the currency of the country where the recipients lives The cash value of the prize in American money according to the official rate of the ruble at the time of the decree was $20,000 - According to present official rate, it is now $25,000).

Establishment of the International Committee for the award of the International Prizes.

.....

On the basis of the decree of December 20, 1949, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on December 22, 1950, established the Committee on International Stalin Prizes for Strengthening Peace Among the Peoples, consisting of the following representatives of democratic forces of foreign countries and public figures of the Soviet Union:

32-12-46

Chairman of the Committee: Dmitri Skobeltsyn, Professor of Moscow State University, Member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR;

Vice-Chairmen of the Committee: Kuo Mo-jo, Professor, Chairman of the All-China Association of Workers in Literature and the Arts (China), Louis Aragon, author (France).

Members of the Committee: Martin Anderson Nexo, author (Denmark);
John D. Bernal, Professor of London University (Great Britain);
Jan Dembowski, Professor of Lodz University (Poland);
Berhhard Kellerman, author (Germany);
Concetto Marchesi, Professor of Padua University, Deputy of Parliament, (Italy);
Pablo Nefuda, poet (Chile);
Mikhail Sadoveanue, author, Academician (Rumania);
Alexander Fadeyev, General Secretary, Union of Soviet Writers;
Ilya Ehrenburg, author

32-12-47

Recipients for 1950:

The above-named committee met in Moscow in April, 1951, and on April 6, 1951, having examined the proposals submitted to it, announced the awards for 1950 as follows:

The International Stalin Prizes "For the Consolidation of Peace Among the Nations" are awarded to the following representatives of the democratic forces of various countries of the world for outstanding services in the struggle for the preservation and consolidation of peace:

1. Frederic Joliot-Curie, Professor of the College de France, Member of the French Academy of Sciences;

2. Soong Ching-Ling, President of the Chinese People's Relief Administration. (Mme. Sun Yat-Sen)

3. Dr. Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury (Britain)

4. Eugenie Cotton, Honorary Director of L'Ecole Normale (Higher Normal School) in Sevres (France).

5. Arthur Moulton, former Protestant Bishop (United States)

6. Pak Den Ai, President of the Democratic Women's Union of Korea.

7. Heriberto Jara, ex-Minister (Mexico)

(The decision on the awards was signed by all the members of the Committee)

Presentations of the prizes to the above were all made in Moscow during 1951 -- except in the case of Bishop Moulton, who refused to accept the prize. Presentations were made by Academician Skobeltsin, Chairman of the Committee on Awarding the Prizes.

32-12-48

Recipients for 1951

In December, 1951, the following members of the Committee met in Moscow to consider the awards for 1951: Skobeltsyn, Aragon, Bernal, and Neruda, Dembowski, Sadoveanue, Fadeyev, Ehrenburg. On December 20 they announced the winners of the International Stalin Prizes for 1951 as follows:

1. Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.
2. Pietro Neni, Member of Parliament (Italy)
3. Ikuo Oyama, Professor, Member of Parliament (Japan)
4. Monica Felton, public figure (Great Britain)
5. Anna Seghers, writer (Germany)
6. Jorge Amado, writer (Brazil)

(Kuo Mo-jo, one of the recipients, is also a member of the Committee, but was not present and did not sign the decision).

32-12-49

Recipients for 1952

At meetings held in December, 1952, the Committee decided on the following awards for 1952: (From announcement in NEWS, January 1953).

1. Yves Farge, of France, who led French National Peace Council since its inception (subsequently tragically killed in an automobile accident, while in the USSR to receive the prize).

2. Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew of India, Chairman of the All-India Peace Council, member of the Indian National Congress Party, veteran of the Indian people's national liberation movement and one of its leaders.

3. Elisa Branco, prominent member of the Brazilian Women's Federation. Mme. Branco was persecuted for her work in behalf of peace. An Eliza Branco Prize, awarded to active peace fighters, has been instituted in Brazil.

4. Paul Robeson, the celebrated American singer and public figure, member of the World Peace Council and dauntless fighter against racism and reaction.

5. Johannes Becher, leading German poet and public figure. Johannes Becher is a militant fighter for the peaceful unification of Germany and the democratic development of the German nation in friendship and cooperation with all other peoples.

6. The Rev. James Endicott of Canada, M.A. D.D. Dr. Endicott is a tireless fighter for peace and international cooperation. In his book, "I Accuse" he exposed the employment of the germ weapon by the "U.N. forces" in Korea.

7. Ilya Ehrenburg, Soviet author and Vice-Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee.

(All of them received their awards in Moscow, with the exception of Paul Robeson, denied a passport by U.S. State Department)

[1953]

~~Inception of~~ The Stalin Peace Prizes

The International Stalin Prizes for Strengthening Peace were instituted at ~~the opening of~~ the celebration of Joseph Stalin's seventieth birthday ~~on~~ December 21, 1949.

~~Following is~~ The text of a decree ~~of the presidium~~ of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR ~~on the institution of the prizes~~: Below

32-12-3

1. International Stalin Prizes "For the Strengthening of Peace Among the Nations" are hereby instituted. The Prizes are awarded to citizens of any country of the world, irrespective of their political, religious or race distinctions, for outstanding services in the struggle against the warmongers and for the strengthening of peace.

2. ~~It is established that~~ persons awarded an International Stalin Prize shall receive:

(a) A diploma of the Laureate of the International Stalin Prize;

(b) A gold medal bearing the image of Stalin;

(c) A money prize of 100,000 rubles.

3. ~~It is established that~~ International Stalin Prizes "For the Strengthening of Peace Among Nations" ~~are to be awarded annually to~~ a number ranging from five to ten ~~prizes~~ by a special committee ~~on International Stalin Prizes formed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR~~ from among representatives of the democratic forces of various countries of the world. shall be chosen & announced annually 5 to 10 prizes

4. The award of ~~the prizes~~ is to be made each year on the birthday of Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin - December 21, ~~The first prizes are to be awarded~~ beginning in 1950.

(Signed) N.M. Shvernik, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet,

A.F. Gorkin, Secretary of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Kremlin, Moscow. December 20, 1949

~~It~~ It was announced ~~in the press~~ at the time that the awards would be paid in the currency of the country where the recipients lives. The cash value of the prize in American money according to the official rate of the ruble at the time of the decree was $20,000 - According to present official rate, it is now $25,000.~~)~~

Establishment of the International Committee for the award of the International Prizes

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Chairman of the Committee: Dmitri Skobeltsyn, Professor of Moscow State University, Member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR;

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Recipients for 1950

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I. Frederic Joliot-Curie, Professor of the College de France, Member of the French Academy of Sciences.

2. Soong Ching-Ling, President of the Chinese People's Relief Administration. (Mme. Sun Yat-sen)

3. Dr. Hewlett Johnson, Dead of Canterbury (Britain)

4/ Eugenie Cotton , Honorary Director of L'Ecole Normale (Higher Normal School) in Sevres (France)

5. Arthur Moulton, former Protestant Bishop (United States)

6. Pak Den Ai, President of the Democratic Women's Union of Korea.

7. Heriberto Jara, ex-Minister (Mexico)

(The ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ decision on the awards was signed by all the members of the Committee)

Presentations of~~x~~ the prizes to the above were all made in Moscow during 1951 - except in the case of Bishop Moulton, who refused to accept the prize. ~~Presentations were made by Academician Skobeltsin, Chairman of the Committee on Awarding the Prizes.~~

Recipients for 1951

In December, 1951, the following members of the Committee met in Moscow to consider the awards for [illegible], Bernal, and [illegible] on December 20, [illegible] announced the winners of the International Stalin Prizes for 1951 as follows:

1. Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.
2. Pietro Nenni, Member of Parliament (Italy)
3. Ikuo Oyama, Professor, Member of Parliament, (Japan)
4. Monica Felton, public figure (Great Britain)
5. Anna Seghers, writer (Germany)
6. Jorge Amado, writer (Brazil)

[illegible] (Kuo Mo-jo, one of the recipients, is also a member of the Committee, but was not present [illegible] not sign the decision)

Recipients for 1952

Moscow English - language broadcast

[illegible] July 24, 1952)

At meetings held in December, 1952, the Committee decided on the following awards for 1952: (From announcement in NEWS, January 1953)

1. Yves Farge, of France, who led French National Peace Council since its inception (subsequently tragically killed in an automobile accident, while in the USSR to receive the prize)
2. Saifuddin Kitchlew of India, Chairman of the All-India Peace Council, member of the Indian National Congress Party, veteran of the Indian people's national liberation movement and one of its leaders.
3. Elisa Branco, prominent member of the Brazilian Women's Federation. Mme. Branco was persecuted for her work in behalf of peace. An Eliza Branco prize, awarded to active peace fighters, has been instituted in Brazil.
4. Paul Robeson, the celebrated American singer and public figure, member of the World Peace Council and dauntless fighter against racism and reaction.
5. Johannes Becher, leading German poet and public figure. Johannes Becher is a militant fighter for the peaceful unification of Germany and the democratic development of the German nation in friendship and cooperation with all other peoples.
6. The Rev. James Endicott of Canada, M.A., D.D.. Dr. Endicott is a tireless fighter for peace and international cooperation. In his book "I Accuse" he exposed the employment of the germ weapon by the "U.N. forces" in Korea.
7. Ilya Ehrenburg, Soviet author and Vice-Cgairman of the Soviet Peace Committee.

(all of them received their awards in Moscow, with the exception of Paul Robeson, denidd a passport by U.S. State Department.

82-12-33

1952 list and dec. recipients

MEMO FROM
JESSICA SMITH

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Mrs. Jessie Street of Australia, now living in England where she is active in the peace movement, has sent me a copy of the speech of Metropolitan Nikolai at the latest World Peace Cpuncil Meeting, with the suggestion that I send copies to a number of people who might like to see it, including yourself.

Jessica Smith

25-55-8

[New World Review]

In Defense Of—

Our Right to Publish— Your Right to Read

32-35-60

Our readers are asking why the September issue of this magazine did not reach them until the latter part of the month.

The answer concerns not only you, our readers, but all Americans concerned with preserving our constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and press.

The issue was delivered to the New York Post Office on September 2. It was held there until September 18 under orders from the Postmaster General's Office in Washington.

This action was taken, as we assume from a previous communication, on the basis that certain issues of our magazine, mailed out by the post office many months before, were alleged to be non-mailable under section 36.5 of the Postal Laws and Regulations which has to do with matter "advocating or urging treason, insurrection, or forcible resistance to any law of the United States."

The September issue was finally released. **There was nothing in it, as there has been nothing in any other issue we ever published, that advocated any of these things.**

This is a form of censorship which threatens our right to publish and your right to read. To the difficulties our magazine has already experienced in the general atmosphere of war hysteria, is now added a threat of putting us out of existence by interference with mailing.

Readers familiar with the contents of NWR are in a position to judge for themselves the fantastic nature of the pretext under which our magazine is being harassed. Far from advocating, we are utterly opposed to the type of activity covered by the section which the Post Office Department seeks to apply to us.

New World Review and its predecessor, *Soviet Russia Today*, have a proud record of almost twenty-two years of uninterrupted publication of material designed to promote international understanding and peace.

From its first issue in 1932, *Soviet Russia Today* took the position that the highest interests of our country could be served by a policy of peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union, a socialist country covering one-sixth of the earth.

To this end SRT reported the true facts about the Soviet Union, the life of its people, its economic and cultural activities, its consistent efforts for peace. It reported on the advantages to our country of peaceful cultural and scientific interchange, and

above all of mutually beneficial trade—such as that which, in the Hoover depression, had meant jobs for hundreds of thousands of American workers.

To the same end it opposed the propaganda and actions of those groups who, fearing the rise of a new type of society, from the beginning sought its destruction in a war that could only mean disaster for our own country.

The establishment of diplomatic relations which *Soviet Russia Today* advocated became official government policy by action of President Roosevelt on November 16, 1933.

The fruit of this action was the grand alliance against the fascist powers in the World War which led to the military defeat of our common enemies.

In the war years many American public figures, Democrats and Republicans, government and military officials, commended the role of *Soviet Russia Today* in cementing the alliance which the real un-American forces, even in those days, were trying to disrupt.

When, in order to win public acceptance of the cold war policy that replaced the Roosevelt policy of cooperation, every means of modern communication was used to build up the myth of a threat of Soviet aggression, *Soviet Russia Today* consistently presented facts showing that no such threat exists.

When the cold war front was extended to the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe, the Chinese People's Republic and the people's liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries, the question of peaceful co-existence could no longer be confined to American-Soviet relations, although this remained the key issue. This determined our decision whereby in 1951 the magazine became the *New World Review*, broadening its scope to include the third of the world's people who have taken the road to socialism, and the peace movement everywhere.

Through correspondents living within the countries of which we write, through reliable students, through careful combing of a vast number of publications reflecting many political viewpoints from all over the world as well as our own country, we have sought to bring our readers as truthful as possible a picture of the actual developments in those countries, and above all of the peaceful aspirations of their people and governments. We have welcomed expression in our magazine of varying political viewpoints if sincerely presented to promote international understanding and peace.

We have stressed especially developments in the Soviet Union, its unremitting peace efforts, and especially its new great peace initiative in recent months.

The September issue, for example, which the postal authorities held up, had as its main feature a condensation of a report by Soviet Premier Malenkov (taken from the full text printed in the *New York Times*, August 10) which stressed the need of the USSR for peace to carry out its program of higher liv-

ing standards for the Soviet people. Malenkov again emphasized that there are no grounds for conflict between the United States and the USSR, that the interests of both countries and the world can best be safeguarded by the development of normal relations and trade, and proposed negotiations on outstanding issues to ease international tensions.

Presenting the positive grounds for peace, we have at the same time opposed those policies of our government based on the idea that solutions to world problems can be found through force, mounting armaments and stockpiling of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Our opinions on these matters are shared by millions of Americans, by hundreds of millions of people throughout the world.

The policy of negotiations which we have consistently advocated is supported by a majority of the world's people. It is today finding increasing support among our government's allies.

American visitors abroad note with dismay the disastrous depths to which America's prestige has sunk. This fall in prestige comes from our government's unwillingness to enter upon the high level negotiations with the Soviet Union which today even Prime Minister Churchill, one of the original instigators of anti-Soviet war, sees as the only alternative to a course which threatens the measureless disaster of a new world war.

Distrust of the United States is intensified by the domestic counterpart of our foreign policy, as exemplified by the growing suppression of all voices for peace and civil rights, the McCarthyite inquisitions, the book burnings.

The revulsion against the latter led President Eisenhower to say, "Don't join the book burners!", and Vice-President Nixon to declare before the American Legion Convention, "We must all recognize the right to advocate unpopular ideas is part of our American tradition."

But the burning of books goes on in many forms, belying these expressions by our government leaders. Books are put on trial. People are persecuted for what they read. Books, periodicals such as the *Nation* as well as our own, have been banned by certain libraries and schools. Editors of progressive publications are threatened with jail and deportation. An issue of *Vet's Voice for Peace* (organ of American Veterans for Peace) is banned, also under section 36.5 because—and these are the only grounds stated—post office officials objected to its "general tenor."

Thus not only the expression of unpopular ideas but of ideas that have wide acceptance by the masses of the people, may be banned by the arbitrary decision of someone in Washington. What, then, happens to the precious American right of criticism and dissent, the right of freedom of speech and press guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution? Will America's prestige be enhanced by such methods, its leader-

ship of what our government calls the free world be strengthened thereby?

The book-burnings, of which the threat to *New World Review* has become a part, are a grave threat to the right of all Americans of access to all the facts and the expression of varying opinions.

We reaffirm our right to continue giving the American people facts which are generally ignored or distorted in the American press—facts about a vast area of the world which we must know about in order to find the path to international friendship and cooperation on which our country's security and well-being depend.

We reaffirm our right to advocate peace, which is our deepest and most passionate concern. We reaffirm our right to do our part in pointing the way to avoid the unimaginable horrors of an atomic war, to help build a world in which the precious fruits of man's thought and labor throughout the ages can be preserved and not destroyed, in which science will be used to save and enrich human life instead of developing ever more horrible ways of ending it, a warless world in which our children and young people everywhere can live and love and create and enjoy ever increasing material and cultural abundance.

We reaffirm our position that the only road to enduring international peace and well-being is through negotiations instead of force, and urge that this goal be pursued by our government both through the United Nations and through a top-level conference among the great powers.

We reaffirm our right as loyal Americans to advocate this course through the pages of *New World Review*, and to present the facts which support it by showing that the third of the world that is presented as our enemy offers no threat, but an opportunity for peaceful competition, interchange and trade, the only condition which will allow people of all countries to develop freely their own ways of life.

We urge our readers and other American citizens, whether or not they agree with everything that appears in our pages, to defend their own right of freedom of access to all the facts and to varying opinions, by supporting the continued publication of *New World Review*. You can do this by renewing your subscription, by getting others to subscribe, and above all by continuing and increasing the financial help you have given us in the past and which is more than ever essential right now.

We are preparing to take whatever steps the situation requires to defend our right to publish and distribute *New World Review*. We shall keep you informed of further developments. We know that we can count on your loyal support in whatever action is necessary. This is *your* magazine, for only your help keeps it going, and in defending and helping *New World Review*, you are defending your own democratic rights.

—THE EDITORS

New World Review
October
1953

PAUL ROBESON RECEIVES STALIN PEACE PRIZE

32-19-35

PAUL ROBESON was presented with the 1952 International Stalin Prize for Strengthening Peace at a moving and beautiful ceremony in the Hotel Theresa in New York on September 23. The ceremonies, attended by a large group of friends of Mr. Robeson and of peace, had to be held in this country because of the U.S. State Department's denial of a passport, preventing Mr. Robeson from going to Moscow to receive the award.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, the great Negro scholar and leader, told of the origin of the award in connection with the 70th birthday of Joseph Stalin in December, 1949. At that time an international committee of leading democratic figures from ten countries was established to decide each year on the award of the prizes "to citizens of any country of the world, irrespective of their political, religious or race distinctions, for outstanding services in the struggle against the warmongers and for the strengthening of peace." The award consists of a peace diploma, a gold medal, and a money prize of 100,000 rubles ($25,000).

Dr. Du Bois read the shining roster of the names of the leading world figures who have received the award since 1950, and then said:

> From these facts I think this audience will easily understand how great an honor has thus come to America, to the Negro race and to Paul Robeson. He is thus placed among the great men of the world and recognized as a prime mover in the greatest cause of our day, PEACE. He is without doubt today, as a person, the best known American on earth, to the largest number of human beings. His voice is known in Europe, Asia and Africa, in the West Indies and South America and in the islands of the seas. Children in the streets of Peking and Moscow, Calcutta and Jakartha, greet and send him their love. . .

Howard Fast, who had been requested by the award committee to present the citation of the prize and the gold medal to Paul Robeson on their behalf, then read messages from many world figures, and a telegram of greetings from Academician Dmitri Skobeltsyn, chairman of the committee. The message said that in giving the award the committee wished to express the love and honor in which Paul Robeson is held throughout the world for his tireless struggle for peace and his international understanding and added:

> We should also like to express our friendly feelings for the great American people. We are convinced that the people of your great country, as of other countries, do not want war and are striving for peace and friendship with all peoples.

In making the presentation, Howard Fast declared:

> It is no accident that almost all the world regards Paul Robeson as one of the grandest and bravest sons of the United States of America. He exemplifies what is best in our land

. . . He has consecrated his life, his career, his heart, and indeed his whole future, to the cause of the peace and welfare of humanity. . . . How fitting it is that today he receives this beautiful award, the highest award which the human race can bestow on one of its members . . . He is joined with the great immortals of our time who consecrate their lives, not to this people or that people, but to the oneness of mankind—mankind looking forward to the day when as a single community of love and brotherhood, it shall occupy this earth in peace and happiness.

Paul Robeson began his response by reading in part his eloquent tribute to Stalin at the time of his death which we were privileged to publish in the April issue of *New World Review*, ending with the reaffirmation of the friendship he has always had and always will have for the Soviet Union. He spoke of the great demands made by the fight for peace, for the coexistence of many ways of life of every section of humanity, and especially in this America of ours. He told of the grave concern among many thousands of the American people he had seen in travelling back and forth across the continent in recent weeks, that a comparatively small band of those in a powerful position in our country are talking peace, while clearly rushing toward war. He went on:

> The Soviet peoples, as we see, stand on guard, unbending. They will go on building their socialist way of life—fast moving to the stage of plenty in contribution and distribution. Peoples of many other lands, inspired and guided by the experience of the Soviet Republics, have now been building new ways of life—the peoples of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, East Germany, North Korea and mighty China stand on sure ground—they are nations indestructible in spirit and in fact, their future path charted with wisdom and certainty. Surely we as Americans can and must understand this, and this understanding must be brought to millions more of our fellow citizens.
>
> Other peoples also have their beliefs in their historic destinies, in their human dignity, in their love of and belief in their fellow men—in the oneness of humankind. Any embarking on the path of trying to loosen the bonds of these new societies can only lead to the destruction of all we hold dear.

Declaring that he was proud to stand by the side of those who are in the struggle for peace today, and those like the Rosenbergs who in making the final sacrifice, "are hallowed by the hopes of peoples of every culture, of every color, of every belief, of every clime," Paul Robeson pledged:

> We shall not fail in our historic task. And this award to the peace fighters of America supports this faith.
>
> The great Russian poet Pushkin was accurate in his prophesy—when he wrote in 1835:
>
> 'Arise, welcome to you, my greetings to a new race, a new people, young, unknown, not will I see your powerful later growth.'
>
> So the great leader in whose name is this sacred peace award, knew that by the last turn of this century all these people for whom he labored, black and white, yellow and brown, would well deserve the greeting of the immortal Pushkin. Hail to you, a new people, young but known by your mighty heroic deeds, in the building of a new life, a new dignity, taking one of the final steps in humankind's long, hard, toil-laden but triumphant quest.

[New World Review]

An Open Letter

Sent to the press on November 9, 1953
together with pertinent documents

On the Attempted Suppression of New World Review

32-35-61

The United States Post Office is engaged in an attempt to destroy the magazine **New World Review** by denying it the normal use of the mails.

This is a matter of grave moment to all Americans concerned with preserving our constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and press.

The threat against the right of **New World Review** to continue publication has far-reaching implications. It opens the door to censorship of any publication containing material which in the view of a post office official in Washington is not in line with the policies of the current Administration.

It is therefore essential that publishers, editors, writers and commentators, as well as the general public, be fully informed of the action that is being taken against **New World Review.** Here are the facts:

In May of this year the Post Office Department in Washington informed us through their New York office that four issues of our magazine that had been mailed out many months previously, were regarded as non-mailable under Section 36.5, Postal Laws and Regulations, and that future issues would have to be examined before mailing.

Section 36.5 referred to has to do with matter "advocating or urging treason, insurrection, or forcible resistance to any law of the United States."

New World Review does not and never has advocated any of these things. The magazine, in the interests of international understanding, is devoted to bringing the American people the facts about the Soviet Union, the Chinese Democratic Republic and the Eastern European People's Democracies, and more particularly about the relations of our country with them. It has been a consistent advocate of peaceful solutions in internal and international affairs, of a policy of negotiations instead of force. Along with many other American publications, organizations and individuals, it has opposed those aspects of American foreign policy which it has considered counter to the interests of peace. We strongly oppose the type of activity covered by the section the postal authorities seek to apply to us.

Our reply to the Post Office therefore denied that any issues of our magazine were non-mailable under that or any section of the Postal Laws and Regulations. We stated that in submitting issues of the magazine as requested (which we agreed to since issues are in the hands of the Post Office in advance of mailing in any case), we in no way conceded that the Post Office had any right of censorship over our publication.

The two succeeding issues were mailed out by the Post Office with little delay.

The September issue was held in the New York Post Office for 18 days before instructions were received from Washington to mail it out.

Our attorney then wrote to the Post Office in Washington, asking for the basis of the opinion that certain previous issues were non-mailable. The answer, a masterpiece of evasion, simply reiterated the opinion that the issues in question had contained "non-mailable" material under the cited section, declared that this had not resulted in "any adverse action" affecting us, and that any future issue would be judged on its own merits.

The October issue of our magazine has at this writing already been held in the New York Post Office for over two weeks.

Obviously, this unwarranted delay in mailing does constitute "adverse action," and seriously threatens the existence of our magazine.

Furthermore, by insisting on examining the magazine before mailing it out and arrogating to themselves the right to approve or disapprove its contents, the postal authorities are in fact censoring our magazine, and attempting to make us conform to their ideas of what is or is not mailable.

We are attaching hereto the pertinent documents* in this case, as well as a copy of the October issue. This issue contains an editorial statement of the policies and purposes of our magazine, and reaffirms our right as Americans to continue its publication.

We ask that you examine this material. We believe that, whether or not you agree with the editorial opinions expressed in **New World Review,** you will appreciate the threat to American traditions and constitutional guarantees of freedom of the press in this effort to suppress it.

We believe that a public service will be performed through the widest possible publicizing of the facts of this case as well as by editorials and public statements, so that the American people may be alerted to the danger that threatens their right of access to all the facts, to varying ideas and opinions and the right of dissent.

We will appreciate being informed of any position you take on this matter.

THE EDITORS OF NEW WORLD REVIEW

* Documents will be found on reverse side.

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT TO NEW YORK POSTMASTER, DATED MAY 22, 1953

"Reference is made to 'New World Review.'

"The Solicitor for the Post Office Department has furnished this office the following information regarding the September, October, November and December 1952 and the January 1953 issues of this publication.

> "With the exception of the October issue, these issues are regarded as nonmailable under Section 36.5, P. L. & R.

"In order that a publication be entitled to entry as second-class matter and to retain such entry under the law (39 U.S.C. 224, and 226, sections 34.19 and 34.20, P. L. and R., act of March 3, 1879) mailable issues of the publication must regularly be published in accordance with the frequency under which entry is authorized. This requirement must be met regardless whether the issues are sent through the mails or otherwise distributed.

"Inform the publishers if they desire to retain the second-class entry of this publication mailable issues must regularly be published in accordance with the stated frequency of the publication. A written statement should be submitted by the publishers showing what action they will take in this matter.

"You should comply with the provision of section 36.7, P. L. and R., with regard to copies of each issue of 'New World Review' published. Copies of the February, March, April and May issues should also be submitted. When submitting copies of this publication under the provision of section 36.7, P. L. and R., please also submit a copy of each issue to this office.

"A copy of this letter is enclosed for the publishers."

REPLY OF NEW WORLD REVIEW TO NEW YORK POSTMASTER, DATED JUNE 5, 1953

"Your communication of May 27 with the enclosure from the Assistant Postmaster General has been received.

"We consider it very strange that the Solicitor for the Post Office Department has advised that the September, November and December 1952 and January 1953 issues, long since mailed out, were regarded as non-mailable under Section 36.5, Postal Laws and Regulations.

"We deny that such issues were non-mailable under that or any other section of the Postal Laws and Regulations.

"In the interests of cooperation, however, we have no objection to sending you two copies each of the February, March, April and May, 1953 dated issues, which we are mailing you under separate cover, nor of sending you two copies of future issues, as requested. We shall send you the next issue when it is ready. In doing so, we do not, of course, concede that the Post Office has any right of censorship over our publication."

LETTER FROM SOLICITOR OF POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT IN REPLY TO QUERY FROM ATTORNEY FOR NEW WORLD REVIEW, DATED OCTOBER 16, 1953

"The Bureau of Post Office Operations has referred to this office your letter of September 23, 1953, relative to the magazine published by your clients, 'New World Review.' You refer to the ruling furnished the said Bureau concerning specific issues of the publication and state:

> " 'Since you have given no indication of the basis of your Solicitor's opinion, as to non-mailability, it would be desirable that the publisher be informed of the reasons for the Department's objections.'

"The ruling was furnished purely as an intra-departmental advice, in response to the request and for the information of the Bureau of Post Office Operations. It did not result in any adverse action affecting your clients. Any future issue which might be withheld by the postmaster and submitted here for examination will, of course, be judged on its own merits.

"As to the 'reasons for the Department's objections,' I can only advise you generally that it is the opinion of this office that the magazine issues in question contain matter non-mailable under Section 36.5, Postal Laws and Regulations of 1948, 18 U.S. Code 1717 insofar as it applies to publications violative of the provisions of Section 2388 of Title 18."

TEXT OF SECTION 36.5 INVOKED IN HOLDING UP NEW WORLD REVIEW

36.5 DISLOYAL MATTER. (a) Every letter, writing, circular, postal card, picture, print, engraving, photograph, newspaper, pamphlet, book, or other publication, matter or thing, in violation of sections, 499, 506, 793, 794, 915, 954, 956, 957, 960, 964, 1017, 1542, 1543, 1544 or 2388 of this title or which contains any matter advocating or urging treason, insurrection, or forcible resistance to any law of the United States is non-mailable and shall not be conveyed in the mails or delivered from any post office or by any letter carrier.

(b) Whoever uses or attempts to use the mails or Postal Service of the United States for the transmission of any matter declared by this section to be non-mailable, shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than ten years or both.

(c) No person other than a duly authorized employee of the Dead Letter Office, or other person upon a search warrant authorized by law, shall open any letter not addressed to himself. (62 Stat. 782; 18 U.S.C. 1717)

*Note: Paragraph (a) above relates to mail matter of any class which is in violation of any of the provisions of the act of June 15, 1917 (40 Stat. 217; 50 U.S.C. 31-42), and when the United States is at war applies specifically to all matter which is intended to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces of the United States or to promote the success of its enemies, or which is intended to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or which is intended to obstruct the recruiting of enlistment service of the United States. (See 40 Stat. 217; 50 U.S.C. 31-42).

From Postal Laws and Regulations—1948, Page 286

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* This note is a paraphrase of Section 2388 of Title 18 of the U.S. Code dealing with "Activities affecting armed forces during war," which the Solicitor's letter of October 16, 1953 alleges is applicable to the cited issues of New World Review.

[NEW YORK (City) Brooklyn Borough President]

April 21, 1953

Honorable John Cashmore,
Borough President,
21 Borough Hall,
Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

Sir:

I would like to join those who are opposing the proposed amendment to the City Zoning Regulation which would permit the erection of buildings along the Esplanade to the height of seventy feet in an area within one hundred feet of the bulkhead line.

The erection of such buildings would be injurious to the health and welfare of the residents of Brooklyn Heights.

I am, Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

New York Committee for Clemency
for the Rosenbergs

1050 Sixth Avenue • New York 18, N. Y.
LOngacre 4-9585

Chairman
PROF. EPHRAIM CROSS

Executive Secretary
EMILY ALMAN

June 4th, 1953

Dear Friend:

It is late -- BUT NOT TOO LATE -- to save the lives of the Rosenbergs who are scheduled to die on June 18, the day of their fourteenth wedding anniversary. THEIR time is growing short, but you still have precious time to do something to save two lives.

All legal processes are not exhausted. New evidence keeps pouring in. Help them in the name of humanity and human conscience to present this evidence while they still live.

Pope Pius XII has asked mercy for these parents of two sons. Prof. Malcolm Sharp of the University of Chicago Law School declares the Pope's mercy plea "has reinforced the criticism made by many Americans of the severity of the sentence" and declares the new evidence now available "shakes the confidence" in the guilty verdict. Prof. Albert Einstein asks mercy and joins Dr. Harold Urey, Nobel Prize winner and foremost atomic authority, in casting doubt on some of the evidence that convicted the Rosenbergs. Twenty-three hundred Protestant Clergymen and countless Rabbis ask mercy and Americans from coast to coast have appealed to President Eisenhower for clemency.

FIVE MINUTES OF YOUR TIME
CAN SAVE TWO LIVES --

WIRE -- WRITE -- AT ONCE -- NOW -- TODAY -- to President Eisenhower. Ask him for CLEMENCY FOR THE ROSENBERGS.

ONE HOUR OF YOUR TIME
CAN SAVE TWO LIVES --

Attend the CLEMENCY RALLY at Union Square on Thursday, June 11, at 5 p.m. Attend this great demonstration for LIFE and MERCY.

ONE DAY OF YOUR TIME
CAN SAVE TWO LIVES --

Join the CLEMENCY TRAIN to Washington on SUNDAY, JUNE 14. Let President Eisenhower know that people urge him to save these lives. Train leaves Liberty St. ferry at 8:15 a.m. daylight time, and from B & O Station, Jersey City, at

over ➡

8:30 a.m. Reservation blank attached -- your ADVANCE RESERVATIONS ARE ESSENTIAL.

We appeal to your own love of life and of justice ... in the name of humanity ... to do everything to help save Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

Sincerely yours,

Emily Altman
Executive Secretary

ROSENBERG CLEMENCY TRAIN

(Make reservation to insure seats..... Train stops at Elizabeth, New Jersey)

I would like to make advance reservation (s) _____ on the Washington Clemency Train on Sunday, June 14, 8:30 a.m., B & O Railroad (Jersey side).

Individual Rate:	$12 Round Trip
SPECIAL FAMILY TICKET:	$25 (Includes parents and one child under 12. $ 2 for each additional child).

ENCLOSED PLEASE FIND $_____

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case.
1050 Sixth Avenue, New York 18, N.Y., LOngacre 4-9585

NEW YORK PEACE INSTITUTE

111 WEST 42 STREET · NEW YORK 36, N. Y. · ORegon 5-9168

Co-Chairmen:
REV. REGINALD H. BASS
REV. EDWARD D. McGOWAN

August 4, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
23 West 26th Street
New York City

25-62.22

Dear Dr. Dubois:

It is our privilege to invite you to join a group of other preminent American Peace Leaders to address a large audience of New Yorkers at a great dramatic Truce Celebration to be held in the City Center Casino, 135 W. 55th St., Wednesday, August 12, at 8:00 P.M.

Others who ~~have~~been invited include Paul Robeson, Rev. Kenneth R. Forbes, Ben Gold, Rabbi Buchler, Tom Richardson, Haleis Robinson Rev. John Darr, Prof. Philip Morrison.

The meeting ~~was~~ is being spensored by the New York Peace Council of the American Peace Crusade.

We expect a minimum of 1500 New York Peace workers to join together in celebrating the Truce they have worked so hard to achieve and to begin thinking of further perspectives for Big Power Negotiations.

We trust you will find it possible to accept our invitation to speak.

May we hear from you soon on this matter?

Respectfully yours,

Mark Tarail

August 6, 1953

Mr. Mark Tarail
New York Peace Institute
111 West 42 Street
New York 36, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Tarail:

I have your letter of August 4th and your telephone call.

I regret to say that I shall be unable to address the meeting at the City Center Casino August 12th.

I trust you will have every success.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[New York State - Housing Division]

May 28, 1953

Housing Commissioner Herman T. Stichman
New York State Housing Division
270 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

My dear Sir:

I want to commend your plan to provide place in the Carver Houses in Harlem for a clinic to be operated by Mt. Sinai Hospital.

I am utterly unable to understand the opposition to this noble proceeding, and I hope you will be successful.

You will find my biography in "Who's Who."

Very sincerely yours,

DB;lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-59-10

December 16, 1953

New York Times
229 West 43 St.
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly insert this advertisement in your Sunday edition; one insertion, to occupy the space usuallfor such an advertisement.

(For Sale)

CAPEHART reversing recorder changer. Latest model, complete with all parts in perfect condition. Phone: Maine 4--2929.

Please send bill to:

Shirley Graham
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[N.Y. Times]

For Sale:

25-59-10

CAPEHART reversing recorder changer. Latest model, complete with all parts in perfect condition. Phone: Main 4-2929

October 21, 1953

Business Manager
Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Va.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is a proposed advertisement. If I can afford it I should like to have this inserted in the Journal and Guide national edition, one, two or three times, to occupy a small space but large enough to attract some attention.

Will you kindly let me know what such an insertion would cost? As this is not a commercial venture I can only afford to spend a reasonable sum.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

800 Riverside Drive
April,16, 1953,
New York, N. Y.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear Sir;

The North Star Players thank you for accepting our invitation to introduce Dr. Herbert Aptheker on Thursday evening, April 23 at the Royal Manor Ballroom.

Amoung our honor guests will be, Miss Angelina Grimke, Miss Esther Scott, Prince Macarney, Mrs. Esther Jackson, Miss Yvonne Gregory, Mrs. Eslande Goode Robeson, Dr. Alphaeus Hunton, Mr. Paul Robeson and other descendants of outstanding figures in Negro History.

A car will call for you and Mrs. DuBois on the evening if you will let us know where you will be between the hours of seven and seven thirty p. m.

We look forward to the pleasure of your company.

Yours Very Truly,

Alice Childress

Alice Childress

For The North Star Players

35-64.37

April 20, 1953

Miss Alice Childress
New York City

Dear Miss Childress:

Shirley and I will be at 31 Grace Court ready to leave for the Aptheker meeting any time after 7p.m. I should be glad to have you pick us up and return us to our home.

You could reach Grace Court from the end of Brooklyn Bridge going out Henry to Jerolemon, down Jerolemon to Hicks, up one block and left ½ block.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

THE NORTH STAR PLAYERS

(1953)

— present —

"A MILESTONE ON THE ROAD TO TRUTH"

A CULTURAL RECEPTION
IN HONOR OF
DR. HERBERT APTHEKER, HISTORIAN

PROGRAM

PART.....I

INVOCATION ..... REV. BENJAMIN C. ROBESON

EXCERPTS FROM "THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE OF THE... UNITED STATES" ..... NORTH STAR PLAYERS

SOUTH AFRICAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT..... MR. LOUIS BURNHAM

PART.....II

EXCERPTS FROM DOCUMENTARY HISTORY ..... NORTH STAR PLAYERS

INTRODUCTION OF DR. HERBERT APTHEKER.....DR. W.E.B. DUBOIS

PRESENTATION OF GIFT ..... MRS. ALICE CHILDRESS

— SPECIAL GUESTS —

MISS ANGELINA GRIMKI
MRS. RICHARD BOYER
MRS. FAY AND MISS BETTINA APTHEKER
MR. PAUL ROBESON
MR. L. W. BEECHER
DR. AND MRS. W.E.B. DUBOIS
MR. AND MRS. PRINCE MC CONEY
MRS. DIXON
REV. AND MRS. BENJAMIN ROBESON
MISS YVONNE GREGORY
DR. AND MRS. ALPHAEUS HUNTON
MRS. ESLANDA G.C. ROBESON
MRS. ESTER C. JACKSON
MRS. ESTER SCOTT
MR. CHARLES WHITE

—— HOSTESSES ——

MRS. LOUISE PATTERSON
MRS. ANGIE DICKERSON
MRS. LEON BIBB
MRS. JOLLY ROBINSON
MRS. SIDNEY POITIER
MRS. CARMEN ALVES

—— USHERS ——

JEAN CHILDRESS
LORRAIN MONTENEGRO
KATRILLA MONTEGUE
BARBARA GRAYSON
BARBARA HARRIS
ELLEN PERCIKOW

— SERVICE —

SERVICE — THE DOMESTIC WORKERS UNION
BOOK DISPLAY — FREDERICK DOUGLASS BOOKSHOP
BENIN ART — COURTESY OF MR. FABYI
SOUTH AFRICAN PHOTOS — COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
MAP OF AFRICA — COURTESY.. MR. JULIUS HEIMAN

—— NORTH STAR PLAYERS ——

LEON BIBB .... ALICE CHILDRESS.... BEULAH RICHARDSON, BILL ROBINSON, C. TAYLOR

GUEST ARTISTS: CHRISTOPHER ALVES, FRED COLLINS, MARY LOU PATTERSON.

MINNIE R. CARTER, Chairman
WILLIAM KERNER, Executive Director
BETTY WINTER, Secretary

northern california peace council

935 MARKET STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 3, CALIFORNIA • EXBROOK 2-5295

Feb, 3, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th St.
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

As you may know, the Northern California Peace Council is handling the arrangements for your stay in this part of the state. I would like to let you know of the progress in these arrangements and solicit from you any suggestions you may have to offer.

First, the Council leadership felt that much more would be accomplished if we could set up an independent committee to sponsor your meeting in San Francisco. After consultation with a number of community leaders we formed the Committee to Welcome Dr.W.E.B. DuBois. Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett, publisher of the Sun-Reporter; Mrs. Lenore P. Job, director of a prominent dancing school and leader in P.T.A. circles; and William H. Chester, regional director of the International Longhoremen's & Warehousemen's Union and western director for the National Negro Labor Council are the co-chairmen. In addition, the following are members of the committee - with more names to be added in the next few days:

Mr. George Andersen - prominent labor attorney
Mrs. Eugenia Bem - family associated with S.F. Symphony
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Carter - Mrs. Carter is chairman of the Peace Council
Dr.& Mrs. Percy M. Dawson - Dr. Dawson, professor at Stanford
Rev. & Mrs. D.D.Dews - leaders of independent Baptist Church
Miss Harriet G. Eddy - prominent resident of the state, active in various world peace conferences
Mr. & Mrs. Benjamin Dreyfus - Mr. Dreyfus noted lawyer, Mrs. Dreyfus, active in political circles
Dr. & Mrs. Washington E. Garner - Dr. Garner, leading physician in S.F., ~~prmx~~ leader in local chapter of Negro fraternity; Mrs. Garner active in YWCA and other social clubs
Mr. & Mrs. Charles R. Garry - Mr. Garry, lawyer - head of local chapter of Lawyers Guild.
Dr. & Mrs. Asher T. Gordon - active in Jewish community
Mr. & Mrs. Leonard Greer - Mrs. Greer, leading churchwomen in Baptist church, Mr. Greer - head of old-timers group in Longshoremen's Union.

35-54-19

Rev. & Mrs. F.D.Haynes - one of most influential church leaders, not only among Negro people, but throughout city.
Miss Louise Jacobs - one time official of NAACP
Mr.& Mrs. Martin J. Jarvis - Mr. Jarvis, S.F. attorney
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Johnson - Mr. Johnson is nat'l. sect'y-treas. of the Marine Cooks & Stewards Union
Mr. & Mrs. William Kerner - Mr. Kerner is director of the Peace Council; Mrs. Kerner - noted dance teacher
Dr. & Mrs. Henry Mayer - Dr. Mayer prominent physician in Redwood City; Mrs. Mayer - leading industrial engineer
Mrs. Alice Meigs - recentl attended Children's Conference in Vienna
Mr. & Mrs. Hugh B. Miller - Mr. Miller , S.F. attorney
Dr. & Mrs. Holland D. Roberts - Dr. Roberts, director of California Labor School
Mr. & Mrs. Paul Schnur - Mr. Schnur, one time leader in state CIO, Mrs. Schnur visited UN last year on behalf of son who is a P.O.W.
Rev. R.L. Turner - pastor of Pleasant Hill Baptist Church
Mr. & Mrs. T.W.Washington - Mr. Washington important real estate business man.
Mr. & Mrs. Peter Winter - Mrs. Winter is Adm. Secty of Peace Council
Mr. John Walker - official in Longshoremen's Union
Mr. & Mrs. George A, Hayward - Mr. Hayward - leader in AFL unions, and so is Mrs. Hayward.

25-54,20

Other names will be added. We hope that Bishop Parsons will join the committee. But even as it is, we feel we have made real progress in involving new people in our work.

I have also met with Mrs. Nance at the NAACP office here in San Francisco. She has been most helpful and will see that word of your visit is made known to NAACP chapters. We also discussed a number of questions that we would like to ask of you. First - our Los Angeles committee informed me that you and Mrs. DuBois would prefer to stay at a hotel. We have reserved a suite of rooms for you at the Booker T. Washington hotel in San Francisco. However, Mrs. Nance would like me to ask you if you would care to stay with her. Her place is available for you and Mrs. DuBois.

Secondly, we would like to know if wish us to arrange any other activities - for the evenings when no meeting is scheduled. What we have in mind is the following:
Mrs. Nance would like to give a small dinner for you - perhaps for about 10-15 people. It might be possible to arrange another such dinner with another group of people. One of thethoughts in mind about these dinners, perhaps some information about the progress of the DuBois Foundation could be given. Also, if you think it worthwhile, it may be possible for us to arrange a small, informal late morning meeting with certain community leaders. For instance, it might be possible to get together 10 or 12 church leaders, including Bishop Parsons. Or perhaps a group of leaders in the Negro community. The purpose of such meeting would be to informally talk about various problems, the status of peace activity, etc.

And, third, we would like to know if you would care to spend any of your time in sight-seeing - a trip to Muir Woods, perhaps.

The final matter has to do with the subject of your talk.

In consultation with the Los Angeles office, we have announced the subject of your talk as "Africa and World Peace". This seemed to be indicated too by a story that appeared in the Pittsburgh Courier. We are very much interested in getting your judgement on the proposal that we reprint the speech in pamphlet form for mass distribution in this area. Two possibilities suggest themselves to us. First, securing a copy of the speech early enough to have it printed and ready for distribution at the meeting on Feb. 21. A copy of the speech could be given to each person attending and an appeal made to everyone to order quantities of the speech for further distribution. Or we could reprint the speech after your visit to the area.

If it is not too presumptious, may we suggest that it would be very helpful to our work if you could include in your speech some reference to the importance of trade union participation in peace activity and the importance for all organizations and individuals to make this the question of peace a number one issue for discussion and work.

One word about your meeting in Oakland. It will be held at one of the large Negro churches, Taylor Memorial Methodist Church. Here too, a separate sponsoring committee has been formed to sponsor the meeting. Dr. LeGrand Coleman is serving as chairman. The third meeting is scheduled for Vallejo but details have not as yet been finalized.

We look forward to seeing you and Mrs. DuBois again and hope that your trip out will be a pleasant one.

Sincerely yours,

William Kerner

William Kerner

P.S. Please forgive the poor typing.

Febsuary 5, 1953

Mr. William Kerner
Northern California Peace Council
935 Market Street
San Francisco, 3, California

25-54-22

Dear Mr. Kerner:

I have your letter of February 3rd and thank you for your activity.

The committees which you have set up are quite satisfactory to me if they are to you, and I am glad of your cooperation with Mrs. Nance.

We would not like to have many activities outside of the lectures. The dinner at Mrs. Nance's would, of course, be all right. I am enclosing a copy of my suggestions as to conferences, which would apply to the proposals that you have. We would like to do a little sight-seeing, and the trip to Muir Woods sounds attractive.

As to our stopping place, it is usually better to stop at a hotel, if, of course, it is a good, quiet hotel and not a center of noise and entertaining. I think it would be too much for us to impose upon a private home.

I will speak on "Africa ahd World Peace", but would not like to send you a copy of the talk before it is delivered. I will make some reference to trade union participation in peace activity.

I trust this answers your main questions. We can be reached at 31 Grace Court, Brooklyn 2, New York until February 10th. After that, c/o Southern California Peace Crusade, 326 West 3 St. Los Angeles, 13, California.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

MINNIE R. CARTER, *Chairman*
WILLIAM KERNER, *Executive Director*
BETTY WINTER, *Secretary*

northern california peace council

935 MARKET STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 3, CALIFORNIA • EXBROOK 2-5295

Feb. 12, 1953

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
Rm. 310
326 West 3rd St.
Los Angeles 13, Calif.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your letter of Feb. 5.

I attach a copy of your schedule while in the bay region.

I also would like to outline the program for the San Francisco meeting. (The meeting in Oakland will be somewhat similar except that the latter is a regular meeting whereas the former combines a social event with lecture.

The San Francisco meeting is scheduled to open at 7:30 p.m. with the serving of coffee and cake. Between 8:15 and 8:30 p.m. the formal part of the meeting will begin. Dr. Goodlett or some other local leader will chair the meeting. A local minister will give the invocation. Then a song by one of our artists. Your talk will follow this. The collection speech comes after your talk. The meeting to close with a benediction. It is our hope that all this will be accomplished within two hours so that the meeting may end by 10:30.

I am writing a separate note to Mrs. DuBois asking if she would care to appear on the program, perhaps as the closing speaker.

Sincerely yours,

William Kerner

P.S. An F.M. radio station inBerkeley has called ~~saying~~ ~~[illegible]~~ asking if an interview can be arranged with you for broadcast purposes. We would like to know your wishes in this matter.

46-10-220

100

March 6, 1953

35.59.25

Mr. William Kerner
Northern California Peace Council
935 Market St.
San Francisco, 3, Calif.

My dear Mr. Kerner:

We had pleasant stops in Seattle and Portland, rested a few days in Chicago, and arrived home yesterday.

May I thank you very much for your hard work and sympathy.

I shall hope to meet you when you come ~~west~~ East.

With best regards from Shirley and myself to you and your wife and mother,

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

MINNIE R. CARTER, Chairman
WILLIAM KERNER, Executive Director
BETTY WINTER, Secretary

northern california peace council

935 MARKET STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 3, CALIFORNIA • EXBROOK 2-5295

23-54-18

April 15, 1953

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois;

Peter Hyun has turned over your three manuscripts to me. It is our opinion - in the northern area - that the "Revolt in Africa" speech is best suited for our purposes. I understand that the southern California office was thinking of printing "Present Prospects for Peace". However, we have all finally agreed that the Africa speech should be printed.

I am meeting with Mrs. Nance this week and with Mr. Whitney, associate editor of the Sun-Reporter to discuss the project with them. I hope to enlist their aid, in addition to the many others on the Committee to Welcome Dr.W.E.B. DuBois, in carrying through the entire project.

In preparing the speech for publication, we will need a number of appropriate pictures - about 10 - and a map of Africa that will be sufficiently detailed so that the reader will be able to locate the places you mention in your speech easily. I suppose we can get this material here but if, perchance, you have such handy, may we borrow same?

We hope the pamphlet will sell for no more than 10¢, cheaper if possible. On that basis we would like your opinion on our proposal that we pay you 1¢ royalty for each pamphlet.

I hope that you have heard about the Chicago National Policy Meeting. I feel that very positive gains were made there, good concrete steps taken to strengthen the organizational structure of the Crusade, and many of us learned some of the tremendous problems that the national staff had to cope with. I am sure all of the participants came away with a better, more realistic, constructive approach to the total peace movement as well to the part the Crusade plays in that peace movement.

All of us here send our best regards to you and Mrs. DuBois.

Cordially,

Bill Kerner

Bill Kerner

100

MINNIE R. CARTER, *Chairman*
WILLIAM KERNER, *Executive Director*
BETTY WINTER, *Secretary*

northern california peace council

935 MARKET STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 3, CALIFORNIA • EXBROOK 2-5295

April 24, 1953

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N.Y.

35-54-27

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I enclose some suggestions (tentative, of course,) for the pamphlet. Mr. Whitney, associate editor of the Sun-Reporter did most of the lay-out.

The size of the pamphlet will be 5½" x 8½". Our present plan is to use newsprint stock which is not as slick as most pamphlets but is much cheaper and will permit for a smaller price for the pamphlet - 10¢ ea. with reductions for quantity orders.

You will notice on page 2 of the typewritten outline, we have made suggestions for the use of photos and titles for chapter headings. Actually, we don't plan to break up the speech by chapters but, rather, to use these captions to help the lay-out and appearance of the pamphlet. The page numbers referred to are for the pamphlet and not according to your manuscript.

We are hoping that you will have more appropriate captions and suggestions for photos. Our outline is purely for discussion and to assist in working out the final pamphlet. So please feel free to change, reject, add etc.

We have one or two questions re the speech. First, a question of a date and spelling. You state that Kruger was re-elected 1893. In same paragraph you state.."one year later, 1890..." I understand that Kruger was re-elected in 1889. Is this correct? Also, what is the correct spelling of Mata(e)beleland? In your speech it is spelled both ways.

Leave this as I wrote it!

Finally,,one suggestion on editing. One sentence states, "Religion, cheap gin, syphillis....." In view of the fact that we hope to distribute the speech in as many churches as possible, we would like to suggest that the word 'religion' be removed.

May we hear from you at the earliest possible moment? Our hope is to get to the printer no later than June 1.

Our best regards to you and Mrs. DuBois.

Sincerely,
Bill Kerner

I have written to the Council on Afro-American Affairs informing them of our plans.

100

[N. Calif. Peace Council]

May 7, 1953

Mr. William Kerner
Northern California Peace Council
935 Market St.
San Francisco, 3, Calif.

Dear Mr. Kerner:

Dr. Du Bois is out of town at the present time. He is expected back about May 18th.

I have communicated with him concerning your letter of April 24th. The proposed pamphlet meets with his approval, and you may use your own judgment as to photos, titles, etc.

He wishes the sentence reading "Religion, cheap gin, syphilis" to be left as he wrote it!

The correct spelling is MATABELE and MATABELELAND.

Paul Kruger was elected president of the South African Republic four times: 1883, 1888, 1893 and 1898, so the date 1893 is correct. However, the paragraph is mainly concerning Rhodes during the period of years of his greatest success. Perhaps if you change it to read "One year later, in 1890, Rhodes had become.." it will be clearer.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

[Northwest Citizens Def. Comm.]

March 6, 1953

Mrs. Baba Jeanne Decker
Northwest Citizens Defense Comm.
304 University Bldg.
Seattle 1, Washington

25-49-3

Dear Mrs. Decker:

I want to thank you very much for our visit in Seattle, and to say that we appreciate your work.

Will you please greet the chairman and the others who helped to make our stay pleasant.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

ISN'T THERE SOMETHING BETTER FOR OUR BOYS?

Read What Is Happening to Citizens Who Say There Is...

The Story of Seven Northwest Citizens

THE KOREAN WAR IS NOW IN ITS THIRD YEAR. Each week from that far-off country come new casualty lists: dead, wounded, missing. Disease and hunger stalk the unhappy land. Tiny children beg for food . . . and fall dead of starvation in the streets. American boys huddle in the fox-holes, asking, "When will it end?"

In the United States, on the morning of September 17, 1952, seven citizens of the Northwest who have, in speech and writing, openly opposed the Korean War were arrested by the F.B.I.

The arrests were elaborately staged for fullest publicity effect. Under cover of darkness, squads of heavily armed men in radio cars moved into quiet residential neighborhoods. At seven o'clock that Wednesday morning came the heavy knocks on the door. No warrants were served. The privacy of homes and bedrooms was invaded. The victims were searched for weapons. In some cases the arrests were made in front of mothers and children.

Those arrested in Seattle were handcuffed and immediately clapped into jail. Those who happened to be out of the city (as in the case of a CIO union executive who was attending his union's convention in Portland) were ultimately returned to Seattle in handcuffs and leg irons.

Karly Larsen, Union Executive

Karly Larsen is the first CIO trade union leader to be caught in the Smith Act dragnet. His arrest shows you how far this thing can go, if it isn't stopped.

For seventeen years now, Karly has been an elected official of the CIO International Woodworkers of America. Today he is first vice-president of his union's Western Washington District No. 23, with about 14,000 members, and the national union with which he is affiliated is made up of more than 100,000 workers.

Since his arrest his fellow union members have given Karly a resounding vote of confidence.

Karly Larsen was born in Denmark in 1905 and when he was four he came to the United States with his parents, Lars Kristian Larsen and Karen Marie Larsen. In 1921 he became a citizen through the naturalization of his father.

The Scandinavian countries have enriched us with many sturdy sons and daughters and Karly is an example. Settling in Cedarhome, Washington, Karly went to work in the woods at the age of 14. Before the depression closed camps down in 1929, Karly had become one of the top-wage loaders in the industry.

Leadership in the struggles of the unemployed during the early thirties led to Larsen's entry into the trade union movement.

In speaking before local unions of the International Woodworkers, Karly says: "I will not be dissuaded in any manner by the charges against me from advocating what I believe to be right and opposing what you and I know to be wrong. I shall fight for the right of labor to bargain collectively, for adequate health and welfare provisions for every member; for the improvement of living and social standards, and for the defense of civil liberties for all persons."

Since 1922 Karly has maintained his home on a farm near East Stanwood.

This is Karly Larsen's family at home in East Stanwood, Washington. Seated are Mrs. Suomi Larsen, Karly's wife; granddaughter Kathie; Karly; daughter Shirley, and grandson Stevie. Karly's son Jack and his son-in-law Howard Dorsey are standing.

Terry Pettus, Newspaper Editor

Terry Pettus is the Northwest Editor of The Daily People's World, a newspaper published daily in San Francisco and circulated in the thousands all up and down the Pacific Coast.

Folks who know say Terry is an exceptionally able newspaperman. He has a nose for news and he writes clear, sharp, hard-hitting prose.

He should be pretty good. He's been at it since 1924 and has worked on big time dailies in Minneapolis, Seattle and Tacoma, among other places.

But Terry likes his job as Northwest editor of The People's World. "I write the truth, what I believe—not what some publisher tells me," he says.

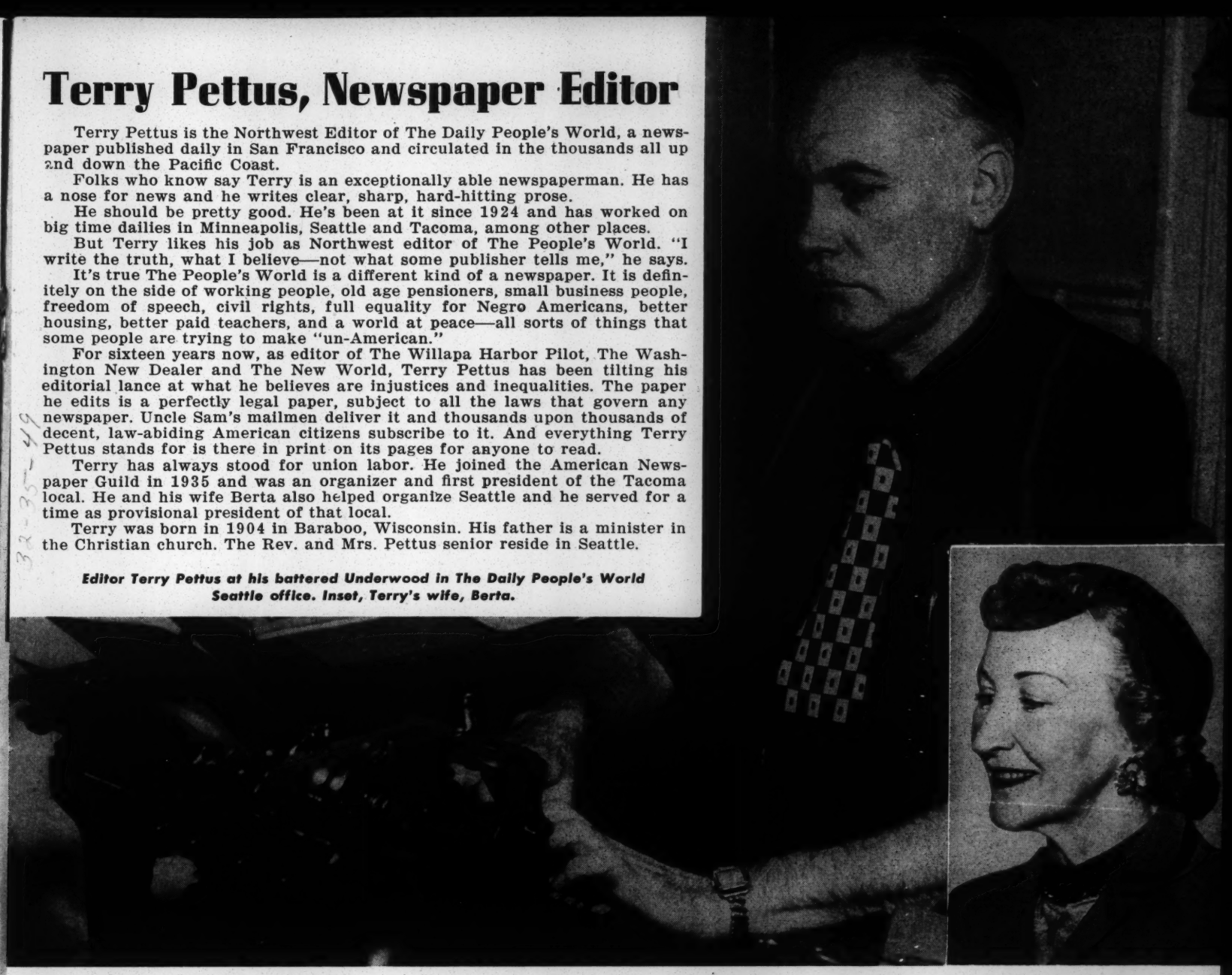
It's true The People's World is a different kind of a newspaper. It is definitely on the side of working people, old age pensioners, small business people, freedom of speech, civil rights, full equality for Negro Americans, better housing, better paid teachers, and a world at peace—all sorts of things that some people are trying to make "un-American."

For sixteen years now, as editor of The Willapa Harbor Pilot, The Washington New Dealer and The New World, Terry Pettus has been tilting his editorial lance at what he believes are injustices and inequalities. The paper he edits is a perfectly legal paper, subject to all the laws that govern any newspaper. Uncle Sam's mailmen deliver it and thousands upon thousands of decent, law-abiding American citizens subscribe to it. And everything Terry Pettus stands for is there in print on its pages for anyone to read.

Terry has always stood for union labor. He joined the American Newspaper Guild in 1935 and was an organizer and first president of the Tacoma local. He and his wife Berta also helped organize Seattle and he served for a time as provisional president of that local.

Terry was born in 1904 in Baraboo, Wisconsin. His father is a minister in the Christian church. The Rev. and Mrs. Pettus senior reside in Seattle.

Editor Terry Pettus at his battered Underwood in The Daily People's World Seattle office. Inset, Terry's wife, Berta.



Not One of the Seven Has Committed a Crime

Every outward show was made to give the impression that a dangerous band of criminals had been rounded up. The United States Attorney sought to re-enforce this impression. With the victims in jail, he asked that bail be set for six of them at $25,000 each, and for one at $40,000.

Prison sentences of five years each and fines of $10,000 each were asked.

What had these seven done? What was their crime? Murder? Arson? Robbery? Income tax evasion?

No. They had committed no criminal act. They are not even charged with one.

The charge against them is: Conspiring to teach and advocate the overthrow of the U. S. government by force and violence.

If you'll analyze that charge (serious as it sounds on the surface) you'll find that it is really no charge at all.

There Is Danger to All In the Charge Against Them

They are not charged with force or violence. They are not charged with teaching or advocating the overthrow of the U. S. government. What they are charged with is "conspiring" to teach and advocate such a course of action at some unknown future date.

That kind of a charge is pure mind reading. That kind of a charge is worse than the "thought control" police state Japan had before Pearl Harbor. But, of course, even to this fantastic charge the defendants have pleaded not guilty.

If you'll take the time to read the brief sketches of these seven defendants, you'll find they

are all busy, active people in widely separated and diverse fields. If you'll talk with people who really know them (and thousands do), you'll find them all to be decent, law-abiding citizens. (How absurd to think these seven could muster enough "force and violence" to overthrow our government even if they wanted to!)

As for being "conspirators" at no time have these people hidden their views. On the contrary, they have at all times openly, fully and freely expressed them as our Constitution guarantees them the right to do.

Nor are these arrests a "Communist roundup." There are Communists among the defendants. But these arrests go much farther than that. Caught in this prosecution are an elected official of a CIO labor union with thousands of members, an editor of a newspaper with thousands of subscribers, the elected president of a pension union made up of thousands of senior citizens, a worker for Negro advancement representing the aspirations of millions of his people, and the elected official of a civil rights organization with members in every part of the state.

In short, these arrests are not prosecutions of a mere seven people. They are thinly veiled threats (if veiled at all) against thousands of trade union members, members of organizations seeking full citizenship for the Negro people, members of civil liberties groups.

More. These arrests are a threat against the American people, their right to speak, their right of a free press, and their right to peaceful assembly. You may or may not share the opinions of any of these seven, but you must know that **their** right to their own opinions is the only guarantee of **your** right to yours.

Paul Bowen and his wife, Dortha, in their Seattle family home.

Paul Bowen, Negro Leader

Paul Bowen is an American—a special kind of an American.

Paul Bowen is a Negro. He knows what Frederick Douglass meant when he wrote: "Without struggle there is no progress." He is determined to live in the tradition of Douglass, Crispus Attucks, Denmark Vesey, George Washington Carver, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Paul Robeson.

Paul rejects second-class citizenship for himself or his people. He has said the pledge of allegiance with other citizens, and he wants the words to mean what they say: "One nation, with liberty and justice for all." That's what our pledge says: ". . . liberty and justice for all."

So Paul has fought, always by peaceful, legal means, for the rights of his people. This fight was necessary even during his U. S. Army service in World War II when as a GI he had to engage in some heated battles with his officers for the rights of the Negro soldiers. Yes, the struggle for democratic rights had to be undertaken within the army itself, simultaneously with the fight against Hitler.

Paul was honorably discharged as a sergeant in 1945.

On the home front Paul has fought against minstrel shows which caricature the Negro people. As a member of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union and of the Aero Mechanics Union he has been an ardent advocate of Negro-white unity in working for better conditions for all labor. He stood solidly with the union during the long Boeing strike in 1948 and was one of those blacklisted by the company for his union loyalty.

To help further the struggle for Negro rights, especially the right to employment without discrimination, Paul Bowen helped found the Seattle chapter of the Negro Labor Council.

Above all, Paul has been a consistent worker, speaker and writer for peace. And so has his wife Dortha. She alone secured more than 1,000 signatures to the Stockholm (Sweden) Peace Appeal. Neither of them believe there is much in war for Negro lads—or white lads, either. They never yet saw a GI, white or black, come home rich. Did you?

Paul was born thirty years ago in the crowded jimcrow area of Chicago's South Side. His grandfather had been a farmer and a minister, but worn-out soil made him leave the land for the city.

Says Paul: "I have always been and always will be associated with the struggles of my people, who have suffered under a yoke of oppression in our land, America, for some 300 years. I submit that we need and can have peace and an extension of our democratic rights now!"

John Daschbach, Civil Rights Congress

John Daschbach is Washington state director of the Civil Rights Congress, an organization with members in every part of our state and nation.

His job is one of eternal vigilance. The Civil Rights Congress is a foremost defender of our precious constitutional liberties—the right to speak our mind, our right to agree or disagree with things as they are, our right to associate with whom we please.

These rights didn't come easily. And they won't stay with us easily. The Civil Rights Congress has seen the need to wage public campaigns to maintain these rights. That is why John Daschbach opposed repressive laws like the McCarran concentration camp law, the Smith Act and the Taft-Hartley law. That is why he has been an outspoken opponent of frameups like the "Trenton Six," Harry Bridges and Willie McGee.

John Daschbach organized petitions and delegations to the state legislature to abolish the Canwell committee, to put a stop to its McCarthy-style attacks on people's organizations. The Civil Rights Congress says there ought to be stronger laws against discrimination and more vigorous enforcement of those now on the books.

John campaigned for the observance of Negro History Week in our public schools. He believes our children should grow up knowing the rich contributions of Negro Americans to our traditions. His is a wonderful, American sort of job in the tradition of Thomas Jefferson, Frederick Douglass, and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

John was born in Spokane in 1913, and like his parents, he's lived all his life in Washington. He went to public and Catholic parochial schools in Spokane and was graduated from Gonzaga High. He was an outstanding baseball pitcher for his school teams and in the Spokane professional league. And he was twice recognized as the outstanding individual all-around football player in Spokane schools.

A railroad and shipyard worker, he held membership in AFL Railroad Brotherhood and CIO unions. He worked his way through the University of Washington, earning a degree in political science. He has taught classes on labor history and other subjects in many unions.

In the picture, John, his wife Marjorie and their daughters, Judy and Peggy are playing a favorite family table game. A very good one, we take it, from their expressions.

Above: John Daschbach and his wife, Marjorie, enjoy a game with Judy, left, and Peggy, their daughters.

What Happened Under Hitler Must Not Happen Here

Any departure from this stand leads to fascism. Remember how it went in Hitler's Germany? Communists at first . . . then trade unionists, editors, Jews, small business men . . . anyone suspected of "dangerous thoughts." Don't say it can't happen here.

Already 85 citizens have been arrested under similar circumstances for their political views, seven in our own state.

And what is the thread that binds together the seven in our state? What is their common "crime"?

Only one thing. Each of these seven has openly and fearlessly opposed the Korean war, the policies that keep American boys fighting in a war thousands of miles from our shores. Each one has spoken publicly (or written publicly) against this.

In their stand on Korea they are joined by millions of their more quiet fellow Americans. Every single public opinion poll taken on this subject shows an overwhelming percentage of the American people to be opposed to this war. It is not treason, it is not a crime, rather it is true patriotism to be opposed to the Korean war.

Why, then, is it being made a crime? Why are open advocates of peace being threatened with prison?

Henry and Helen Huff

Henry Huff, Communist Organizer

Now you're going to meet a real, living Communist.

Standing in the doorway of his modest home (above) is Henry Huff, Washington state chairman of the Communist party. That woman he has his arm around is his wife, Helen.

No, he wasn't born on foreign soil, but in Rome, Douglas County, Missouri, in 1894—and his American ancestry dates back to the Seventeenth Century.

He was one of ten children. At the age of 11, because of the illness of his father, he was forced to give up school and go to work in a box factory.

By 1906 the family moved to Aberdeen, Washington, where young Henry worked in the shingle mills and as a construction worker in building the old Southwest jetty. A couple of years later, with his family in Centralia, he worked in the lumber mills and camps of western Washington and Oregon. For a short time he was a grocery clerk, and he pitched for the Centralia club in the old Southwestern Washington semi-professional league.

In 1917, as an active member of the I.W.W., he saw the vigilantes smash meeting halls and burn literature.

By then he had become a railroad worker and he worked in this industry until 1933.

It was from his life as a railroad worker and his experiences with the force and violence employed against working people's organizations that he was led to the study of Marx and into active membership and leadership in the Communist party.

Henry Huff's political views, activities and membership in the Communist party have been an open book and a matter of public record for 35 years.

Says Huff: "Socialism alone can bring permanent peace, security and freedom"—and under our Constitution he has every right to shout that from the housetops.

No Profit in This War For the American People

The answer is to be found in one word: Profits. This war is highly profitable for certain people. Not for the boys who fight it. Not for their mothers. Not for the bewildered, homeless, starving children of Korea. But for certain people . . . certain corporations.

If side by side with the **casualty lists** of dead, wounded, and missing, could be printed the **profit statements** of the merchants of death, the whole ghastly tragedy of our age would be revealed.

There is nothing so sensitive as war profits. It would be poor business to let this war be exposed for the money-maker it is. It would affect dividends . . . the stock market would nosedive.

Let boys die. Let children starve. Let war-makers amass millions.

Put a law on the books to jail anyone who protests. Don't think these corporations aren't without power. . . .

Such a law has been put on the books. It is known as the Smith Act. Many millions are already on record against it. They call it a "thought control" law. It was introduced into Congress by Howard K. Smith, the notorious poll tax Congressman from Virginia, in 1940. It was passed on a day when only one-fourth of the members of Congress were present. Less than one-sixth of the members voted for it.

It is under this Smith Act that these seven Northwest citizens were arrested. If this act stays on the books, none of us dare speak our minds. Under its provisions the government can do almost anything it pleases and if you don't like it, and **say** so, off to jail you go. Five years in prison! Ten thousand dollars fine! Makes you mighty careful what you say. Makes you wonder where our free speech has gone.

It isn't just the seven who are affected. It's you and me and the fellow across the street. Do we want to live in an America of thought control and concentration camps?

There Is No Place for Thought Control in America

Isn't it time for us to speak up and speak out? This isn't Hitler's Germany. This is America. This is the land of Tom Paine and Thomas Jefferson, of Valley Forge and Gettysburg. This is the land where John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave but his soul goes marching on.

All over America the people's indignation against the Smith Act and its political persecutions is smoldering and ready to burst into flame. We must join the nationwide fight to protect our freedoms and preserve our civil rights.

When we do, we stand with Supreme Court Justices Douglas and Black, The New York Times, The New York Post, The Catholic Worker, the National CIO, The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the American Civil Liberties Union and many, many others who vigorously oppose the Smith (thought control) Act and urge its repeal and the freeing of its victims.

Remember. Freedom is not a gift, it is a struggle. Do not fear to act. You are not alone. The neighbor across the street thinks much as you do. The bloody feet of Valley Forge and those who died at Gettysburg march with you. When you register your protest, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, Frederick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln, and Mark Twain will under-

Bill Pennock, his mother, Mrs. Marjorie Hill, and his wife, Louise. That boy in Bill's lap is his son, Peter.

Bill Pennock, Pension Union

"Life is a great teacher," it is said, and also, "Nothing takes the place of experience."

The thousands of senior citizens who make up the Washington Pension Union have had a great deal of experience, and have acquired the wisdom and understanding that come only with years.

And these senior citizens have elected Bill Pennock their president ten successive times. What was it Abe Lincoln said about fooling the people? The elderly people who make up the Pension Union might be fooled a time or two—but not ten times. And his tenth election as its president came after his arrest.

Bill Pennock a conspirator? Bill Pennock an advocate of force and violence? You can't tell that to the pensioners, the disabled and handicapped, the blind, the mothers and their children who must look to the state for their existence.

You can't tell that to those who know that Bill has been on the firing line for them for fifteen years. They know just one "conspiracy"—to place liens on their homes, to cut their grants, to rob them of adequate medical care, to make them second class citizens. They know Bill Pennock has led the fight against that conspiracy for fifteen years.

Bill was educated in the Seattle public schools, was class president and class speaker at Broadway High School commencement, and graduated from the University of Washington magna cum laude and a Phi Beta Kappa.

The people of his district four times sent Bill to the state legislature. He rolled up a record as a fighter for social security and peace and civil rights that's hard to equal. Back in the thirties Bill helped organize the picket lines that protested shipping scrap iron to Japan. (Later it came back to us in the bodies of American soldiers. Remember?)

stand and approve. How rich we are in tradition! How precious is our heritage. America. Sweet land of liberty. The land of the free . . . and the home of the brave.

☆ ☆ ☆

Join in This Fight To Preserve Civil Rights

As you read this pamphlet, you may or may not have agreed with all of the ideas of the various defendants. That, of course, is your American privilege. But equally as an American, you must agree to their right to their views just as you expect to have your right to your views.

It is upon this basis that we have formed the Northwest Citizens Defense Committee.

The hundreds of us who have contributed toward the publication of this pamphlet want to see these six men and one woman acquitted and at home with their families. We believe if they go to prison, our rights, and yours, go with them.

Our Committee has a single purpose: To free these seven defendants. In its initial statement of principles, the Committee set forth its program in this way:

It will provide an agency through which all who are opposed to the Smith Act can express their opposition irrespective of the real

Barbara Hartle, Waitress

Barbara Hartle

We wish we had space for a larger picture of Barbara Hartle because she really is an exceptional person.

When she graduated from Washington State College, under her picture the college yearbook carried the caption: "A little girl with a big future."

Today, under indictment, Barbara declares that caption to be prophetic, because, in her own words, "of the privilege and joy I have had throughout all my adult life to participate in the struggles of the women, workers, and Negro people for peace, freedom and a better way of life."

At W.S.C., Barbara worked her way through college, maintained a scholastic average of 94.44 per cent, edited and wrote for college publications and won her crimson "W" in women's athletics. She was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, scholastic honorary, and to Theta Sigma Phi, science honorary. She was acclaimed by the faculty as one of the most remarkable students ever to attend the state college.

The first big crisis in Barbara's life occurred after graduation when, during the depression, she found it impossible to get employment. After a few brief jobs she opened her own circulating library in Spokane with which she eked out an average income of $50 a month.

It was then, after her marriage to John Hartle, a railroad worker, that she first became acquainted with the organized labor movement. This led to extensive study of social conditions and to Volume I of Capital by Karl Marx. Convinced by her study and her personal experiences that socialism was superior to capitalism, Barbara joined the Socialist party and later the Communist party.

All her life she has worked and supported herself and has openly spoken for her beliefs, for peace, for women's rights, and for the rights of the Negro people. She has done this despite the fact that for the last 24 years she has suffered from a crippling and painful arthritic condition in her spine.

For the past two years this condition has been so severe that she has given up her political work. At the time of her arrest she was working part time as a waitress in Eugene, Oregon.

Barbara was born in 1908 in Godfrey, Washington, a small sawmill town on the banks of the upper Columbia.

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or fancied political beliefs or organizational affiliation of those arrested under it.

It will acquaint the public with the truth about the law and how it is being used—it will seek its repeal by Congress—it will seek the quashing of the indictments against the seven in the Northwest—it will work for presidential amnesty and the restoration of civil rights for all who have been or may be convicted under it.

It will raise needed funds for the above purposes and for the legal expenses of six of the defendants. The legal expense in the case of Mr. Larsen is being defrayed by a voluntary trade union committee organized for that specific purpose.

The case of the Northwest Seven will be history-making. A victory for them will be a victory for our constitutional rights. It will be a setback to those who make war against the will of the people.

Join With Thousands of Other Citizens In This History-Making Struggle

You can help in this cause by writing a letter now to the United States Attorney, Federal Court House, Seattle, urging the dismissal of these "thought control" indictments.

You can also help by filling in the coupon below. No matter how small or large your help can be, it will be a vital and historic contribution toward preserving our American freedoms!

CLIP THIS COUPON TO ENLIST IN THE DEFENSE OF YOUR RIGHTS

NORTHWEST CITIZENS DEFENSE COMMITTEE
304 University Bldg., Seattle 1, Washington • MUtual 3230

- ☐ **Here is $_____ for the work of the Committee.**
- ☐ **Send me additional material on the Smith Act and the Seven Northwest Citizens.**
- ☐ **Send me _____ copies of this pamphlet.**
- ☐ **Send me a copy of petition calling for dismissal of these Smith Act Indictments.**

Name_____ Street or Box_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

Make checks and money-orders payable to Mrs. Baba Jeanne Decker, Secretary

Oak Grove Elementary School
St. Andrew, Florida

January 19, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Office of National Association
for the Advancement of Colored People
New York City, New York

Dear Sirs;

25-48-4

I am the Colored County Librarian here in Bay County and I am seeking some free information concerning Negroes for National Negro History Week.

If you have any information you think will help my schools on the said subject, will you please send it?

Yours for education,
(Miss) Alice B. Robinson

[Oak Grove .1']

January 26, 1953

Miss Alice B. Robinson
Oak Grove Elementary School
St. Andrew, Florida

Dear Miss Robinson:

The only thing that I can do to help you in National Negro History Week is to send my last book to you, which I am sending herewith with my compliments.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

January 5th, 1953

Mrs. Fay Aptheker
Ocean Travel
71 West 23 St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Aptheker:

Shirley and I are planning to travel as follows:

To leave here by plane for Chicago on the morning of Monday, February 9th.

To leave Chicago for Detroit by plane February 12th.

To leave Detroit by plane for Los Angeles by way of Chicago either late the night of February 13th or the morning of February 14th.

To leave Los Angeles for San Francisco probably about the 21st, but that date could be left open.

During the last week in February we would either leave S.F. for New York or leave San Francisco for Oregon and Washington, and then leave Washington for New York. There is a possibility of stops on the way back in Denver, Kansas City and St. Louis, but these plans are by no means certain.

Will you kindly set up the best itinerary that you can make for us and let us know the cost.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

January 6, 1953

Mrs. Fay Aptheker
Ocean Travel
71 West 23 St.
New York, N.Y.

25-52-7

Dear Mrs. Aptheker:

At the last moment the Chicago engagement has been cancelled. Therefore please arrange for:

A trip to Detroit by plane February 12th (A.M.)

To leave Detroit by plane for Los Angeles either late on the night of the 13th or early on the morning of the 14th.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

OCEAN TRAVEL
BUREAU INC.

AUTHORIZED AGENTS:
ALL AIR, RAIL AND STEAMSHIP LINES
ALgonquin 5-1378-9
Cable: TRAVOCEAN

MASONIC BUILDING • 71 WEST 23rd STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

MEMBER AMERICAN SOCIETY OF TRAVEL AGENTS, INC.

January 12, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

25-50.10

My dear Dr. DuBois:

The following is the itinerary that I have worked out for you and Shirley for your trip to the West.

Thur.	Feb. 12	Leave New York from LaGuardia via American Airlines flight #713	11:25 am
		Arrive Detroit	7:22 pm
Sat.	Feb. 14	Leave Detroit via American Airlines, flight #703	9:30 am
		Arrive Chicago	9:47 am
		Leave Chicago via American Airlines, flight #15	11:50 am
		Arrive Los Angeles	5:15 pm
		Open from Los Angeles to San Francisco	
		Open from San Francisco to New York	

Rate per person is $301.90 plus tax of $45.29, total $347.19 ea.

You know, of course, that a family plan rate would apply if you and Shirley could travel on the days of Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday. I thought I would mention this so that some money could be saved if you could arrange this.

For the continuation of your trip from San Francisco to Portland, etc., I have worked out the following itinerary:-

Leave San Francisco via Western Airlines #606	10:05 am
Arrive Portland	12:30 pm
Leave Portland via Western Airlines #606	12:50 pm
Arrive Seattle	1:40 pm
Leave Seattle via United Airlines #612	7:25 am
Arrive Denver	1:35 pm

(While leaving at 7:25 am is quite early, I selected this flight in preference to flight #636 which leaves at 9 am and arrives in Denver at 4:50 pm. As you can

note, this is a much longer flight since it makes quite a few stops before arriving in Denver.)

Leave Denver via Continental Braniff Airlines, flight #968	12:30 pm
Arrive Kansas City	3:45 pm
Leave Kansas City via Continental Braniff Airlines, #968	4:05 pm
Arrive St. Louis	5:10 pm
Leave St. Louis via American Airlines #482	10:35 am
Arrive New York	4:50 pm

25-30 ///

A through rate from New York to Portland, etc., via San Francisco, would be $362.45 plus tax of $54.37 or $416.82 ea.

I thought it best to make reservations for you and Shirley from New York to Detroit and to Los Angeles as per the above flights mentioned above. However, any changes you wish to make I will be happy to arrange. If your plans from San Francisco to Portland, etc., materialize, I will, of course, be glad to arrange, this as well.

Kindest regards and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Fay P. Aptheker

Fay P. Aptheker
OCEAN TRAVEL BUREAU INC.

FPA.a

OCEAN TRAVEL BUREAU INC.

AUTHORIZED AGENTS:
ALL AIR, RAIL AND STEAMSHIP LINES
ALgonquin 5-1378-9
Cable: TRAVOCEAN

• MASONIC BUILDING • 71 WEST 23rd STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. •

MEMBER AMERICAN SOCIETY OF TRAVEL AGENTS, INC. ASTA

February 10, 1953 19

TO Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 W. 26th St.
New York City

2 Roundtrip tickets to San Francisco via American Airlines

WB - 2/13	From LaGuardia on flight #27 at	4:00 pm		
	Arrive Chicago	6:20 pm	$301.90	
2/14	From Chicago on flight #15	11:50 am	Tax 45.29	
	Arrive Los Angeles	5:15 pm	$347.19 ea.	
	Open from Los Angeles/San Francisco/New York			$694.38

PLEASE BE SURE TO RECONFIRM YOUR FLIGHT OUT OF CHICAGO AT LEAST SIX HOURS BEFORE FLIGHT TIME.

Rec'd payment
Thank you
Jay P. Applebaum

March 20, 1953

Mrs. Fay Aptheker
Ocean Travel
71 West 23 St.
New York 10 NY

Dear Mrs. Aptheker:

It is possible that Shirley and I may take a trip to Nassau in the Bahamas, to be gone April 21 to May 11.

Will you kindly give me an estimate as to what the round-trip fare would be by direct airplane from New York?

I want to be here the night of April 20th on account of my class at Jefferson School, and I should be back to meet that class at 7 p.m. May 11th. These are the outside limits of the trip.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-50-8

OCEAN TRAVEL BUREAU INC.

AUTHORIZED AGENTS:
ALL AIR, RAIL AND STEAMSHIP LINES

ALgonquin 5-1378-9
Cable: TRAVOCEAN

MASONIC BUILDING • 71 WEST 23rd STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

MEMBER AMERICAN SOCIETY OF TRAVEL AGENTS, INC.

March 24, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

After April 15th there will not be any week-day flights going direct to Nassau. The BOAC will run a direct flight from New York on a Saturday and return from Nassau on a Sunday. However, you can leave on April 21st on Eastern Airlines, flight #601 which leaves Idlewild at 2 pm and arrives in Miami at 6 pm. There you can connect with BOAC flight #662 which leaves at 7:30 pm and arrives in Nassau at 8:30 pm.

In order to get back to New York in time for your Monday night class, you would have to leave Nassau on a Sunday. You can return on the direct BOAC flight which leaves Nassau at 11 am and returns to New York at 3:30 pm.

During the period that you are planning to go, BOAC will have a special 30-day excursion rate of $146.50 per person, plus tax of $21.98.

I would like to recommend that we make reservations in order to assure us of space on these flights. We can always cancel if we find you are unable to go at this time.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Lucy Mathiak

March 30, 1953

25-50.12

Mrs. Fay Aptheker
Ocean Travel
71 West 23 St.
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Aptheker:

We have been held up in our decisions because of the necessity of arranging for a new tenant. We think now we have the matter settled.

We wish to leave here Saturday, April 25th, via BOAC to Nassau, Bahama Islands, returning Sunday, May 17th. Will you please make reservations for myself and wife on those dates?

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

OCEAN TRAVEL
BUREAU INC.

AUTHORIZED AGENTS:
ALL AIR, RAIL AND STEAMSHIP LINES
ALgonquin 5-1378-9
Cable: TRAVOCEAN

MASONIC BUILDING • 71 WEST 23rd STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

MEMBER AMERICAN SOCIETY OF TRAVEL AGENTS, INC.

March 31, 1953

25-50.13

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I am happy to inform you that I have made reservations for you and Shirley on Saturday, April 25th on the BOAC flight #655 which will leave Idlewild at 10:30 am and arrive in Nassau at 3:15 pm. The return flight is #656 on May 17th leaving Nassau at 11 am and arriving in New York at 3:30 pm.

I will be happy to have the tickets delivered to you at your convenience.

My very best to you and Shirley in which Herbert joins me.

Sincerely,

Lou Lapidus

April 20, 1953

Mrs. Fay Aptheker
Ocean Travel
71 West 23 St.
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Aptheker:

I shall be glad to have you send me the airplane tickets, with bill, any time this week.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

OCEAN TRAVEL
BUREAU INC.

AUTHORIZED AGENTS:
ALL AIR, RAIL AND STEAMSHIP LINES

ALgonquin 5-1378-9
Cable: TRAVOCEAN

• MASONIC BUILDING • 71 WEST 23rd STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. •

MEMBER AMERICAN SOCIETY OF TRAVEL AGENTS, INC. ASTA

October 13 19 53

TO Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 W. 26th St.
New York City

1 Roundtrip ticket to Chicago via American Airlines

10/15	Leave from LaGuardia on flight #205	12 Noon		
	Arrive Chicago	2:25 pm		
	Open return		$85.70	
		Tax	12.86	
				$98.56

IF YOU PLAN TO TAKE THE LIMOUSINE PLEASE BE AT 80 E. 42nd ST.
ONE HOUR BEFORE FLIGHT TIME.

Received payment
Thank you
Fay A. Upthegrove
Fay
Stub 25-56

[Oki]

January 6, 1953

Mr. M. A. Oki, General Secretary
The National Secretariat
33 Moleye Street
Yaba, Nigeria

Dear Mr. Oki:

25-50-7

It would give me great pleasure to visit Nigeria and attend your Conference, if that were in any way possible.

In the first place, it would probably not be possible for me to get a passport to make the trip, or a visa to enter Nigeria.

I do not know, of course, of the platform and history of your party, but am interested in any effort on the part of Africans toward democratic government.

You have my best wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

OREGON SOCIAL ACTION FORUM

"An attempt to apply the teachings of Jesus"

Chairman
Rev. John W. Reed

Vice-chairman
Rev. P. Malcolm Hammond

Executive Secretary
Mark A. Chamberlin
Rt. 3, Box 1033
Gresham, Oregon

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George E. Brewster
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Rev. Everett H. Gardner
Irvin Goodman
Mrs. Gladys L. C. Hindson
Rev. S. Darlow Johnson
Mrs. Mary Martin
Rev. Edward Terry
Rev. Albert J. Wilson

25-50-5

81

R.3, B.1033
Gresham, Oregon.

April 4, 1953

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois,
"The National Guardian"
17 Murray St.,
New York 7, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

As a Methodist minister I am greatly concerned over the action of our Methodist Board of Bishops lauding General Lucius D. Clay, as a "distinguished Methodist" and "chairman of the Crusade for Freedom" in light of his relationship with some African industrials, which pay their labor, I understand, some fifteen cents or less per hour.

I have been informed that you could direct me to, or could yourself give me information on this and related matters concerning General Clay. It may not do any good to call the matter to the attention of our Bishops but I do intend to give as wide publicity as possible to any activity of the head of the Crusade for Freedom being linked with a concern which makes millions while paying such devilish wage to its employees.

Any information or reference to sources of such as re. General Clay or other leaders of our so-called Freedom Crusade will be greatly appreciated.

I greatly regretted not being able to hear you upon your recent visit to Portland. You will be glad to know we had an enthusiastic(tho small numerically numbering around eighty persons at one meeting, and some twenty or thirty at a second meeting) hearing for Mrs. Moos, a week or so ago.

In September 1951 at the annual meeting of our national fellowship of the Methodist Federation for Social Action the inclusion of your name in one section of the report of our commission on "Prophetic Religion and the Struggle for Democratic Liberties" gave many of us present a new sense of direction and new inspiration. The meeting was held in First Church (Methodist) Evanston, Ill., and it was at the time of your indictment as a foreign agent. As one of America's great leaders for the fulfillment of her democratic dreams and hopes you have become for many millions the symbol of that deathless struggle in the achievment of that for which Christians pray - "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven".

Would to God we had more in our churches with your courage and concentration, your understanding and ability.

Cordially,
Mark Chamberlin

April 24, 1953

Mr. Mark A. Chamberlin
Oregon Social Action Forum
R.3, B. 1033
Gresham, Oregon

Dear Mr. Chamberlin:

I am sorry to be so long in answering your letter of April 4th.

General Lucius D. Clay, like Herbert Hoover, is a prominent investor and exploiter of labor. At present he is the chief executive officer of the Continental Can Co.; director of the Marine Midland Trust Corporation; director of General Motors and of the Lehman Corporation.

As director of the Newmont Mining Corporation he made huge profits on south African serf labor. This corporation owns the Zelida mine of lead and zinc in Morocco, which the magazine Fortune tells us is the most modern mill and mine in the world. Its stock is owned by French and Americans, and it has headquarters at 14 Wall Street. In three years it reported profits of 9 million dollars, while the miners were paid 15¢ an hour. 7½ million dollars of our ECA funds went into Zelida mines, and we have three military bases in Morocco.

There undoubtedly is much else that could be told of Mr. Clay but I haven't the data at hand. His most demogogic work has been the collection of $1,000,000 or more for the Crusade for Freedom.

I know of the Methodist Federation for Social Action and the support it gave me in 1951. After all we have to remember that our churches are supported certainly in part by big business.

Thank you for your kind words.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed)

DB:lh W.E.B. Du Bois

January 12, 1953

Miss Jackie Ormes
Hotel Southerland
4659 South Drexel Blvd.
Chicago 15, Ill.

My dear Jackie:

George Murphy tells me that I am expected to write you concerning the lecture trip which Mrs. Du Bois and I are making through the middle west and Pacific coast. We were expecting to stop in Chicago February 9th or 10th but arrangements were not made. We are therefore speaking in Detroit and on the Pacific coast between February 13th and March 1st.

On our way back we could probably stop in Chicago February 27th or 28th, or March 6th or 7th. The exact date depends on whether or not we go to Oregon or Washington.

We speak together at the same lecture, on "Revolt in Africa" and "Colonies and Peace". The charge will be $200 for the lecture and $200 for round trip travel between Chicago and New York. We would also expect room and board while in Chicago.

The net proceeds of the lecture would go for relief in South Africa during the resistance struggle there. If you know of any organizations or church which would like to underwrite this venture we would be very glad to hear from you.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

85-54-23

October 20, 1953

Miss Jackie Ormes
Hotel Southerland
4659 South Drexel Blvd.
Chicago, 15, Ill.

My dear Jackie:

May I thank you very much for your hospitality while I was in Chicago.

We had a pleasant evening.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

DB:lh

April 9, 1953

Mr. George Padmore
22 Cranleigh House
Cranleigh St.
London N.W. 1
England

My dear Padmore:

I have received a letter a copy of which is enclosed, from South Africa, and I enclose my reply.

I think it would be a splendid thing to push this movement even if at present it seems almost impossible of accomplishment.

Let me hear from you on the subject.

I am still awaiting eagerly your story of the Gold Coast.

With best regards to you and Mrs. Padmore,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
encs.

25-50-4

May 11, 1953

Mr. George Padmore
22 Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London N.W. 1
England

Dear Mr. Padmore:

Enclosed is a message from Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois to the Peace Council.

He has already sent the original to Joliot-Curie in Budapest, but some of his mail is tampered with and he is afraid it may not get through.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

enc.

June 5, 1953

Mr. George Padmore
22 Cranleigh House
Cranleigh St.
London N.W. 1
England

My dear Mr. Padmore:

Thank you very much for the copy of the "Gold Coast Revolution" which you sent me. I have been waiting for it anxiously and have read it and used it in my Seminar on Africa which I have been conducting this year at the Jefferson School.

It is an invaluable collection of facts concerning recent developments on the Gold Coast. I shall do all I can to see that it is distributed in the United States.

My best regards to you and Mrs. Padmore.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-50-3

31 A Ph 238 22.12.53

Dear Dr. Thanks for card. Delighted to know that you have been able to get a holiday abroad. Everyone says how well you look. We sincerely wish you many many more years on earth and all reward in the next place--if any? All goes well on the African front. Enclosed give background of latest crisis. The Baganda delegation are coming to our flat tonight for coffee. We -D. and self fly to Paris tomorrow for Xmas with friends. Always good to get away from London fogs. Pan-Africanism on the march Love for self and S. Affectionately, G.P.

Congrats on Stalin Peace Prize.

[George] PADMORE

25-10.44

Padmore, George — THE GOLD COAST REVOLUTION

CATEGORY	**POLITICS**	PUB. DATE	**APRIL**
SIZE & BINDING	**DEMY 8vo, CLOTH**	PRICE	**12s 6d net**
ILLUSTRATIONS	**—**	PUBLISHER	**DENNIS DOBSON LTD**

The purpose of this book is to trace the evolution of Gold Coast nationalism from the foundation of the Ashanti Confederacy to the emergence of the Convention People's Party. Its emphasis is on the rise and development of post-war nationalism which led to the promulgation of the Coussey Constitution in 1950.

Chapter heads are: European Settlements in the Gold Coast; Early Development of Gold Coast Nationalism; Aborigines' Society and National Congress; United Gold Coast Convention; Convention People's Party; Constitutional Evolution, 1850 - 1950; First General Election; The Government and the Opposition; Local Government Reforms; Irredentist Nationalism; Comparative Study of Nationalist Movements; Pattern of Gold Coast Economy; Problems of Economic Development.

By the same author: *Africa; Britain's Third Empire; How Russia Transformed Her Colonial Empire, etc., etc.*

..... *copies ordered from* *1953*

Advance News: Dennis Dobson Ltd, 12 Park Place, St. James's, London, S.W.1

[Palo Alto Peace Club]

Hallmark

25B246-2
COPYRIGHT
HALL BROTHERS INC

For You
on your 85th
Birthday

May this birthday be for you
The happiest of all--
One that you will always find
A pleasure to recall,
And through the years that lie ahead
May every new day add
Some extra bit of gladness
To the happiness you've had.

And may each year bring added proof
Of the value of your chore
In brotherhood and peace and truth
From few today, from many more—

Palo Alto Peace Club.

Nov. 30, 1953

Miss Dorothy Parker
Hotel Volney
23 East 74 St.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dorothy Parker:

Shirley and I saw "Ladies of the Corridor" Saturday afternoon.

We thoroughly enjoyed it. It is a sad commentary upon the New York critics of the theater (or upon those who own them) that this magnificent satire did not run at least a year.

Our best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

25-31-95

[Parker]

Fayetteville State Teachers College

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.

ESTABLISHED 1877

January 9, 1953

Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois :

You may recall that I wrote you quite two years ago for the use of the correspondence that passed between you and the late Dr. Benjamin G. Brawley. When I wrote I think Dr. Herbert Appacker was making use of it.

As I told you, I am hoping to pull together a biography of Brawley, and his letters are, unfortunately, missing. Any help or suggestions you may care to give me will be greatly appreciated.

Respectfully yours,

John W. Parker

John W. Parker, Chairman
Department of English

[Parker]

Fayetteville State Teachers College

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.

ESTABLISHED 1877

January 20, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I sincerely appreciate the spirit of helpfulness expressed in your letter to me as of January 12, 1953.

Should I come to New York for a week or ten days later on, might I look through your files for correspondence with Dr. Benjamin G. Brawley?

Best wishes in every way.

Respectfully yours,

John W. Parker

John W. Parker, Chairman
Department of English

25-57.3

[Pennsylvania - Dept. of Labor & Ind.]

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR AND INDUSTRY
INDUSTRIAL RACE RELATIONS COMMISSION
805 ROBINSON BLDG.
PHILA. (2) PA.
LO 7-3131

SAMUEL H. DAROFF
CHAIRMAN
SOL R. GITMAN
SECRETARY

HARRY BOYER
JUDGE HOMER S. BROWN
A. J. CARUSO
MRS. W. LYNN CROWDING
JAMES H. DUCKREY
JUDGE HERBERT E. MILLEN
EDWARD G. PETRILLO
JESSIE D. REBER
ANDREW J. SORDONI
CLEWELL SYKES
MRS. ROBERT S. VANN

DAVID M. WALKER
SECRETARY OF LABOR AND INDUSTRY
WILLIAM H. GRAY, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

25-52.7

April 20, 1953

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Mr. Sol Gitman has referred to me your letter of April 9, 1953 requesting a copy of this Commissions report on Employment Practices in Pennsylvania.

Enclosed please find two copies for which there is no charge.

Sincerely yours,

Wm. H. Gray Jr.

William H. Gray, Jr.

WHG: vbm
Enclosures

[Pennsylvania — Dept. of Labor & Ind.]

April 21, 1953

Mr. William H. Gray, Jr.
Dept. of Labor & Industry
Industrial Race Relations Comm.
805 Robinson Bldg.
Phila 2, Pa.

Dear Mr. Gray:

I thank you very much for the two copies of the Report of the Governor's Commission on Industrial Race Relations.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

DB:lh

PEOPLES *Victory* FORUM

S. WESTELMAN, Chairman
JACK GLAZER, Exec. Sec'y
36 Deckard Street
Roxbury 21, Mass.

- Morton Plaza
- 156 Wellington Hill Street
- Dorchester 26, Mass.

32

35-51.17

November 13, 1953

Dr. W. E. Dubois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Dr. Dubois:

The Peoples Victory Forum would like to have you speak before them on January 31 , Sunday morning at 11:00 o'clock. We hope it will be possible for you to come at that time. Travel expenses and an honorarium will be taken care of by the Forum. We would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience so that additional plans for that afternoon or evening can be made on your visit to Boston. Also, could you let us know what the subject of your talk will be.

With best wishes from the Forum Committee,

Yours truly,
Mrs. Rachel Buckman
Mrs. Rachel Buckman
Corr. Sec.

33 Greenock St.
Dorchester, Mass.

Nov. 20, 1953

Mrs. Rachel Buckman
33 Greenock, Street
Dorchester, Mass.

Dear Mrs. Buckman:

I can probably speak for you Sunday, January 31, but I cannot say definitely until I hear from other pending engagements.

I hope to be able to say by December 15th.

My charge would be $100, out of which I would pay my own expenses of travel, hotel and fee.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

DB:lh

25-51-18

PEOPLES *Victory* FORUM

S. WESTELMAN, Chairman

JACK GLAZER, Exec. Sec'y
36 Deckard Street
Roxbury 21, Mass.

- Morton Plaza
- 156 Wellington Hill Street
- Dorchester 26, Mass.

December 1, 1953.

25-51-15

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
23 West 26th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois;

We have decided on an evening meeting for January31st rather than a morning meeting since we feel sure many more people will be able to come. Young parents, for instance find it hard to come together in the morning. At the same time we are trying to arrange a church meeting in the morning. I will keep you informed of our progress.

Sincerely yours
Mrs. R. Buckman
Mrs. R. Buckman, Corr. Sec.

33 Greenock St.
Dorchester, Mass.

December 31, 1953

Mrs. P. Buckman, Secy.
Peoples Victory Forum
33 Greenock St.
Dorchester, Mass.

Dear Mrs. Buckman:

I can speak for you January 31st. My charge would be $50 and expenses. The expenses would include round trip railroad fare New York to Boston, and hotel expenses in Boston for one day.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

25-54-7 [People's World]

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM	X	ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

February 12, 1953

MR. AL RICHMOND, EDITOR
PEOPLE'S WORLD
590 Folsom Street
San Francisco, California

PERMISSION GRANTED TO REPRINT CHAPTER FROM BOOK "JOHN BROWN".

W.E.B. DU BOIS
23 West 26 St.
New York 10, N.Y.

85-58.147

Philadelphia Music Teachers
Conference
cordially invite you to attend a
Testimonial Banquet
honoring
Mr. Carl R. Diton
pianist - composer
the evening of
the twentieth of April
nineteen hundred and fifty-three
The Ballroom Reynolds Hall
fourteen sixteen Broad Street
Philadelphia, Pa.
at eight o'clock

25-58.44

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER	X	URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

April 20, 1953

Mr. Carl R. Deton
c/o The Philadelphia Music Teachers Conference
The Ballroom
Reynolds Hall
1416 Broad Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

MRS. DU BOIS AND I REGRET EXCEEDINGLY OUR INABILITY TO JOIN IN HONORING YOU AT THE BANQUET TONIGHT. WE KNOW WITH WHAT COURAGE AND DEVOTION YOU HAVE GIVEN YOUR LIFE TO THE ART OF MUSIC. WE HOPE YOU WILL LIVE LONG TO SERVE YOUR RACE AND NATION, EVEN MORE IN THE FUTURE THAN IN THE PAST.

W.E.B. Du Bois and Shirley Graham

[Pittsburgh Courrier]

October 21, 1953

Mr. Percival Prattis
Editor, Pittsburgh Courier
2628 Centre Av.
Pittsburgh, 19, Pa.

My dear Mr. Prattis:

Enclosed is a proposed advertisement. If I can afford it I should like to have this inserted in the Pittsburgh Courier national edition, one, two or three times, to occupy a small space but large enough to attract some attention.

Will you kindly let me know what such an insertion would cost? As this is not a commercial venture I can only afford to spend a reasonable sum.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[Pittsburgh Courier]

Courier
AMERICA'S BEST WEEKLY

POST OFFICE BOX 1828
PITTSBURGH 30, PA.
MAyflower 1-1401

Office of the
EXECUTIVE EDITOR

October 27, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Our national advertising rate is $11.20 a single column inch for each insertion.

Our Advertising Department suggest that this matter could be covered in two column inches, at a cost of $22.40 for each insertion. That doesn't strike me as very large, or large enough. However, since you know the cost and what you are able to allocate to advertising, your judgment should prevail.

I shall retain the copy you sent me. If you wish us to go ahead in any manner, it would be helpful to hear from you by Friday of the week before publication.

Sincerely,

THE PITTSBURGH COURIER

P. L. Prattis,
Executive Editor

PLP/ma

[Polana]

35-50/5

To Celebrate National Liberation Day

The Ambassador of the Polish People's Republic

and Madame Winiewicz

request the honour of your company

at a reception

Wednesday evening the twenty-second of July

at nine o'clock

at the Embassy

R.s.v.p.

[Poland]

25-50 .3

The Acting Consul General of Poland and Madame Biernacki

request the pleasure of your company

at a reception in celebration of

National Liberation Day

on Wednesday, the twenty-second of July

from six to eight o'clock

R.s.v.p.
RH 4-2506

151 East 67th Street
New York City

[Poland]

July 14, 1953

Dr. and Mrs. W.E.B. Du Bois accept with pleasure the invitation of Acting Consul General of Poland and Madame Biernacki to attend the reception Wednesday, July 22.

[Poland]

July 14, 1953

25-50-6

Dr. and Mrs. W.E.B. Du Bois regret their inability to accept the invitation of the Ambassador of the Polish People's Republic and Madame Winiewics to attend the reception July 22.

They will, however, attend the reception at the New York Consulate.

[Polevoi, Boris]

БОРИС ПОЛЕВОЙ

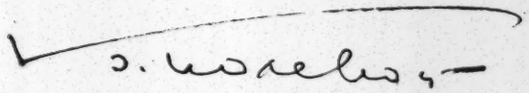
Дорогой доктор Дюбуа,

Я бесконечно рад передать Вам сегодня, в наш праздник, в праздник всех прогрессивных людей, сердечный привет по поводу награждения Вас столь высокой премией. Как-то я говорил Вам, что доктор Дюбуа для нас, советских людей, фигура полулегендарная. Теперь я рад был узнать, что и легендарных героев можно отмечать земными почестями.

Сердечный привет Вашей нежной половине, очаровательной Ширли Грехэм, которой несомненно ведом секрет Вашей вечной юности, бодрости и неиссякаемого боевого наступательного духа на все мерзости на земле.

Жму Вашу мужественную руку

Ваш



1 Мая 1959.
г. Москва.

41-11B-2

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

OFFICIAL BUSINESS—FREE

Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.

PENN CENTRAL STATION

Mr. and Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois
Thirty-one Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

8. 22-50

[Powell]

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR.
22D DISTRICT, NEW YORK

NEW YORK OFFICE:
132 WEST 138TH STREET
AUDUBON 6-2626

SECRETARY:
HATTIE FREEMAN DODSON

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION
AND LABOR

WASHINGTON, D. C.
SUITE 459
OLD HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
NATIONAL 3120
EXTENSION 418 OR 1917

SECRETARY:
LOUISE MAXIENNE DARGANS

July 15, 1953

Dear Friends:

Mrs. Powell, Sr., joins me in expressing appreciation for your kind message of sympathy during our recent loss.

25-53-1

Ever sincerely,

A C Powell Jr

[Prog. Pty.]

January 7, 1953

Mr. C. B. Baldwin
Progressive Party
17 West 45 St.
New York 36, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

I cannot possibly get to the conference, but I do think careful thought and conference is needed with regard to the relation of Negroes to the Progressive Party.

Perhaps sometime later this month or after I return from California we could have such a talk.

My best regards to you and Mrs. Baldwin.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-53-7

Progressive Party
17 West 45th St.
New York 36, N.Y.
JUDSON 6-2335

January 19, 1953

For release PM of JANUARY 20

General Dwight D. Eisenhower was urged by the Progressive Party today to make his first official act after his inaugural as President of the United States the elimination of segregation in the District of Columbia. Recalling General Eisenhower's frequent campaign promises to eliminate segregation in the nation's capital, C. B. Baldwin, national secretary of the Progressive Party, made public a wire to the General urging him to "use the new broom (used as a Republican symbol in the election campaign) to sweep out Jim Crow in Washington so that 15 million Negro Americans may begin to achieve first class citizenship status."

Complete text of the telegram follows:

"Speaking for the Progressive Party of America on behalf of millions of decent minded Americans throughout the land, I call upon you to make as your first official act after your inauguration the elemination of segregation in the District of Columbia. Frequently throughout the election campaign you indicated your desire to take such action if elected. Our Party called upon President Truman to take this action two months ago, in order to guarantee that your inauguration would take place in our nation's capital unmarred by the pall of discrimination against our fellow citizens. We now make our call to you to fulfill one of your pre-election commitments to the American people. We urge you to use the new broom to sweep Jim Crow out of Washington, thus indicating to 15 million Negro Americans and to the world the beginning of first-class citizenship status for our largest minority. As the eyes of the nation and the world are focused upon your inauguration and the activities attendant to it, no other single official action would do more to indicate our great concern for the well being of all mankind."

# # # # #

Progressive Party
17 West 45th St.
New York 36, N.Y.
JUDSON 6-2335

January 23, 1953

For release AM of January 25, Sunday

C. B. Baldwin, Secretary of the Progressive Party and former Administrator of the Farm Security Administration, today sent the following letter to Secretary of Agriculture Benson in connection with Mr. Benson's order regrouping the agencies of the Department of Agriculture:

"The indecent haste in which you issued the order yesterday regrouping the agencies of the Department, which among other changes places the Farmers Home Corporation, the Farm Credit Administration and the Rural Electrification Administration under the supervision of Mr. Romeo Short, shows clearly that the Farm Bureau Federation and its bosses, the large plantation owners, made a decisive move toward taking over the Department of Agriculture. It is clear that the big farmers and the big business processors are determined to control both our food production and the farmers.

"For over ten years as Assistant to Henry Wallace and as Farm Security Administrator, I fought for the rights of small farmers, tenants, sharecroppers and agricultural workers -- white, Negro and Mexican. The millions of little farmers responded to the faith placed in them by the "New Deal" by rehabilitating themselves and repaying their loans in a manner completely contradictory to the prophesies of the Farm Bureau and its parent body, the United States Chamber of Commerce.

"During this period, one of the bitterest enemies of the Farm Security Administration was Romeo Short of Arkansas, whom you now have placed in charge of the Farmers Home Corporation and the Rural Electrification Administration and the Farm Credit Administration. This lord high executioner of the rights of little people will now with your blessing complete the task begun years ago to destroy the agencies in the Department which have contributed most to the welfare of small farmers. Mr. Short's "hard credit" will be used to carry out Henry Luce's plan to displace two million farmers to provide hired labor for plantation owners and corporation farmers.

"Your order shows contempt for all but the top 10% of farmers whose favored position enables them to market almost half of our volume of farm products. The other 90% will not lightly accept your edict. You may be sure that they will fight for their rights and place the responsibility where it belongs. They will remember the Roosevelt Administration and will not forget its detractors and enemies.

"It is shocking that one with such deeply religious faith should show so little respect for his less fortunate brothers."

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Progressive Party
17 West 45th St.
New York 36, N.Y.
JUDSON 6-2335

February 2, 1953

C.B. Baldwin, Secretary of the Progressive Party, today denounced President Eisenhower's decision on Formosa as a rejection of the hopes of millions of Americans who voted for him on his promise to end the war in Korea.

Mr. Baldwin's complete statement follows:

> President Eisenhower's Formosa decision is a rejection of the hopes of millions of Americans who voted for him on his promise to end the war in Korea. No conceivable double-talk can make it appear that withdrawing the American fleet from its "neutral patrol" of Formosa waters while protecting Chiang Kai Shek is a step toward peace. It is a step toward a bigger war in Asia. The millions of people who voted for President Eisenhower to bring peace will not be slow to realize that this move in Formosa will prolong the war in Korea, mean the bigger draft of their sons, and further destruction and death.
>
> President Eisenhower has accepted the MacArthur view which the whole nation repudiated over a year ago. For years Chiang Kai Shek has been scheming to get American arms and men to help him regain what his own corrupt policies lost five years ago, despite 5 billion dollars of American aid. American warships and American planes, manned by American soldiers, sailors and airmen, will now be pressed into service to act as convoys for Chiang Kai Shek's so-called "raids." The result can only be greater involvement and prolonging of the Korean war.
>
> Let us not make any mistakes. This is a declaration of a bigger war, not the end of the war that President Eisenhower promised. Last week General Eichelberger, backed by important military opinion, declared that a big offensive in Korea is "difficult, if not impossible." The United Nations want an end to the war. Western Europe views President Eisenhower's move with horror. The only rejoicing is in the camp of Chiang Kai Shek, whether that camp is located on Formosa or in the China Lobby in this country. The time has come for the American people to demand the payment of President Eisenhower's promise to end the war. There is only one way to end the war and that is for a cease fire now. There is only one issue remaining -- the method of exchange of prisoners. That issue can be resolved after the shooting ends. We appeal to all Americans, irrespective of their political affiliations, to write to President Eisenhower at once to stop the suicidal policy of sending American boys to their death in Korea or to support Chiang Kai Shek on the coasts of China.

# # # # # # # #

Progressive Party
17 West 45th St.
New York 36, N.Y.
JUDSON 6-2335

NEWS RELEASE

February 3, 1953

C. B. Baldwin, Secretary of the Progressive Party, today called on President Eisenhower to carry out at once his promise to abolish segregation in the District of Columbia by a number of steps which are within his powers and the powers of his appointees. Mr. Baldwin said that the President's State of the Union message was a keen disappointment on civil rights but that at least the President could at once eliminate the disgrace of segregation in the national capital. He stated that organizations which have for years been fighting for home rule and the abolition of segregation in the nation's capital have thoroughly explored the powers of the President to abolish segregation and discrimination in Washington. In particular, he pointed out, the President can now appoint District Commissioners pledged to wipe out discrimination and segregation.

He called on Negro and white citizens interested in civil rights to write to the President, urging him to take the following steps:

(1) Appoint at least one Negro to the present District Commission as well as additional Negroes to the proposed enlarged Commission. Appoint Negroes to judgeships and executive positions in the District government.

(2) Request the Commissioners of the District government whom he will appoint to abolish segregation and discrimination in hotels and restaurants, in private hospitals, in recreational facilities and in schools to merge the two teachers colleges in the District, and issue a fair employment order to abolish segregation in all branches of municipal government in line with the 1872 laws.

(3) Eliminate segregation in public housing projects in the District by Executive Order.

(4) Order the Federal Housing Administration to bar federal home loans unless restrictive covenants are eliminated.

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LEGISLATIVE BULLETIN

NO. 2

Progressive Party
17 West 45th Street
New York 36, N.Y.

February 5, 1953

JK 53 .33

EISENHOWER STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE & CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

Congress has been in session for a full month, marking time for Eisenhower program. Eisenhower State of the Union Message, February 2, outlines comprehensive policies for action. This issue of Legislative Bulletin will therefore deal with chief features of Message and significance for Congressional actions.

* * * * * * * * * * *

WAR IN ASIA BROUGHT CLOSER

(1) FORMOSA move is China Lobby-MacArthur measure to spread Korean war; flatly destroys pre-election promise to end the war. Eisenhower's proposal that the "7th fleet no longer be employed" to protect Chinese mainland from attacks by Chiang Kai Shek's troops on Formosa is deceptive double talk. It means increased aid to Chiang, American Navy and Air Force will act as convoys for Chiang's troops to attack Chinese mainland; openly invites retaliation. Has already roused deep opposition in Western Europe.

Background: At outbreak of Korean war, Truman, in astounding move, ordered 7th Fleet into Formosan waters primarily to protect Chiang Kai Shek base. This was complete reversal of American policy on Formosa. On January 5, 1950, Truman ruled out military aid to Chiang on Formosa. Acheson supported him as late as June 23, 1950. Senator Tom Connally, then Chairman of Foreign Relations said, "I shall not favor sending a single American boy with a gun in his hand to Formosa to settle a civil war 6 or 7 thousand miles away from his home." Even Senate majority leader Lucas could not defend Truman's June 26 action in ordering armed intervention on behalf of the corrupt Chiang. (Cong. Record, June 27).

To cloak real purpose of protecting Chiang, Truman announced 7th Fleet would also act to stop Chiang's troops from attacking mainland of China. This purpose has never been kept -- Chiang's troops have been actively encouraged to conduct raids on mainland. As Lippman (Feb. 3, NY Herald Tribune) says, "they have been allowed surreptitiously to do for a considerable time."

Meaning: Eisenhower's Formosa move now formally revokes "protection" of Chinese mainland by 7th Fleet. But note: it does not stop 7th Fleet from protecting Chiang on Formosa. First, this will "pose the problem in Washington of how many naval ships, airplanes, and how much amphibious equipment it would be profitable to invest in Formosa." (Lippmann) Truman has already rearmed Formosa, sent American officers, brought Chiang fliers to United States to learn to fly jets, poured in a billion dollars of arms. Eisenhower program means pouring in many more billions -- how much no one will tell. Second, it means American soldiers, sailors and airmen will convoy Chiang's "raids" on mainland when ready. Third, since Chiang failed

MORE - - - - - -

with $5 billion of American aid before, it means greater involvement of United States directly to help put Chiang back in power. It deliberately provokes Chinese Republicans in self defense. And in this country Formosa move "seemed to bring much concern to many Congressmen ... it might extend the Korean conflict and involve the United States more deeply in Asia." (NY Times, Feb. 3.) Finally, Western Allies oppose move. All sections of Britain, France "anxious ... Parliament aroused" (NY Times, Feb. 3). Opposed by Anthony Eden (NY Times Feb. 4).

(2) SOUTH KOREAN FORCES to get increased military assistance, despite competent military views that not even UN forces, let alone South Koreans, can launch a decisive military offensive in Korea. (Gen. Eichelberger, Newsweek, Jan. 28; and disastrous results of show-case "Operation Smack"). This spells more money, arms, and American soldiers and airmen in Korea, not less. Formosa and South Korean aid moves play up racist illusion of "Asians fighting Asians" to relieve Americans. But both extend war.

(3) WESTERN EUROPE warned to unite, arm, and be prepared to fight in line with Dulles speech of last week and European visits. Message more than hints at cutting European aid program, urges more "self-help", the new empty slogan.

Proposed ineffective economic measures to "aid Europe", all of which are nullified by pattern imposed by U.S. arms program. These measures include: (a) more intensive trade within western Europe -- which ignores fundamental trade pattern with Eastern Europe, now cut off by U.S. laws; (b) revision of American customs regulation and extension of Reciprocal Trade Agreements -- which runs into difficulties with isolationist, protectionist blocs in America; in any event, can provide little economic aid to manufacturing industries; (c) additional American investment abroad, which has been small and depends on political stability; (d) European production of some American military items -- even present small amount under attack by competitive American industry; (e) increased purchase of raw materials from abroad for which there is little domestic demand.

European and world economic problems are growing -- Eisenhower's proposal ignores their size and passes over their causes. LONDON ECONOMIST estimates $35 billion new foreign aid program needed by Western Europe just to solve "dollar gap" and insolvency of Western Europe. Bigger armaments beggaring Europe; trade restrictions with East cutting income; American domination a straitjacket -- e.g. Marshall Plan forced doal-producing Europe to become oil user; now oil purchases account for largest single item in European dollar shortage.

(4) BREAK WITH YALTA, POTSDAM, no "secret agreements" promised -- but breaks have already taken place in fact under Truman; now will be used for propaganda offensive.

DOMESTIC PROGRAM SPELLS MORE HARDSHIP FOR PEOPLE

(1) BUDGET AND TAXES. Eisenhower proposed to balance budget first, thus postponing pre-election promise to reduce taxes. Chairman Reed of House Ways and Means Committee has already proposed cut in individual income taxes of 10%, opposed by Senate Finance chiefs, Millikin, George and Byrd.

Eisenhower Message means no individual income tax cut this year, but corporations are likely to get cut of Excess Profits Taxes due to lapse June 30, 1953.

Truman proposed corporation taxes of $23.9 billion, individual taxes (plus excise and employment tax which fall largely on individuals) of almost $50 billion, twice corporation taxes. Truman budget for next fiscal year called for spending $78.6 billions, collecting only $66.7 billions in taxes, leaving a deficit of $9.9 billions. This is on top of deficit of $5.9 billions in current fiscal year.

MORE - - - -

TRUMAN $78 BILLION BUDGET
(Fiscal Year 1954)

	Amount Estimated	Percent of Budget
War & Cold War Spending	$ 57.3 billions	73%
(Military 46.3 Foreign program 7.0 Atomic Energy 2.7 Defense production .3 Merchant Marine .2 Civil Defense .1)		
Veterans program	$4.6	5.8%
Interest on debt	$6.4	8.2%
Total Past & Future wars	$ 68.3	87%
Entire domestic program and cost of government	$ 10.4 billions	13%

* * * * * * * * * * *

HOW WILL EISENHOWER CUT BUDGET? Budget items show improbability of major cuts since largest spending is for war and dependence of business community on war spending for profits.

... Military spending may go up because of Formosa, Korea, Western European defense programs.
... Interest on debt likely to go up because of higher interest rates and need of refunding large portions of debt.
... Possible cuts in Veterans item small, perhaps only in hospital construction.
... Threat of any large cut in foreign economic aid runs counter to promise of more military aid and enormous Western European economic problems.

What's left to cut is $10 billion in domestic programs. Cutting entire domestic program would only equal deficit. Cuts will be tried by penny-pinchers on whole domestic welfare program -- which Eisenhower supports in urging states and local governments not to make "further demands" on federal government. But even such proposed cuts run smack into some realities and will provide wide opposition.

EXAMPLES - - -

-- Social security is $2.6 billion. Largest item is public assistance, where cut is possible, but likely in hospital building program despite overwhelming need of more hospitals.

-- Agriculture is $1.8 billion. Cuts unlikely with mounting farm pressure for further supports for falling farm prices.

-- Natural resources $1.4 billion, less atomic energy, cut likely in power, river, lands programs, particularly under McKay of Interior.

-- Transport & Com unications spending of $1.9 billion, biggest items are for roads, post office and subsidies. Road cuts possible but will run into opposition.

-- Other programs, as labor ($270 million) education and research (less than $300 million) commerce ($23 million), so small that cuts will yield little, although affecting many people in services.

-- General government costs are $1.5 billion; some little pruning by eliminating government employees likely.

MORE - - - - - - - -

(2) WAGES, PRICES, RENTS. Eisenhower proposed wage-price controls lapse April 30 and rent controls to continue only for defense housing shortages areas. Present rent law permits states to enact rent laws. Chairman Capehart of Senate Banking & Currency wants to retain stand-by wage-price controls.

(3) TAFT-HARTLEY revision on behalf of tighter restrictions on labor supported. Hearings on Taft Hartley revision have already been announced by Chairman McConnell of House Labor Committee for February 10. Revisions pressed by industry would outlaw industry-wide bargaining, tighten anti-Communist oaths, make NLRB more employer-minded.

(4) FARM PRICE support promised at present 90% of parity, but nothing as to future, in face of alarming price decline in farm products.

(5) SOCIAL SECURITY -- recommends wider coverage under Old Age & Survivors Insurance. This costs no federal funds but comes out of wages and salaries.

CIVIL RIGHTS & CIVIL LIBERTIES

(1) SEGREGATION IN DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. "I propose to use whatever authority exists in the office of the President to end segregation in the armed forces." Eisenhower favors home rule for District of Columbia residents and recommends increasing number of District Commissioners by two "to broaden representation of all elements of our population."

(2) NO OTHER CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAMS such as FEPC, anti-lynch, anti-poll tax offered or recommended.

(3) WALTER-McCARRAN ACT REVISION URGED "to guard our legitimate national interests and be faithful to our basic ideas of freedom and fairness to all." This is regarded as a slap at Walter and McCarran.

(4) HAWAIIAN STATEHOOD RECOMMENDED .... though not Alaska.

(5) GOVERNMENT LOYALTY PROGRAM REVISION recommended, with responsibility in each executive department; takes crack at congressional investigations based on rumor and hearsay, pointedly at McCarthy, McCarran, House investigating committees for irresponsibility.

DODGING PROBLEMS BY COMMISSION .... Interesting feature of Message is Eisenhower's wholesale adoption of Hoover-Dewey idea postponing action on critical issues by appointing commissions to "study and advise." Among commissions and studies proposed or already appointed are following:

-- Treasury to set up study of taxes, instead of cutting taxes now.

-- Committee on government organization.

-- Study of overlapping in resource conservation, to cut power-water programs.

-- Commission on Federal-state-local relations in health and housing, to cut these.

-- Commission to study international information program, to meet criticism.

-- Labor-Industry-Public advisory commission for Labor Department, to make Labor Department more an arm of employers.

-- Special Agricultural Advisory Commission, in place of 100% parity now.

MORE - - - - - -

ACTION PROGRAM FOR PROGRESSIVES

Eisenhower's program still must go through Congressional mill and will meet plenty of resistance. Immediate actions by progressives, seeking cooperation and parallel action by others, is urged on following:

1. Oppose extension of Korean war by Formosa move. Letters to Congress and to newspaper editors urged, pointing out bottomless pit of this policy and clear repudiation of pre-election promise to end the war.

2. Demand immediate action on abolishing segregation and discrimination in District of Columbia. Eisenhower should appoint Negroes as Commissioners, judges and other executive positions in District Government; eliminate segregation in public housing, stop restrictive covenants; D.C. Commissioners can issue FEPC, enforce 1872 statutes, prohibit segregation and discrimination in hotels, restaurants, hospitals, recreational facilities, schools. Fight for Home Rule in Congress should be intensified on basis of Message.

3. Send letters and wires to Chairman Capehart, Senate Banking Currency Committee, and own Senators and Congressmen to increase pressure for extension of rent controls and price controls. Fight for rent controls should also be made in the states now, before Federal Rent Control law dies.

4. Join with unions in demanding Taft-Hartley repeal, and fighting further restrictions under Taft-Hartley. Urge unions to appear at Washington hearings.

5. Start move in communities for letters and wires demanding repeal of Walter-McCarran Act.

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LEGISLATIVE BULLETIN

NO. 3

Progressive Party
17 West 45th Street
New York 36, N.Y.

February 13, 1953

FACTS ON THE FORMOSA DEBATE

Eisenhower's "bold new" policy on Formosa has started a new debate on foreign policy, because of widespread fears it means a bigger war. Spurred by criticism abroad, Democratic leaders at home have at last begun to voice opposition. This debate provides the first opportunity in many months to arouse people to the dangers we face and to make a real fight on foreign policy. We, therefore, devote this issue of the Bulletin to the developing debate. We urge that its contents be used to rouse the country, widen the debate, secure letters, wires, signatures to petitions, directed to the President and your Senators in protest against the dangers of the new Formosa policy.

****

New Policy On Formosa

THE NEW LOOK: In his first State of the Union Message on Monday, February 1, Eisenhower proposed to "deneutralize" Formosa. He said that the Seventh U.S. Fleet had been "shielding Communist China" from attacks by Chiang Kai Shek's forces on Formosa -- as well as protecting Chiang from Communist attacks. He ordered this "shield" removed from the Communists, thereby encouraging attacks on the Chinese mainland by Chiang's forces.

First American newspaper and political comments were favorable, reflecting (1) weariness with the Korean War stalemate which invited anything that looked like "action" to end it; and (2) preparation of the press and public by "leak" of the move three days earlier and its build-up by interviews with aging military leaders like MacArthur, Wedemeyer, and Admiral Leahy.

MORE - - - -

WHOSE POLICY? Freeing Formosa is a step in program of MacArthur-China Lobby to convert Korean War into reconquest of China by Chiang. Senator Knowland (California), Chairman Republican Policy Committee, member of Foreign Relations Committee, chief spokesman, outlines that program as follows (two points have already been put into effect):

(1) Permit wide-scale attacks by Chiang on China.
(2) Build up South Korean forces.
(3) Clamp naval blockade on China.
(4) Send 35,000 Chiang troops to Korea.
(5) Demand all U.N. members increase forces in Korea.
(6) Demand all U.N. members withdraw recognition of China.
(7) Demand Russia stop furnishing "moral and material" support to Koreans-Chinese, on penalty of diplomatic and economic breaks. (N.Y. World Telegram, Feb. 25)

25-53.24

In fact, parts of MacArthur program, rejected by United States in 1951 and condemned by General Bradley as leading into war we don't want, were put into effect by Truman Administration -- refusal to seat Chinese at UN, bombing of Yalu River plants.

"NEW HONESTY". Eisenhower's statement that Seventh Fleet had been "shielding Communists" is false. It was an effort to sell gullible people the Formosa change as both "novel" and "reasonable." United States official policy under Truman armed Chiang, openly helped Chiang's troops conduct raids against China. Chiang spokesmen openly boasted of 15 raids in 7 months. (NY Times Feb. 16) And so did United States Navy.

"Spokesmen for Admiral William M. Fechteler, Chief of Naval Operations, said United States Navy forces had never 'blocked' any 'sorties' of Nationalist Chinese forces. Small raiding parties of Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek's forces have intermittently made exploratory raids to islands off China. Navy spokesmen clearly implied that the Nationalist sorties were known about and were purposely not molested." (NY Times, Feb. 4)

Even more revealing story was told by Alsops that Chiang's troops, 12,000 strong in Burma, "supplied by air from Formosa ... and set up with the assistance of our Central Intelligence Agency," had invaded a supposedly favorable section of China in the summer of 1951.

Result: "A large part of the army was destroyed or scattered, and several American liaison officers were lost ... And Secretary of State Dean G. Acheson took a deep breath, and boldly denied that the American government had any share in what had happened." (N.Y. Her.Trib. Feb. 11)

MORE - - - - -

These facts are so
widely known that
the TIMES of India
bluntly called Eisenhower's
neutrality statement
"specious and calamitous
reasoning ... no honesty."
(NY Times, Feb. 4)

WHAT POLICY MEANS

EXTENDS WAR TO CHINA. The new move does mean a sharp change in United States policy. As NEW YORK TIMES review pointed out, one of the major premises of United States foreign policy has been "that the Korean War must be limited to the Korean peninsula unless and until the Communists moved first to extend it. The deneutralization of Formosa, in effect, scrapped that premise -- and further moves seemed in the offing." (Feb. 8) The Communists have made no new moves to extend the war -- on the contrary, Premier Chou En-Lai made another offer to resume armistice talks, to end the fighting in Korea at once, and leave disposal of prisoners of war issue to a special commission. (NY Times, Feb. 5)

But on same day, Chairman Wiley of Senate Foreign Relations Committee made clear that objective of new program was to extend war to China proper, "that Chinese Nationalists using United States supplied aircraft would break up Communist rail communications in mainland China ... The purpose, Mr. Wiley said, was to open the way to Nationalist bombing of the 2,000 mile railroad running from Manchuria to Canton, the South China Sea and the frontier of French Indo-China." (NY Times, Feb.5)

WHAT CAN CHIANG DO? Attempts are being made to build up illusion that Chiang's "release" will lessen burden on United States and mean fewer United States deaths in Korea. Thus, NY TIMES heads laudatory article on Formosan forces: "Chiang Makes His Bid With Revitalized Force ... Nationalists, Purged of Corruption, Would Try Luck Again in China," (Feb. 8). This is an effort to wipe out the facts - -

(1) That Chiang took a severe licking before;
(2) The corruption of his regime;
(3) The failure of $5 billion of American aid to help him keep his hold in China when the people were against him.

MORE - - - - -

The true facts on Chiang's ability to fight are quite otherwise. Even military expert Hanson Baldwin of the same NY TIMES cannot find mild help:

"The announced freeing of Chiang Kai Shek's Chinese Nationalists for attacks and raids on the Communist mainland can have little immediate physical result since the Formosa forces are not yet strong enough to threaten the Communist position seriously. But the potential strategic importance of this move is considerable. The enemy now faces the eventual certainty of flank attacks ... There probably are about 600,000 men in uniform on Formosa ... Less than half this number, however, are ground troops ... Probably about only one Marine division (two brigades totalling 13,000) and two or three Army divisions out of a total of 22 divisions (each about 10,000 to 13,000 men in size) plus numerous smaller Commando detachments are now fully trained and equipped for intensive combat operations ... The Nationalists have virtually no modern planes .. the Nationalist Navy does not have a seagoing tradition." (NY Times, Feb. 4.)

Foreign military and political opinion completely discounts Chiang's forces. British-owned STRAITS-TIMES in Singapore said "Militarily very little is gained." ... "The view of British military leaders is that Gen. Chiang's force of about 600,000 men is not very formidable..." (N.Y.Times, Feb. 5)

THEREFORE MORE U.S. INVOLVEMENT Since virtually all commentators agree Chiang's forces are of little military account, it is obvious that "releasing" Chiang on Formosa means only terrifically greater United States involvement. Not only greater arming of Chiang's forces "to make them ready" -- but the direct use of American soldiers, sailors, airmen to convoy and fight with Chiang's troops. Senators Sparkman and Fulbright pointed this out to the Senate on February 6:

"...the Eisenhower order was significant only to the extent that American forces might be used to assist in any raids on Red China or to protect Formosa from retaliation." (NY Her.Trib. Feb. 7)

The Alsops were far more explicit -- Chiang was demanding United States participation in any attacks on the mainland:

"It is clear ... that Chiang Kai Shek himself has no inclination to underestimate Communist strength ... his response to the news of President Eisenhower's changed orders ... took the form of two rather nervous questions ... Did the change ... mean that Formosa, being 'neutralized' no longer, would no longer be protected from invasion by the Chinese Communists? Having been reassured on this point, the Formosa government asked about air defense .. With his obsolete F-51's, Chiang's flyers cannot intercept jet powered Communist IL-28's ... These were not the questions of a man who had been fretting and fuming to be 'unleashed,' so he could assume the offensive... Chiang will no doubt take all the supplies he can

MORE - - - -

persuade President Eisenhower to give him. He will no doubt continue the pin-prick raids on the China coast that he began long before Eisenhower's famous order that is supposed to have unleashed him. But it is also pretty certain that Chiang will not attempt any major operation against the Chinese Communists, whether in the air, by sea or on land, unless the United States joins him as an equal partner -- and that is likely to mean full scale war." (NY Her. Trib. Feb. 11)

Senator Morse (Ind. Oreg.) explicitly warned that "the Chinese nationalists may be trying to engage the United States in war on the China mainland in order to regain power. And went on to say: "I want to make it clear that I have so little confidence in the fighting ability of the Nationalist army that I am not in favor of endangering the lives of American boys in protecting it." (NY World Telegram, Feb. 11)

BIGGER WAR IN KOREA. Simultaneous with the new Formosa policy has come increased propaganda for launching a "big" attack in Korea. General Van Fleet, retiring as head of Korean forces, is one of the main instigators, intimating that "he has been held back in the past when he was ready to launch a big attack." Thus the illusion is being created that all it requires to end the Korean War is "just a big push" in Korea, plus "just freeing Chiang" for flank attacks. The military facts are quite different. The dismal results of the much-publicized "Operation Smack" two weeks ago offered one proof that an attack in Korea is no pushover. In addition, Lt. Gen. Robert L. Eichelberger, writing in NEWSWEEK (Jan. 26) called thoughts of a big scale attack in Korea "'the valor of ignorance.' U.N. offensive held impractical if not impossible ...", and says that we do not possess the power even if reinforced by all the available troops in the United States -- and that even a small victory would cost "astronomic casualties."

BLOCKADE NEXT? A complete naval blockade of the Chinese coast is apparently next on the agenda of the Eisenhower "new" policy -- and a blockade means open war. Senator Taft, dominant Republican leader, made this clear in an interview over National Broadcasting Company when he said that the United States was already "at full war" with the Chinese and that therefore a blockade would not create a state of war. "'People seem to be asleep to the fact that we are at war with Red China now.'" (NY Times, Feb. 9)

NOT ROAD TO PEACE. Eisenhower propaganda puts all these moves as moves "to preserve peace" and seeks to create the illusion that they will not result in more American casualties but will end the war and save American lives. They are also proposed as means of "forcing the enemy to want peace." Walter Millis, politico-military expert of the Republican New York HERALD TRIBUNE, effectively disposes of this illusion:

MORE - - - - - -

"All of a sudden 'blockade' has become the word of the moment, just as 'bombing the Manchurian bases' was not so long ago. At that time nobody, not even the top spokesmen of the Air Force, ever made it very clear just what was to be accomplished in either the military, diplomatic or political fields by bombing across the Yalu....Apparently, it is just one of those things that looks cheap and easy; it is a conventional military tactic and so it seems to be a good idea. But if one asks for even the simplest of the basic data on which any sound strategy of blockade must rest, the answer is generally a large silence ... The use of blockade in East Asia is not a simple affair ... Most people think of blockade as a means of starving and strangling the Chinese Communist armies now in Korea. But these armies, unfortunately, get virtually all their arms ... either from China proper or from Russia over the Trans-Siberian Railroad ... The Red armies in Korea would be .. the last to suffer. The sufferings of the ordinary Chinese people would probably endow Mao with unbeatable propaganda weapons for turning the existing disaffection against his regime into hatred for the United States and any other foreigners engaged in such an assault upon the Chinese peoples' livelihood. Under these circumstances, just what would be gained, and what lost, by a rigid blockade of the whole Chinese Coast ... The participants, so far, in the new 'great debate' have not shown much perception of any radional ends." (NY Her. Trib. Feb. 11)

DOMESTIC PROGRAM UP IN AIR

The new moves in Korea unquestionably mean a far greater drain on American resources. The possibility that they invite all-out war throws a big question mark into the future of the Eisenhower domestic program. It is largely for this reason that the so called Republican "must" program for this Congress omits completely the most significant item -- the size of the total budget and the tax program. And, although at first proposing to throw out all controls, President Eisenhower has now asked for a study of "stand-by" control powers.

Storm Of Opposition

The Eisenhower program met outspoken criticism and bitter opposition abroad that has increased in tempo. This criticism has come from governmental circles, as well as from progressive sources. It reflects complete distrust of the Formosa move, fear of all out war, and deepened suspicions that Eisenhower is not seeking peace.

MORE - - - - - -

BRITISH SEE DANGER OF BIGGER WAR

Foreign opposition to the Eisenhower move began even before the official announcement. News of the move had leaked the weekend before. London papers began to denounce it. All shades of opinion in Britain -- Labor, Liberal, Tory -- joined in sharp criticism. NEW YORK TIMES reported from London: "Clamor Mounts on Formosa Policy." (Feb. 4) On Tuesday, February 3, Foreign Secretary Eden told House of Commons that the British Government had been informed in advance of President Eisenhower's decision and

> "had at once told the United States Government that in its view the new policy would have 'very unfortunate political repercussions without compensating military advantages.' ... (The British) think that President Eisenhower's plan ... may lead to an extension of the war in Korea. They fear also that it will drive India further away from the western world... The United States Administration's decision to end the neutralization of Formosa came as a shock to British opinion ... This country is finding it pretty hard to swallow United States reaffirmation of friendship with General Chiang."

25-53-29

"EISENHOWER TALK STIRS IRE IN INDIA."

In India and throughout Asia, the chief "neutral" power, opinion was violently against the new policy. "Press is Especially Critical of Stand on Formosa and sees Spread of Korean War." (NY Times, Feb. 4) ... "India's leading newspapers, whose editorials often are written with Government policy in mind when dealing with international affairs, commented in blunt and vigorous language today on President Eisenhower's State of the Union address as it applied to foreign policy ... The Times of India, the country's most widely circulated newspaper, headed its column-long editorial on Mr. Eisenhower's speech 'Midwinter Madness.' The NATIONAL STANDARD captioned its editorial 'The Military Touch.'

"The Times of India assailed President Eisenhower's explanation of his action on Formosa -- that the United States Navy should cease what has been in effect a defense of Communists -- as 'specious and calamitous reasoning' and a decision whose 'only result can be to extend the area of war.' Unlike his predecessor, the Chief Executive does not place the onus for peace equally on both sides ... While inciting the Chinese Nationalists to the mainland from which they were ignominously driven four years ago, Mr. Eisenhower dares the Communists to attack Taiwan (Formosa). There is neither sense nor logic in this procedure, nor to put it bluntly, honesty.... Like many other soldiers, he delights in hunting peace with a gun."

> "The BOMBAY CHRONICLE remarked that 'Mr. Eisenhower has clearly indicated that his Government will not consider even as a passing thought the idea that Asian freedom is imperilled as much by Western imperialism as by Russian communism.'"

> "Prime Minister Nehru was said today by authoritative sources ... to be 'greatly concerned' over President Eisenhower's decision ..."

MORE - - - - -

From Singapore the British-owned STRAITS TIMES said "Militarily very little is gained. Politically much may have been lost."

"Southeast Asians Fear War's Spread." "See Peril in Eisenhower's move on Formosa ... Premier Nguyen Van Tam said today that Vietnam would maintain strict neutrality ... The 'deneutralization' order has caused considerable anxiety in Vietnamese and French circles in Indo-China." "Indonesia Fears War's Extension." (NY Times, Feb. 4)

25-53.30

In sum, not only the "neutral" nations of Asia, but America's NATO allies were shocked and frightened by the Formosa move and its threat of war. As NY TIMES put it, reviewing first week's reaction, "The net effect upon European minds of President Eisenhower's decision ... Europeans hope the decision will fulfill its purpose by worrying the Kremlin and Peiping, but meanwhile it worries our European allies." (Feb. 8) The Vatican paper, L'Osservatore Romand, put it, "that the Western world was faced by the danger that an ill-advised policy might expand the Korean and Indo-Chinese wars into a vaster conflict." (NY Times, Feb. 8)

DEMOCRATS WAKE UP Meeting immediately after Eisenhower's message, the Senate Democratic Policy Committee pledged cooperation with the President "in the development of foreign policy." (NY Times, Feb. 4) But as the criticism mounted from abroad, a reaction developed. A number of the more liberal Democrats began to raise questions. Senator Sparkman (Ala.) vice-presidential candidate, noting that the Formosa policy had caused "consternation" in Europe, "called upon President Eisenhower today to tell the American people whether his action ... was 'the first step toward enlarging the war in Asia' or toward 'involving United States forces on the mainland of China.'" (NY Times, Feb. 6) Sparkman at first charged a violation of "bipartisan consultation" and excused the action by stating "need for some such action had been developed for some time." But then the mounting clamor against the new policy forced him to raise some really vital questions, such as the following:

(1) "How much beyond the present pin-prick raids is Chiang capable of mounting at the moment -- without American arms and men?" He said the answer to that seemed to be "zero."

(2) "How much military aid, if any, does the President propose to give Chiang Kai Shek in order to enable him to do more than pin-prick the Chinese mainland?"

(3) "Even with substantial material aid from America can Chiang carry out any large-scale raids on the mainland from Formosa without either United States naval protection or United States air protection, or both?" Regarding this question, he said: "I think that before we go one step further with this

MORE - - - -

supposedly new policy we here in Congress and the American people deserve an unequivocal answer to this question from the Administration."

(4) "Supposing Chiang is able to make a large scale raid upon the mainland and supposing he finds himself faced with a Chinese Dunkerque -- what is our course in that event?"

(5) "Who protects Formosa in the event Chiang's raids provoke a Chinese attack upon the island?" He said the answer to this last question seemed to be "we, the United States, protect Formosa."

He ended with a sharp statement: "All of these questions boil down to one simple question which I am sure everyone can understand ... Is this the first step toward enlarging the war in Asia? Is this the first step toward involving United States forces on the mainland of China? Is this the first step toward more casualties, instead of less? Is it the first step toward global war? I hope the answer to all these questions is no. We do not have the answers to them yet. I hope we may get these answers from the Administration." (Cong. Record, Feb. 6)

A PARTIAL RETREAT Although Sparkman was not speaking for the official Democratic leadership around Russell, George, Byrd, and Johnson, he was joined by Humphrey (Miss.) and Monroney, and undoubtedly reflected the fears of many others. It is already clear that this constitutes, as the NY TIMES put it (Feb. 8), the "first signs of opposition" to Eisenhower. It has already caused a partial pulling in of horns by the Administration. Thus, in answer to Sparkman, China Lobbyist Senator Knowland disclaimed the move as a threat of war and said it was part of a "psychological campaign" against China. This propaganda has been widely taken up, pretending that the Formosa move is a move in "psychological warfare" to "worry the Chinese", "keep them guessing." Similarly, when Sen. Monroney directly challenged Senator Wiley on his statement that the Formosa move meant that Chiang would bomb the Chinese mainland, Wiley retreated and said it was not a new Eisenhower policy but only his own "common sense inference." (NY Times, Feb. 7)

But even more pronounced has been the partial retreat on the blockade. British rejection of the blockade, together with rising criticism in this country, forced an appearance of both Dulles and General Bradley before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The Scripps-Howard papers headlined, "Dulles Knows Of No Plan for Blockade Now ... Isn't Aware of Project to Bomb Manchuria Either." (NY World Telegram, Feb. 10)

MORE - - - -

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Bradley took a similar line. And Senator Taft who only two days before had talked of "all-out war" with China and urged a blockade, suddenly became more cautious and urged instead, that it would be better to "negotiate with the British 'and get two-thirds of what we want' than to risk American-British disunity." Instead of a blockade, a new plan was advanced for "pressure on the British to cease nearly all traffic with Communist China" .... while Congressional leaders "showed new reserve toward any suggestion that the United States might alone blockade the China coast." (NY Times, Feb. 10) Bradley admitted blockade would mean a state of war and "was not so easy."

A REAL CAMPAIGN OF PROTEST IS NEEDED

It is clear that while a few Democratic Senators and Morse stand alone, they cannot stop these reckless moves toward war. But, with criticism mounting abroad, with the threat of British refusal and Asiatic anger, there is tremendous opportunity to mount a real campaign to stop these dangerous moves. What is now needed is outspoken debate and discussion in this country -- letters and wires supporting Sparkman, opposing the Eisenhower moves. War can be stopped.

######

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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1953 FEB 20 AM 2 21

B•UDA070 NL PD=UD NEWYORK NY 19=

:PETER HYUN• SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PEACE CRUSADE:

SW=ROOM 310 326 WEST 3 ST LOSA=

NO MAN OF OUR TIME DESERVES GREATER HONOR THAN DR• W• E• B• DUBOIS• THE WORLD OF PEACE AND EQUALITY HE CONTINUES TO FIGHT FOR CAN AND WILL BE REALIZED IF EACH OF US WILL FOLLOW HIS EXAMPLE OF STEADFASTNESS AND INTEGRITY• OUR BEST WISHES TO HIM AND HIS VALIANT WIFE SHIRLEY=

C B BALDWIN SECRETARY PROGRESSIVE PARTY=

12-15-52 [Progressive Pty.]

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

NEWS RELEASE

From: Progressive Party
17 West 45th St.
New York 36, N.Y.
JU 6-2335

April 24, 1953

For Release SATURDAY April 25

PROGRESSIVE PARTY HEAD ASKS WITHDRAWAL OF ACTIONS AGAINST TWELVE ORGANIZATIONS CITED AS "AGENTS OF A FOREIGN POWER."

C. B. Baldwin, National Secretary of the Progressive Party, today called upon President Eisenhower to direct Attorney General Brownell to withdraw suits against twelve organizations cited as "agents of a foreign power" under the McCarran Act. Baldwin also called upon Eisenhower to ask Congress to repeal the act which is described as a "brazen effort to silence the protests of the American people."

The text of Baldwin's statement follows:

This week the Subversive Activities Control Board, after laboring for two years, through three chairmen and after hearing a parade of stool pigeons and professional witnesses, issued its rubber stamp report that the Communist Party is an agent of a foreign power and must register as such. The verdict of the board was the edict of McCarran, not the findings of a representative board after a fair hearing. As a matter of fact, when one member of the board, former Congressman Charles LaFollette, showed signs of disagreeing even slightly with Senator McCarran, he was forced to resign because Senator McCarran would not confirm him.

The board's report followed the pattern of the early days of Hitlerite Germany, one of whose first acts was to outlaw the Communist Party through a similar device in what is now recognized by all as an unadorned frame-up. The McCarran Law itself, on which this action was based, was denounced and vetoed by ex-President Truman. It has proved to be both the result of and the inciter of hysteria and the cold war.

Immediately following the board's decision on the Communist Party, Attorney General Brownell, President Eisenhower's chief legal officer, revealed the full meaning of the McCarran Act by filing actions against twelve more organizations. He made it perfectly clear, in so doing, that the real target of the McCarran Act is not a small group of Communists, but every American who does not subscribe to the views of the pro-Franco, pro-Chiang Kai Chek, anti-foreign born, anti-democratic McCarrans and McCarthies of this country.

It is most significant that practically every organization singled out by Brownell has been a valiant defender of traditional American democratic rights. The Attorney General does not proceed against the genuinely subversive refugee groups which are now openly fomenting violence, but against organizations like the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born which has defended the rights of millions of the foreign born who have built America. Mr. Brownell has acted against the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade who supported real democracy in Spain against Franco's butchers for whom McCarran himself openly speaks. And it is most significant that Brownell also attacks the Council on African Affairs which has conspicuously fought against the Nazi methods of Malan in South Africa and the exploitation of millions of Negroes in Africa. The Attorney General has also included in his list the Civil Rights Congress which has fought for the rights of Negroes, especially against Ku Klux Klan terror and the legal lynchings in the South perpetrated by those truly subversive to American ideals of freedom. The Attorney General's announcement that he will file against other organizations and the appointment to the Subversive Activities Control Board of ex-Senator Harry Cain of Washington, whose record against labor is notorious, means that the labor movement and all democratic minded persons and organizations are his next targets.

We in the Progressive Party demand that Pres. Eisenhower put a stop to these shameful persecutions of organizations whose sole "crime" has been to defend the rights of all Americans against the viciously anti-democratic actions of McCarran, McCarthy, Velde, Mundt and their like. We demand that he instruct Brownell to withdraw the actions against these 12 organizations. We also call upon the President to ask Congress to repeal the McCarran Act, an act which Americans will view with shame for generations, and which is a brazen effort to silence the protests of the American people.

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NEWS RELEASE

From: Progressive Party
17 West 45th St.
New York 36, N.Y.
JU 6-2335

April 27, 1953

For release TUESDAY April 27

PROGRESSIVE PARTY CALLS NATIONAL CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON TO ELIMINATE JIM CROW IN CAPITAL. HALLINAN TO SPEAK. PP NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO MEET ALSO.

Describing Jim Crow practices in Washington, D.C. a "national disgrace and an international scandal", the national officers of the Progressive Party yesterday (Sunday) issued a call for a three-day national conference in the nation's capital on May 16, 17, and 18, to insist that President Eisenhower make good his campaign promises to eliminate segregation and discrimination in the District of Columbia.

Vincent Hallinan, 1952 Progressive Party candidate for President, will fly to Washington from his Ross, California, home to address a Saturday night (May 16) public meeting which will highlight the three day conference. The conference will open Saturday morning at 11 A.M. at the Odd Fellows Hall, Ninth and T Streets, NW, Washington, with a keynote address by Hugh DeLacy, midwest director of the Progressive Party's 1952 campaign and former Congressman from the state of Washington.

The Saturday morning meeting will be chaired by Mrs. Erma Henderson, Detroit, Michigan, Negro leader and Progressive Party National Committee member. Joseph Forer, attorney and Chairman of the District of Columbia Progressive Party will present the delegates with a program for action. Representatives of organizations fighting discrimination have been invited to join Progressive Party delegates in the conference, and the meetings will be open to observers. At the Saturday evening public rally, also to be held in Odd Fellows Hall, Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson, author, anthropologist and lecturer wife of Paul Robeson, who is national committeewoman from Connecticut, and C. B. Baldwin, National Secretary of the Progressive Party, will speak.

The call issued by the Progressive Party notes the campaign pledge of Pres. Eisenhower to use all the power at his disposal to eliminate "every vestige of segregation and discrimination in the District of Columbia." The call notes that in the first 90 days of the Eisenhower administration, no such action has been forthcoming, despite the inherent powers of the chief executive to order an immediate end to discrimination in the employment practices of the federal and District governments and to end segregation in the capital's restaurants and other public facilities.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING AT STATLER HOTEL

On Sunday, an all-day session of the Progressive Party National Committee will be held at the Statler Hotel, opening at 10 A.M. under the chairmanship of C. B. Baldwin of Greenwich, Conn., National Secretary. This meeting will launch a major campaign to win organized support for an immediate cease fire in Korea and discuss the Eisenhower five point "program for peace." Baldwin will also report on the results of a radio campaign urging cease fire which has been conducted by various PP state organizations. He will outline a program for immediate steps which Eisenhower will be asked to take to negotiate all outstanding issues between the East and the West in order to end the Cold War and the world tensions which threaten peace. The National Committee will also act on a program for the repeal of the McCarran and the McCarran-Walter Acts, and will discuss the future electoral policies of state and municipal Progressive Party organizations directed toward the election of a 1954 Congress devoted to the interest of peace and the economic security of the American people.

DELEGATES TO SPEND MONDAY ON CAPITOL HILL

On Monday the conference delegates will visit Capitol Hill to press for the demands outlined in the Conference.

# # # # # # #

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

17 West 45th Street New York 36, N.Y.

May 8, 1953

TO: National Committee members
and
State Directors

FROM: C. B. Baldwin
Secretary

SUBJECT: National Committee meeting

Enclosed is a copy of the proposed agenda for the meeting of the National Committee which is scheduled for next week. For your information, I am listing below the exact time and place of the meeting:

Sunday, May 17
10:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M.

Statler Hotel
16th & K Streets, NW
Washington, D.C.

If you have not as yet returned the postal card indicating that you will be present, please do so at once. More than five months have elapsed since the National Committee last met and it is important that we have a large attendance.

#######

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

National Committee Meeting

Washington, D.C. May 17, 1953

PROPOSED AGENDA

1. Secretary's Report.

2. Finances.

   a. State Quotas
   b. Budget

3. Organizing the fight for peace.

   a. Korean truce talks
   b. Danger of extension of war in Indo-China
   c. Eisenhower proposal for the reorganization of Defense Dept.

4. Organizing the fight for civil rights.

   a. Ending discrimination and segregation in District of Col.
   b. Legislation -- congressional, state and local
   c. Negro and minority representation
   d. Protecting the rights of the foreign born

5. Organizing the fight for civil liberties.

   a. 1953 inquisitions -- McCarthy, Jenner, Velde

6. Organizing to build the NATIONAL GUARDIAN and FREEDOM.

7. Organizing to protect our natural resources.

   a. Tidelands oil
   b. Public power
   c. Public lands

8. Organizing to protect and improve our standard of living.

   a. Farm
   b. Labor

9. Elections.

   a. State and municipal 1953
   b. Congressional 1954

10. Other Business.

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PROGRESSIVE PARTY

1133 Broadway New York 10, N.Y.

35-53-45

June 3, 1953

TO: State Directors

FROM: C. B. Baldwin
Secretary

We have moved. Our office is now at:

1133 Broadway
New York 10, N.Y.

This is the corner of Broadway and 26th Street. The new quarters are adequate, though modest. And for the first time in our history, we are in a regular office building. The walls are newly painted, the floor covering is new, and the morale of the staff -- Thelma, Vi and myself -- reflects the new surroundings.

There are still tough problems involving our existence, but the lease for 12 months is an indication of our confidence. The rest -- not all, but to a large degree -- is up to the state organizations. More about this next week.

Our telephone has not as yet been installed but we should have temporary service tomorrow.

# # # # # #

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

1133 Broadway New York 10, N.Y.

* *

June 3, 1953

TO: State Directors

FROM: C.B. Baldwin, Secretary

SUBJECT: ROSENBERG CASE

25-53:46

The execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg has been set for Thursday, June 18, at 11 P.M.

Every possible legal recourse is being used to prevent this horrible miscarriage of justice. However, since the District Court, the United States Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court have denied all motions by the defendants' attorneys, it appears that the one hope remaining is a second appeal for clemency to President Eisenhower.

There is no doubt that if the Rosenbergs die they will be victims of the hysteria that today grips our country. Not only have hundreds of thousands of Americans appealed for clemency, but appeals have been made by influential people throughout the world, including the Vatican. If clemency is not granted by the President, our country and we as citizens will suffer a great loss of prestige and even more serious doubts about our humanitarianism will arise.

Since the original conviction, the United States Court of Appeals of the Second District has said that the prosecution handling of the case could not be "too severely condemned" because it was so "wholly reprehensible" and productive of prejudice to the petitioners that "a new trial ... should have been granted." In other words, this high court contends that because of an alleged error by the defense, these two people must go to their death.

Also, since the conviction, documents have been discovered, the authenticity of which are undisputed, in which Mrs. Greenglass had the following to say about her husband:

> "As to her husband, she stated that he had a 'tendency to hysteria.' At other times he would become delirious and once when he had the grippe he ran nude through the hallway, shrieking of 'elephants,' and 'lead pants.'
>
> "She had known him since he was ten years old. She said that he would say things were so even if they were not. He talked of suicide as if he were a character in the movies but she didn't think he would do it."

Judge Jerome Frank in a decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals said: "Doubtless if that (Greenglass) testimony were disregarded the conviction(against the Rosenbergs) could not stand."

In other words, the Rosenbergs are condemned to die because of the testimony given by Greenglass, who his own wife says is both a neurotic and a liar.

The Time Is Short

We urge that you use all the resources of your organization to send letters and wherever possible delegations to your congressmen, and letters and telegrams to President Eisenhower, urging clemency. Leaders from all walks of life can still be mobilized in the fight to save Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Statements should be solicited from prominent people throughout the country. There is nothing more important we can do between now and June 18.

# # # # # #

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

1133 Broadway
New York 10, N.Y.

CHelsea 2-9146

* *

July 22, 1953

TO: State Directors

FROM: C. B. Baldwin, Secretary

SUBJECT: Korean Truce

Enclosed is a brief fact sheet regarding (1) the status of the truce in Korea and (2) the situation in Europe.

For weeks now it has appeared that a truce in Korea was imminent. The arrogant and recalcitrant Syngman Rhee blasted it by the release of 27,000 North Korean prisoners. Since then, there have been several thousand additional American casualties. Today's papers indicate again that Rhee may present further obstacles which, unless President Eisenhower acts firmly, may result in additional delays. It is perfectly apparent that Rhee's ability to continue the war is dependent on the Eisenhower Administration continuing to furnish armaments, equipment and substantial man power. The Eisenhower Administration must, therefore, exact the necessary guarantees from Syngman Rhee to assure the carrying out of the truce agreement. Because of this threat we have today sent the enclosed telegram to President Eisenhower.

It is urgent that the following be done:

(1) Letters, telegrams and post cards to President Eisenhower along the lines of the enclosed telegram from organizations and individuals.

(2) Letters to the editors of your local press, pointing out the failure of the Administration to bring about a truce. (It will be particularly effective if such letters are written by mothers and fathers with sons in the armed services.)

(3) Every active PP worker should be mobilized for this job and supplied with leaflets or mimeographed background material to assist them in their canvassing.

(4) Wherever possible, radio time or newspaper space should be purchased to promote the campaign.

IF THE TRUCE IS SIGNED

A truce in Korea would give great impetus to a real drive for an over all peace settlement.

Obviously, peace in Korea is our first goal. However, in itself this will not bring about over all negotiations between the East and West to relieve growing tensions in Europe. Peace overtures by Malenkov and Churchill have been followed by a stepped up drive by the United States to increase the tensions in Western Europe, particularly in Germany. If hostilities cease in Korea, we should immediately begin a campaign for a Big Power Conference as urged by Churchill. More about this later. But let's make our preparations now. ########

[Prog. Pty.]

NEWS RELEASE

From: Progressive Party
1133 Broadway
New York 10, N.Y.
CHELSEA 2-9146

For immediate release

July 22, 1953

PROGRESSIVE PARTY STATES NO EXCUSE FOR FURTHER DELAY IN SIGNING KOREAN TRUCE: CALLS ON PRESIDENT EISENHOWER TO MAKE CLEAR THE INTENTION OF U.S. GOVERNMENT TO CARRY OUT TERMS OF TRUCE AGREEMENT.

25-48150

C. B. Baldwin, National Secretary of the Progressive Party, today sent a telegram to President Eisenhower asking that he make clear the determination of the United States Government that all steps will be taken to fully carry out the Korean truce agreement. He further stated there was no excuse for any further delay in signing the truce agreement. Complete text of the telegram follows:

Hon. Dwight D. Eisenhower
White House
Washington, D.C.

Today's reports from Korea and Washington indicate that the signing of the truce may be again delayed because of the obstructive tactics of Syngman Rhee. There can be no excuse for further delay. We ask that you immediately make clear the determination of our government that all necessary measures will be taken to fully carry out the truce agreement. To do less will result in the sacrifice of additional American lives and will raise grave doubts concerning the sincerity of our efforts to bring about an armistice.

C. B. Baldwin, Secretary
Progressive Party

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NEWS RELEASE

From: Progressive Party
1133 Broadway
New York 10, N.Y.
CHELSEA 2-9146

43-53.47

For release SUNDAY papers, Sept. 20,1953

PROGRESSIVE PARTY HEAD SCORES DULLES FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH TO UNITED NATIONS; CALLS FOR INCREASED ORGANIZATION TO GUARANTEE CONTINUED AND EFFECTIVE EXISTENCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

C. B. Baldwin, national secretary of the Progressive Party, in a statement released here today characterized the Dulles foreign policy speech before the United Nations General Assembly as one giving "increased concern to all peace-loving Americans." Mr. Baldwin said that while we recognize that the Secretary of State was attempting to be less provocative than usual, his statement simply restates the Eisenhower Administration's foreign policy of rule or ruin in the United Nations and in foreign affairs generally.

Mr. Baldwin indicated that his organization throughout the country is being called upon to visit congressmen and senators in the next two months to press for a positive peace program to be achieved through negotiation rather than military might.

The complete text of Mr. Baldwin's statement follows:

> Secretary of State John Foster Dulles has restated to the General Assembly of the United Nations the Eisenhower Administration's foreign policy in terms which must give increased concern to all peace-loving Americans. While Secretary Dulles' speech was in the words of the press "less provocative than usual", any toning down of words is obviously aimed to meet growing criticism of United States tactics in the United Nations and throughout the world, as evidenced in Prime Minister Nehru's speech to the Indian Parliament on the same day.
>
> The Administration policy of "rule or ruin" in the United Nations, and in foreign affairs generally, is a threat to the continued existence of the United Nations as an international deliberative body.
>
> While the United Nations has failed to fulfill the high hopes of the people of the world, who looked to it in 1945 as the emblem and the machinery of world peace, nevertheless it remains an organization in which negotiation, discussion and consultation are possible. Its destruction can only reflect a world divided irrevocably into two armed camps.
>
> Since the truce in Korea, United States policy has rapidly become more intransigent.
>
> Secretary of State Dulles threatens that unless the Chinese and North Korean representatives come to our terms in 90 days, we will walk out of the peace conference.

MORE - - - -

Senator Wiley demands that the United States leave the United Nations if China is admitted.

President Eisenhower, learning that France is about ready to negotiate a peace in Indo-China, offers France $800,000,000 additional for arms as an inducement to continue fighting.

Our delegation to the United Nations opposes India, the second largest country in Asia, as a participant in the Korean peace negotiations.

Meanwhile, as American policy becomes tougher, the rest of the world seems less and less disposed to go along with us. The vote on India's participation went against us, 27-21. Traditionally neutral nations such as Sweden are more frequently found voting on the opposite side from the United States.

In short, the United States is in process of rapidly completing its isolation in world affairs in general, and in the United Nations in particular. Our attitude toward the United Nations is further demonstrated by the appointment of Governor Byrnes, the outstanding exemplar of racism, as a delegate to a world body, and by the continual harassment of the United Nations staff by the McCarthy and Jenner Committees.

This is not simply wishful thinking. The strength of the peace forces throughout the world and in the United States is enormous, a fact even Adlai Stevenson took cognizance of in the proposals he made in Chicago on September 15. People all over the world and our own people are determined to try to solve the world's problems through peaceful negotiation and discussion.

I, therefore, call on all Progressive Party organizations to discuss with all friends of peace and all supporters of the United Nations means of joint or parallel action to seek a reversal of the Administration's "rule or ruin" program in foreign affairs. One practical method consists of visits to Senators and Representatives in October, November and December, before Congress convenes. Other organizations interested in peace should be urged to send their delegations to influence congressmen.

It is urgent to recognize that the United Nations remains the world's best hope for peace. We hope that the following statement from Mr. Dulles' speech of September 17 will prove to be more than rhetoric:

> "We are ready to learn from others. Also we recognize that our views may not always prevail. When that happens, we shall not sulk. We shall try to accept the result philosophically. We know that we have no monopoly of wisdom or virtue."

The best way our Government can demonstrate its good intentions is to agree immediately to a Big Power conference without any restrictions on the agenda.

# # # # # # # #

NEWS RELEASE

From: Progressive Party
1133 Broadway
New York 10, N.Y.
CHELSEA 2-9146

For release in SUNDAY papers, Sept. 27, 1953

FORMER MINNESOTA GOVERNOR ELMER BENSON, PROGRESSIVE PARTY CHAIRMAN, DEMANDS THAT AGRICULTURE SECRETARY EZRA BENSON ACT "TO AVOID A MAJOR FARM DEPRESSION."

Elmer A. Benson, Chairman of the Progressive Party, former United States Senator and former Governor of Minnesota, yesterday outlined to Secretary of Agriculture Ezra T. Benson a seven-point program "to avoid a major farm depression."

The Progressive Party chairman, in a letter to the Agriculture Secretary from his Appleton, Minnesota, farm home made public yesterday by the national offices of the Progressive Party in New York, charged the Agriculture Secretary with a "primary and direct responsibility" for current low prices to farmers, high prices of farm products to consumers and "excessive profits to speculators and food processors." These conditions, the Progressive Party head said, could "only lead to a smash-up" and had already caused restricted farm production and indirectly "in mass lay-offs of workers, as for example in the farm machinery industry."

The former Minnesota Governor, who has been Chairman of the Progressive Party since its founding in 1948, also said that "farmers have not forgotten the 'full parity' promise that President Eisenhower made to them here in Kasson, Minnesota, on September 6, 1952" but stated that the Secretary of Agriculture and the Eisenhower Administration "have done nothing while farm prices have dropped another 10 percent this year, bringing parity to a 12-year low and shrinking farm income almost to the disaster level."

The letter also charges that Secretary Benson has appointed "representatives of the biggest food monopolies, grain speculators and other big business interests" to his policy making committees who are interested in buying cheap at rigged prices to the farmers and selling high at rigged prices to the consumers."

The Progressive Party leader demanded government price supports at 100% of parity, expanded aids to farmers, government sponsored food consumption programs such as school lunch plans and stamp plans for those in need, and "expanded exports of food instead of armaments." He asked the Agriculture

MORE - - - - - -

Secretary to "assume leadership for peace loving farmers toward a new foreign policy aimed at settling differences at the conference table" so that defense expenditures could be used for "constructive purposes including a real farm program" instead of "present spending for wasteful, wicked, destructive war program."

The text of the Progressive Party head's letter follows:

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Although President Eisenhower promised farmers "full parity" in his pre-election speeches, you and the Administration have done nothing while farm prices have dropped another 10 per cent this year, bringing the parity ratio to a 12 year low and shrinking farm income almost to the disaster level.

While making glittering speeches about a "return to the free market," you have appointed representatives of the biggest food monopolies, grain speculators and other big business interests to your policy making committees. These representatives of big business are interested in buying cheap at rigged prices to the farmers and selling high at rigged inflated prices to the consumers. We cannot expect these representatives of big business to write a farm program in the interest of the average farmer.

As Secretary of Agriculture, you bear a primary and direct responsibility for this present policy of low prices to farmers and high prices to consumers and excessive profits to speculators and food processors. It is injuring farmers as well as consumers, restricting the purchasing power of both groups. It is forcing a return to restriction of farm production and indirectly it is resulting in mass lay-offs of workers, as for example in the farm machinery industry. It can only lead to a smash-up. Farmers have not forgotten the "full parity" promise that President Eisenhower made to them here in Kasson, Minn. on September 6, 1952. The recent nationwide wheat referendum strongly indicates that they are still overwhelmingly in favor of full parity and that they reject flexible parity leading toward farm bankruptcy.

Immediate constructive action is essential to avoid a major farm depression. I suggest the following basic elements of such a program:

(1) Government price supports at 100 per cent of parity for all farm products.

(2) Expanded programs for crop insurance, on farm storage and government storage to provide security for individual farmers and stability for American agriculture.

(3) Expanded programs for consumption of food, such as school lunch programs, stamp plans for recipients of government aids and for expanded exports of food instead of armaments.

(4) Expanded payments to farmers for soil conservation and fertilizer practices to help conserve our soil for future generations.

(5) Expanded Farm Home Administration (formerly Farm Security Administration) funds to provide low cost credit to farmers who cannot obtain credit elsewhere.

(6) Develop the nation's resources instead of giving them away, making available low cost power and flood control at the same time.

(7) The Secretary of Agriculture to assume leadership for peace loving farmers toward a new foreign policy aimed at settling differences at the conference table and at achieving world disarmament; so that our tax money can be spent for constructive purposes, including a real farm program, instead of present spending for wasteful, wicked, destructive war program.

As a farmer myself, I am confident that these are the kinds of programs that the farmers of this country need. At the same time, I am confident that these farm programs serve the best interests of all the people of the country, including labor and the consumers, who are interested in a prosperous and stable economy for this nation.

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CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

25-60-33

FX-1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

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1953 OCT 15 PM 9 49

NB496 NL PD=NEW YORK NY 15=

B

DR W E B DUBOIS=

:ROOM 312 166 WEST WASHINGTON ST CHGO=

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY PROUDLY SALUTES OUR HONORARY CO-CHAIRMAN FOR YOUR BRILLIANT AND TIRELESS EFFORTS FOR PEACE AND BROTHERHOOD. YOUR CONTINUED LEADERSHIP IN THE FIGHT FOR PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL ACTION AT HOME WILL HELP THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ACHIEVE THESE GOALS. OUR WARMEST GREETINGS TO YOU=

C B BALDWIN & THELMA DALE=

Progressive Party Headquarters, NY

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

of the

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

75

930 F Street, N.W.
Room 519

Washington, D. C.
ME. 8-2477

November 16,1953

Dr. W.E. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn,N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am writing to ask you if it will be possible for you to speak at a meeting here to be held during the month of Februrary in commemoration of Negro History Week.

The date will be at your convenience during the month altho Thursday, Saturday and Sunday nights are not good for meetings. So we would prefer another night.

The suject will be left to your judgement as we well know that any you will select will be stimulating and important. Our members are most anxious to have the privilege of hearing you, especially on this important and timely subject.

We would anticipate an audience of over 100 and would make every effort to obtain a larger audience.

We will pay your expenses and also will be able to pay a lecture fee of a modest proportion.

With best wishes to you and Mrs. DuBois,

Sincerely,

Gertrude Evans

Mrs. Gertrude Evans
Executive Secretary

Nov. 20, 1953

Mrs. Gertrude Evans
Progressive Party, Rm. 519
930 F Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Evans:

I cannot as yet let you know whether or not I would be free for lectures in February.

Arrangements have been pending at other places and I must wait to hear until I can write you.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

of the

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

75

930 F Street, N. W.
Room 519

Washington, D. C.
ME. 8-2477

November 24,1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York,N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In reply to your letter of November 20th as we are most anxious to have you speak for us we will await your reply until December 15th as to whether you will be available.

Please let us know at the earliest possible time after you know about your other commitments.

Very sincerely yours,

Gertrude Evans

Gertrude Evans
Executive Secretary

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

of the

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

75

930 F Street, N.W.
Room 519

Washington, D. C.
ME. 8-2477

December 17,1953

Dr. E.E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

As I wrote you we are most anxious to have lecture for us during Negro History month. You wrote that you would know about your availability after the fifteenth of this month.

We are hoping that we may hear from you that you can come here sometime during the month of February at your convenience. As it is necessary for us to make our plans - - engage a hall,etc. we would appreciate an early reply.

With best wishes to you and Mrs. Du Bois,

Very sincerely yours,

Gertrude Evans

Gertrude Evans
Executive Secretary

December 31, 1953

Miss Gertrude Evans, Exec. Secy.
Progressive Party
930 F Street N.W.
Room 519
Washington, D.C.

Dear Miss Evans:

I can lecture for you during the month of February. The only other engagement I have in February is February 12th.

My charge would be $50 and expenses. The expenses would be round trip railroad fare from New York, and hotel expenses for one day.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[PROGRESSIVE PARTY - N. J. ?]

Jan. 12, 1953

Mr. James Imbrie
Lawrenceville
New Jersey

Dear Mr. Imbrie:

Responding to your inquiry, may I say that on November 17, 1952 I sent the enclosed letter to both Mrs. Pearl Williams and Mr. Ralph Robinson in Vineland. On January 6, 1953 I sent the same letter again.

I had no acknowledgement and no remittance.

Thank you for your interest.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh
enc.

W.E.B. Du Bois

85-90-26

[Prog. Pty., Vineland]

L

Vineland N.J
March 23 1953

Dear Dr. Du Bois,
Enclosed is check for $30.00 as
further payment on your lecture fee

Yours truly
Ralph W. Robinson
Vineland Progressive Party

35-57/22

March 26, 1953

Mr. Ralph W. Robinson
Vineland Progressive Party
615 E. Oak Road
Vineland, N.J.

25-51-23

Dear Mr. Robinson:

I acknowledge receipt of $30 from the Vineland Progressive Party, which leaves a balance of $70 still due.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W. E. B. Du Bois

L

2103 Center Avenue

Pittsburgh 19 Penna.

January 17 1953

Council on African Afairs.
53 West 125th Street
New York 27 New York.

Dear Sirs;

We are holding our 5th anniversary of the Progressive Party of Western Pennsylvannia the week of March 7th, As part of our program we are holding a Mass Meeting at which we would like to have as our main speaker Dr. DuBois.

March 7th is the anniversary date but we have set March 8th for the mass meeting, please advise us if Dr DuBois can fill such an engagment and the financial requirements hoping for an early reply.

Fraternally yours.
alexander wright
Alexander Wright.

$200 + fare + Hotel

January 27, 1953

Mr. Alexander Wright
2103 Center Avenue
Pittsburgh 19, Pa.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Answering your letter of January 17th sent to the Council on African Affairs, may I say that I can speak for the Progressive Party of Western Pennsylvania on March 8th, but I would have to charge you my regular fee of $200 and round trip fare by plane from New York, and hotel expenses while in Pittsburgh.

I should like to be able to give my services free for the cause, but this is impossible because of my reduced income, and I have had to charge for all my speeches for the Party.

I am going to be absent from New York, speaking on the Pacific coast during the latter part of February, so that you would have to make up your mind quickly as I may be asked to stay on the coast for further talks.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

January 6, 1953

Mr. Dean Pruitt
2704 Yale Station
New Haven, Conn.

Dear Mr. Pruitt:

Your letter of December 31 has been forwarded to me. I feel very strongly that America imperialism financed by Big Business is the cause of our being today the chief world advocate of war. This imperialism started, of course, with the annexation of Hawaii, the Spanish War, and Central and South American investments. It reached its height, however, between the first and second World Wars when many of our industrial leaders who had been prominent in the European cartels were convinced that America was going to succeed the declining British Empire as the leader in colonial imperialism.

This was implemented by our attempt to control China. We were desperately disappointed when China, despite our expenditure of millions of dollars, escaped our control; we are still trying to punish the persons whom we think were to blame for the rise of the New Chinese Republic.

We were strong supporters of South Korea in its determination to extend its rule over North Korea, consolidate our investments there, and expand to Manchuria and China. Indeed, the book by I. F. Stone proves that it was the proposed adventure of Syngman Rhee which caused the present Korean War. Add to this, the book by Carl Marzani, "We Can Be Friends" for proof.

In addition to this, our investments in Africa are the main support of the present capitalistic control of that country. The money which we have furnished the Malan government of the Union of South Africa is larger in amount

than that of the British Empire. Our largest industries have been investing great sums and building large plants in South Africa since the Second World War. We are among the chief supporters of exploitation in the Belgian Congo, and our help to Europe was not so much relief as funds which enabled European capitalists to maintain their power against labor organisations, to make profitable new investments for themselves, and later to arm themselves for a Third World War.

23-31-74

Finally, the control of our government by American Big Business reveals itself in Mr. Eisenhower's appointment of cabinet officials who represent Big Business almost exclusively. Government subsidies of universities today make them subservient to government policies, while government policies follow Big Business. No university president would dare to attack current business methods as they did during the administration of Theodore Roosevelt. On all the trustee boards of the universities and institutions of research and philanthropy Big Business is prominently represented, if not in complete control.

The fact that the Morgan banking interests own the Saturday Review of Literature must surely indicate to you the interest of Big Business in literature; while distribution of news by papers, periodicals, radio and television is owned by Big Business and directed in the interests of its propaganda.

This line of reasoning is not an attack upon American initiative,

technology or business organization. It is simply making it clear where the power lies today, how it is being used, and what we must do if we are going to escape making the main objects of our nation private profit rather than the uplift and progress of our social institutions.

I think that this is as much as I have time to give you as a general indication of my line of thought. You will, I am sure, have no difficulty in documenting this argument further.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-31-75

[1953?]

Call N.Y. office of State Dept.

Mr. Morgan; Judson 6-2000
Extension 603 (State Dept.)
to make appointment to see
Mr. Rao from India (Servants
of India Society - interested in
social problems, tribes etc)
He is here 3 mos. on "Leader
Exchange" program + been taken
around. He asked to see you.

30-6-25

appt. - Weds. Aug 26

3 pm

Dr Rau

Book

[REDDICK]

June 5, 1953

Dr. L.D. Reddick, Librarian
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear Mr. Reddick:

Shirley has shown me the correspondence concerning an introduction to the proposed new edition of "The Souls of Black Folk".

Sometime ago I bought the plates of "The Souls of Black Folk", which has been out of print now for many years. Lately I have tried in several cases to get someone to issue a jubilee edition. Finally, the Blue Heron Press has offered to undertake it. Technically I shall be the publisher, as owner of the plates, but as a matter of fact the Blue Heron Press will print, bind and distribute the book.

1/29/64

The Blue Heron Press is ownéd by Mrs. Betty Fast, the wife of Howard Fast, and was established to print Howard Fast's works and some other books. The publisher, therefore, of the proposed new edition of the "Souls of Black Folk" is really Howard Fast, and we must expect criticism on that account. We should, of course, have been glad to have this book issued through the ordinary channels of trade, but that proved to be impossible.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

PAUL ROBESON

Jan. 26 - 1953

Dear Dr. DuBois:

My heart-felt congratulations upon the Peace Prize. It honors through you, those who struggle under great odds for a world at Peace. Certainly no one so deeply deserves this Prize or any other that could be awarded. Again my warmest congratulations and continued thanks for your inspiring leadership.

Paul (Robeson)

25-31-76

April 17, 1953

Mr. Paul Robeson
Fre dom
53 West 125 St.
New York 27, N.Y.

My dear Paul:

Shirley and I are a little late in extending birthday greetings, but they are just as sincere as though they had been sent April 9th.

May you have many years of activity and courage.

Yours with love,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

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WESTERN UNION (53)...

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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WA247 PD=NEW YORK NY 16 1230PME= OCT 16 AM 11 56

DR DU BOIS, CARE DR ROBERT MORSS LOVETT=
ROOM 312 166 WEST WASHINGTON ST CHGO=

B

OURS IS A MIGHTY TRADITION ONE TO BE FOREVER TREASURED EVER TO BE FOUGHT FOR NEVER TO BE SURRENDERED. TODAY EVIL MEN SUPPORTED BY THOSE OF WEALTH AND POWER DARE TO VAINLY HOPE THAT THE PEOPLE OF OUR NATION WILL AT LAST BE TERRORIZED AND BLUDGEONED INTO SUBMISSION. AS AT OTHER TIMES IN OUR GLORIOUS HISTORY MEN AND WOMEN OF VALOR OF ENDLESS COURAGE OF DEEPEST WISDOM ARISE TO DEFEND US AND OURS. WE ARE PRIVILEGED TO STAND SIDE BY SIDE WITH SUCH A HUMAN BEING ENDOWED WITH ALL THE FOREGOING AND MORE - A MATCHLESS POET A PROUD SON OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE FROM WHOME HE HAS SPRUNG INDEED. OF ALL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND OF ALL THE PROGRESSIVE WORLD. WE THROUGH HIM ARE DEEPLY HONORED AND MOST IMPORTANT ARE MOVED TO A HIGHER AWARENESS OF OUR SACRED RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE. ALL MY BEST. DEAR DR DU BOIS TO YOU AND MRS SHIRLEY GRAHAM DU BOIS ON THIS HISTORIC OCCASION. WITH YOU WE HOLD OUR HEADS HIGH CERTAIN OF FINAL VICTORY FOR A PEACEFUL AND ABUNDANT WORLD SINCERELY=

PAUL ROBESON=

[Robeson]

25-31-1

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

December 11, 1953

Miss Annette Rubinstein
59 West 71 St.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Miss Rubinstein:

May I thank you very much for the gift of your book.

As you may suspect, I haven't read it yet, but I promise you that I am going to.

I am certainly glad to have it in my library.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

25-48-8

[Rudwick]

BATES COLLEGE
Lewiston, Maine

DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
ECONOMICS HISTORY
GOVERNMENT SOCIOLOGY

January 22, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois,
409 Edgecombe Avenue,
New York 32, New York.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

25-31-22

I am taking my Ph.D. degree in the Department of Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania where my senior professor is Dr. J.P. Shalloo, whom you have perhaps met. We have discussed the possibility of my doing a thesis on an evaluation of your contribution to the field of American Race Relations. We have agreed that the work should not be primarily biographical-historical, but should instead involve an analysis of your role in the area of direct social action and how you have influenced American thinking concerning Negro strategy and leadership.

At the present time I am reading and re-reading all of your books that I can locate here in Maine. Following this, I plan to study the Crisis at the time of your editorship plus the Atlanta Publications, and in short I shall attempt to lay my hands on all you have written, and all that has ever been written about you..

One does not have to read much about the field of Race Relations to comprehend the tremendous role you have played in it. I shall be interested in your activities in social organization, and the conflicts you met in relation to other leaders(not only Booker T. Washington).

Would it be possible for me to see you in the near future, so that I may gain the benefit of your counsel? Thank you so much for your consideration.

Most sincerely,

Elliott M Rudwick

ELLIOTT M. RUDWICK
Inst. Sociology

January 28, 1933

Mr. Elliott M. Rudwick
Bates College
Lewiston, Maine

Dear Mr. Rudwick:

I am just leaving New York for lectures on the Pacific coast. I shall return some time in March.

Any time after that if you are in town if you call me up I shall be glad to talk with you briefly.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

1735 N. Berendo St.,
Los Angeles, Calif.
February 16, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
Du Bois Testimonial Dinner,
326 W. Third St., Room 310,
Los Angeles, 13, Calif.

Greetings to Dr. Du Bois, scholar, statesman and valiant fighter for freedom and peace. As one who has already reached 87 years, I welcome you, at a mere 85, into the fellowship of the ageless."

25-57.6

Edwin P. Ryland

The Reverend Edwin P. Ryland,